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*This book belonged to the  
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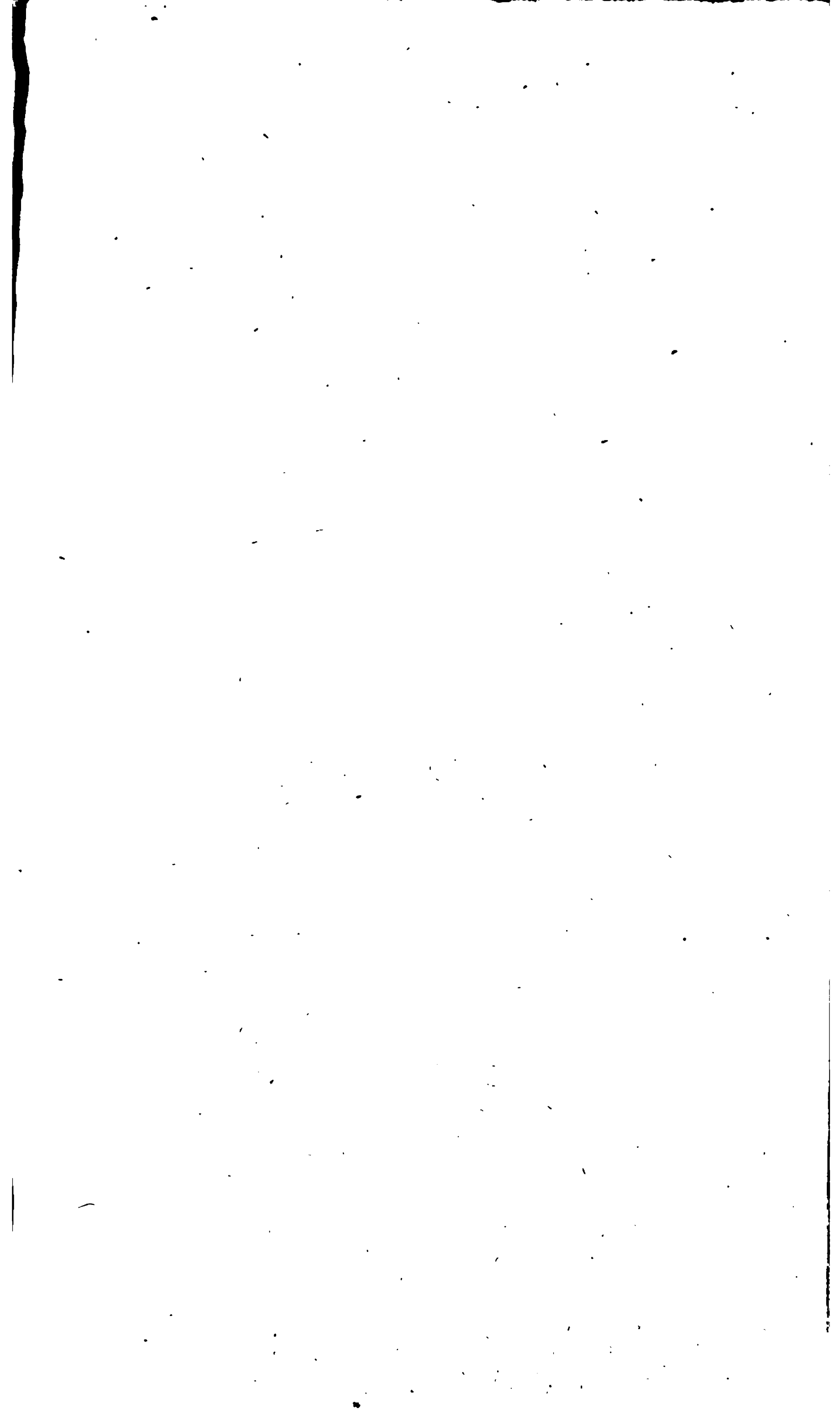
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THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER,  
OR A VIEW OF THE  
HISTORY,  
POLITICS,  
AND  
LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1783.

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SECOND EDITION.

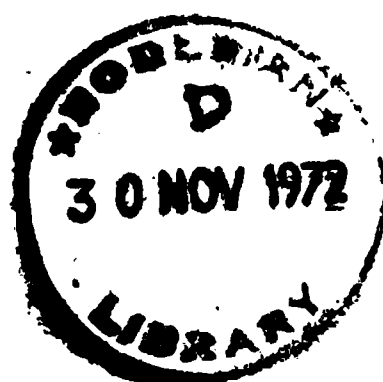
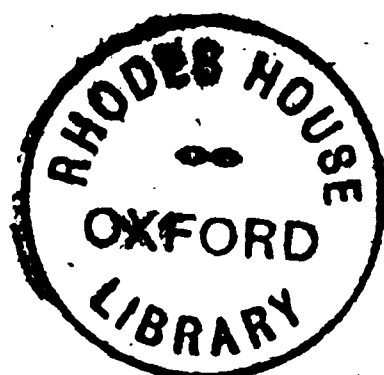
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1800.



## P R E F A C E.

**T**HE conclusion of the war in the East Indies, has necessarily claimed our utmost attention in the History of the present year. Exclusive of the great national importance of that arduous contest, and the vast stakes which were played for by all the parties, the number and variety of military events, both by sea and land, of which it was so unusually productive, together with the superior abilities and extraordinary exertions of the principal leaders on all sides, must ever render the late war in India peculiarly interesting. Having got through this difficult, though pleasing task, we had only to gather up the gleanings of the war in other quarters; and then tracing those measures which led to the restoration of the public tranquillity, we have proceeded to take a view of the nature, circumstances, and consummation of that general peace, which has happily put an end to the ravages and calamities of war, both in the Old and the New World.

Having thus concluded the narration, and wound up the business of the late most extensive and eventful war, we shall be able, in our next volume, to take a retrospective view of those political affairs and transactions in Europe, which however consequential they might have been deemed in other seasons, could not have been attended to during the din and tumult of arms, and while a rapid succession of the most interesting events were continually crowded upon the public attention.

It

## P R E F A C E.

It gives us no small concern to understand, that a passage in our History for the year 1773, should have been supposed to convey an imputation injurious to the honour and character of the Baron de Tott. Independent of our attention to historical truth, as well as to personal justice, we too much regard the singular talents and eminent abilities of that Nobleman, not to regret, however innocently, that we should in any manner, have afforded means for wounding his feelings ; much less should we consent to its being understood, that we gave any sanction to a false and scandalous calumny. It is impossible, at this distance of time, to recollect any of the operative circumstances with respect to that passage, or even what our own sense of the subject then was. The Translator of his very curious and valuable Memoirs has, in his Preface, along with the charge, candidly furnished almost every thing which it would be necessary for us to say upon the subject, by quoting, from ourselves, the uncertainty of the information which could then be obtained, relative to the circumstances of the Russian and Turkish war, and still farther, by his own subsequent acknowledgment, that the calumny, to which the passage in question is supposed to allude, however maliciously raised, was publicly prevalent. We shall only add, that we are in ourselves convinced of, that *Guys*, the French consul or deputy, and the real renegado, was the person to whom we really pointed, however the Baron's actions might at first have been mistakenly attributed to him. Time has cleared up the truth, and done ample justice to his character.

THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER,  
For the YEAR, 1783.



THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
EUROPE.

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CHAP. I.

*Retrospective view of affairs in India. Benares. Transactions which led to the dependance of that country on the East India company. The Rajah Bulwant Sing, having taken a decided part in their favour, in the war against his paramount lord, Sujah Ul Dowlab, his territories are secured to him by the treaty of Illahabad. Investiture of Cheit Sing, upon the death of his father Bulwant, and a new treaty concluded in favour of the family by Major Harper. A third treaty, in confirmation of the two former, concluded by Mr. Hastings, who is himself a party to it, and renders the company guarantees of the Rajah's possessions. Upon the death of Sujah Ul Dowlab, the Nabob vizier, the sovereignty of Benares is transferred by his successor to the company. Extraordinary subsidies demanded and levied from the Rajah, Cheit Sing, on occasion of the war with France, lay the foundation of those differences which took place between him and the government of Calcutta. A supply of 2000 cavalry demanded from the Rajah. Charges of disaffection and contumacy laid against him. Governor general's progress from Calcutta, to settle the affairs of Benares, and other countries. Proceeds up the Ganges to Buxar, where he is met by the Rajah, with great attendance and number of boats. Different accounts of the conference on the water. Rajah's visit at Benares forbidden. Rajah taken into custody: rescued, and the sepoy, with their officers, massacred. He flies first to Ramnagur, and from thence retires in the night to the fortress of Lutteespoor. Oussaun Sing appointed by the governor general to administer the affairs of the country in the place of the Rajah.*

VOL. XXVI. [A] Ram-

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*Ramjiewaun, garrisons Ramnagur for the Rajah. Scheme for the reduction of that place frustrated by the rashness of Capt. Mayaffre: who is killed in an ill-judged attack, and the party repulsed with great loss. Country immediately in arms. Design of attacking the governor general in his quarters obliges him to retire by night to Chunar. Repeated proposals made by the Rajah for an accommodation, produce no effect. Embarrassment occasioned by the Nabob vizier's visit. The commotion in Benares spreads the flame in the adjoining countries. Cheit Sing's manifesto. Attack on the Rajah's camp at Pateetab. Great reinforcements arrive at Chunar. Bundoo Cawn, a native, proposes the means by which the Rajah's forces might, without much difficulty, be dispossessed of their strong holds. The scheme adopted by Major Popham; who privately dispatches Major Crabbe, with a strong detachment, to penetrate the mountains, under the guidance of Bundoo Cawn, and attack the enemy in the rear, while he engages them in front. The design succeeds; Major Crabbe carries the strong pass of Suckroot; the enemy abandon the fortress of Lutteespoor; The Rajah flies to Bidjeygur, and all his forces disperse. Country immediately resumes its usual tranquillity. Governor general returns to Benares; settles the government; appoints a new Rajah; and increases the revenue. Disturbances in the neighbouring countries quelled. Treaty of peace and alliance happily concluded with Madajee Scindia by Colonel Muir. The Rajah, Cheit Sing, totally abandons his country. Strong fortress of Bidjeygur taken, upon conditions, by Major Popham. Great treasure found, and spoil made by the army.*

**W**HILE other parts of India were desolated by the present and by former wars, the sequestered and happy country of Benares, generally had the fortune to escape the common calamity. Besides the security derived from the great distance of the sea, the sacred character ascribed to that city, which had through many ages been considered as the repository of the religion and learning of the Bramins, could not but endear it in the highest degree to the Hindoos; and the foreign ravagers of India, if they paid no respect, found it necessary, at least, to shew some attention to the prejudices of the conquered. Hostility indeed was not much provoked by a people, who, along with the most gentle and inof-

fensive manners, possessed such a spirit of industry, as had given to a whole country, the face of a garden in the highest state of culture and beauty; and whose labours were a common benefit to all, who either lived near or had occasion to approach them.

The Ganges, before it yet becomes too vast for health and satisfaction, winding through the variegated face of such a country, could not but greatly heighten the picturesque beauty of the scene; and lying, as it does, under the happiest influence of the heavens, it is not to be wondered at, that under such favourable circumstances, Benares had long been considered as the paradise of India. The capital was not less distin-

distinguished for its beauty, than eminent for its rank and consideration. But neither the salubrity of the air, nor the delights of its situation, were more alluring to strangers, than the happy security to person and property which it afforded. It accordingly became the coveted retreat of the people of all the Asiatic countries and religions, who weary of a busy life, vexed by its disappointments, or apprehensive of its dangers, wished to enjoy during some portion of their lives, the tranquillity of a secure and happy retirement.

The expences of the present war with Hyder Ally and the Marattas, in which all the English presidencies were so deeply, and one at least so dangerously involved, rose to such an height, that the wealth and revenue of Bengal, great as these were, proved unequal to their supply. New sources were accordingly to be sought: and the weak and the wealthy were doomed, as usual, to administer to the wants of the strong and the warlike. The prosecution of these means of supply, led to the subsequent calamities of Benares; and suddenly plunged Mr. Hastings, the governor general, into a new war, at near 600 miles distance from the seat of his government.

For the better comprehension or illustration of this subject, it will be necessary to take some notice of the late state and government of that country, as well as of its relation to, and the means by which it became dependent on the East India company.

The country of Benares lies far up the Ganges, not a great deal short of 600 miles, to the

north-west of Calcutta. The river, without taking in its continual windings, points generally from the west to the east in its course through it. Its extent from north to south, including the districts of Chunar and Gazy-pour, which are united with it, is about 150 miles; nor is it much less from east to west; but it is a good deal indented on the former side by the province of Bahar. It was a part of those extensive possessions, which the misfortunes of the court of Delli, enabled Sujah Ul Dowlah, the grand vizier of the empire, and nabob of Oude, to secure the actual sovereignty and possession of in his own family. The Rajah, Bulwant Sing, was tributary to Sujah Ul Dowlah, for the country of Benares, and its dependencies, at a certain stated tribute or rent; for it is disputed, though indeed of little consequence, to which class it properly belongs.

In the war which broke out in the year 1764, wherein Sujah Ul Dowlah supported Cossim Ally Cawn, who had been the murderer of so great a number of English gentlemen at Patna, the Rajah Bulwant Sing, notwithstanding the relation in which he stood with Sujah, took a decided part in favour of the English, and rendered them essential and acknowledged services. As Sujah Dowlah was so entirely ruined by the war, that he scarcely hoped to have been left in possession of any part of his territories, it was in the power of the English to dictate the terms of peace. These were, however, so much in his favour, as to excite no small surprize at the time, both at home



and in India; but it was, notwithstanding, held as a matter indispensably necessary, not only with respect to honour, gratitude, and good faith, but to the real interests of the nation and company, to provide for the Rajah's interests and possessions in such a manner by the treaty, as should effectually secure him from the animosity and revenge of Sujah Ul Dowlah, which were well known to be boundless and implacable.

When General Carnac was empowered by the presidency of Bengal, in the year 1765, to negotiate the preliminary articles of a peace with Sujah Ul Dowlah, this matter was accordingly particularly committed to his charge; and it was laid down as a specific article of his instructions, "*To secure Bulwant Sing in the possession of his country.*" By the fifth article of the treaty of Illahabad, which was soon after concluded by Lord Clive, although the most extraordinary favours and advantages were in other respects granted to Sujah Ul Dowlah, yet he was most solemnly bound to continue Bulwant Sing in possession of all the territories he held before the war, subject only to the payment of the same revenue as heretofore.

Considering the immense objects which Lord Clive had at that time in act and in contemplation, it is no wonder that he did not pay all the attention to the wording of this article, which the presidency, if it had been in their hands, would probably have done, and which the character of the vizier more especially demanded. The latter, by the

terms of the article, seemed to be bound only to Bulwant Sing's person, without any express provision being made for the continuance of the zemindaries in the Rajah's family. It appears, however, from Lord Clive's correspondence, that this was fully understood by all the parties to be the clear intention of the article; and the value and importance which was attributed to it by himself, and confirmed by the acknowledgment of the company at home, as well as by the presidency of Calcutta, sufficiently shews that they all received and considered it in the same sense. Lord Clive paid little attention to the nicety of words in a compact with a man, whom he regarded at this time merely as an instrument of his own making, and the explanation of which would rest either with himself or the company.

In fact, the English by being the mediators of this condition, became virtually its guarantees; and the ties between them and the Rajah, being founded on their mutual interests and security, were from thence indissoluble. He looked only to them for protection against the malice and rapacity of a cruel and perfidious tyrant; while, on the other hand, his country afforded them, without any expence, a strong and excellent barrier on the side of Oude, and would, as well as his forces, answer all purposes of war and defence, as effectually as if it were their own.

When circumstances served, and the proper season was arrived, Sujah Ul Dowlah well knew how to turn to account this past error, or negli-

negligence in stating the terms of the 5th article of the treaty of Illahabad; and indeed it is not impossible that he had himself been originally its contriver, and found means for its passing without examination. The death of Bulwant Sing, in the year 1770, afforded this opportunity; the letter of the treaty was in full preservation, but its spirit could not then so clearly appear. The presidency of Bengal was therefore obliged to interfere with vigour and spirit in supporting the interests of the family, by procuring the investiture of Cheit Sing, in the government of his father, Bulwant's territories.

The negociation upon this affair was committed to Colonel Harper, who acted in it with great honour, and left no room for future doubt or evasion. The young rajah, upon this occasion, was obliged to make a present of twenty lacks of rupees to the Nabob vizier, and to increase the annual tribute, from twenty-one and a half, to twenty-four lacks. In the treaty, for the instrument then perfected between Sujah Ul Dowlah and the Rajah Cheit Sing was so denominated, the former bound himself specifically, that nothing more than what was therein declared, should ever be demanded of the latter; and he concluded, in the Mahomedan stile, by a solemn appeal to God, the prophet, and the Koran, as parties and witnesses to the agreement, and, that between them, and their joint posterity, there should never be a variation therein.

Colonel Harper in the consciousness of an integrity which

required no colouring, and which he disdained to illustrate, informs his employers by letter upon the occasion, that he leaves it to the young rajah, and to all others who were concerned in or witnesses of the transaction, to state what his conduct had been in this business; only observing, that he had taken the strictest care, not to *diminish our national honour, disinterestedness, and justice*; which he considers, as having a greater effect, in securing the vast possessions of the company, than even the force of their arms, however formidable. — Sentiments, not more valuable for the humanity and honour which they breathe, than for the wisdom of the policy which they convey.

This conclusive settlement of the zemindary in the family of Bulwant Sing, was then deemed of such consequence to the company's affairs, that the president and council of Bengal congratulated the court of directors upon it, as an event highly important to their interests, and of great moment in its future consequences.

It would seem now that nothing farther remained to be done in this business; and that so far as compacts and treaties can be binding, the zemindary was secured to the family and descendants of Bulwant Sing. Yet whether it proceeded from any subsequent infractions of the agreement by the Nabob vizier, or from apprehensions founded on the capriciousness and faithlessness of his disposition, which it was thought could not be too carefully guarded against, we find that this business

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was again taken up, and a new settlement made in confirmation of the former.

This took place in the year 1773, when Mr. Hastings, then president of the council of Calcutta, thought it necessary to make a progress to the court of the Nabob vizier, as well, perhaps, to obtain some personal explanations from him with respect to past and current matters, as to form those new connections and arrangements, with respect to revenue, troops, and the acquisition of territory, which were soon after displayed in their effects. Upon this occasion, a new treaty or instrument, to the same purport as the former, was concluded and ratified, between the Nabob vizier, and the Rajah Cheit Sing; but with this farther confirmation, and advantage to the Rajah, that the president, by himself signing and becoming a party to the present, thereby rendering the company actual guaranties, at all future times, to the due performance of the conditions. Indeed the necessity of something stronger than treaties to bind the faith, and to restrain the rapacity of the Nabob vizier, became upon that very occasion fully apparent; for notwithstanding the vast advantages, which at the expence of his neighbours, as well as of his natural lord, the Mogul, were then thrown into his hands, he was exceedingly dissatisfied with Mr. Hastings, for not permitting him to extort ten lacks of rupees from the young rajah, as well as to strip him of two very strong forts, which constituted the best defences of his country. Upon this occasion, as on the former, the in-

strument was made eternally binding upon the parties, and upon their mutual posterity.

Upon the death of the Nabob vizier in the year 1775, and the accession of his son and successor Assoff Ul Dowlah, new arrangements took place between the company and that prince, which affected the whole government of his dominions. Among these the sovereignty of Benares, and its dependencies, was entirely given over and transferred to the company; the Rajah Cheit Sing then standing exactly in the same degree of relation and vassalage to that body, in which he had before stood with the Nabob of Oude. Nothing could exceed the satisfaction which this transfer of sovereignty, and entire emancipation from a capricious tyranny, afforded to the young Rajah and his family. They were now placed in the hands of their old friends, allies and protectors, and the most flattering prospects of lasting quiet, security and happiness were in view.

These hopes were confirmed, if they could be supposed to require any confirmation by a letter from Mr. Hastings, who had been appointed to the new and high office of governor general. This letter teemed with sentiments of regard, honour and justice, and authorized the British resident at the court of Benares to assure the Rajah that no farther tribute than that already stipulated, should be exacted from him, and that it should not under any future change of government be enlarged. A recommendation about the same time, from the governor general and council to the

the Rajah, that he should raise and support a body of 2,000 horse, or rather, perhaps, that he should increase the cavalry already on his establishment to that number, as it was in no degree pressed as an obligation, but seems to have been merely proposed as a measure of common utility, and a provision against any future and unforeseen danger, could afford no cause of apprehension, nor indicate any change in the Rajah's condition.

It is not denied, that the Rajah of Benares continued to adhere to the engagements on his side, by the punctual discharge of the stipulated revenue, nor that his conduct was in every respect highly satisfactory, until new and unexpected demands occasioned such alteration in it, as proved at length the means of giving umbrage to the government of Calcutta. Upon intelligence of the war with France, it was determined by the governor general and council, in the month of July 1778, that the Rajah Cheit Sing should be required to contribute an extraordinary subsidy of five lacks of rupees, towards the expences which this new exigency would impose on their government during the current year. It may be supposed, that the innovation thus proposed, and the danger of the precedent, affected the Rajah much more than the amount or value of the sum demanded. However that was, the governor general informs us in his narrative, that after many excuses, and protestations of inability, the Rajah at length consented, with a very ill grace, to the payment, and discharged it with a worse.

The increasing exigencies and expences of a war, which was becoming general throughout India, were not likely to produce any remission of these demands, when once the ice was broken, and the precedent established. They were annually repeated; while the unwillingness of compliance, and the backwardness of payment, became every year more apparent, and afforded farther room for dissatisfaction. During the many ages in which the Hindoo princes and landholders have been doomed to suffer the oppression and exorbitance of foreign power, a strict concealment of their wealth, and a constant plea of extreme poverty, have been the weak means which they generally adopted to elude the extortion and rapacity of their rulers. The Rajah of Benares resorted to this established practice; and even so early as the payment of the second year's subsidy, although he was known or supposed to be very rich, he affected to borrow money in small sums, and even to sell his plate and jewels, as demonstrations of his inability; and was still so slow in his payments, that it was found necessary to quicken him, by sending two battalions of sepoys to be quartered in his dominions, and their pay to be charged to his account, until he had made good the whole.

The third year's subsidy was still worse paid, and the same remedy, of sending troops to live upon him, was again adopted. The Rajah then carried the plea of inability and poverty so far, that

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when about one lack of rupees had with great difficulty been obtained from him, he wrote a letter himself to the governor general, soliciting forbearance with respect to the remainder until the following year, when he promised to pay it along with the stipulated revenue.

While a subsidy of about sixty thousand pounds a year was extorted with so much difficulty, it was not well to be supposed, that a demand made upon the Rajah to furnish 2,000 cavalry for the service of the war, would have been attended with much effect; at least, without its being enforced by some extraordinary degree of exertion. By Mr. Hastings's state of the transaction, which differs considerably from that given by the Rajah, he baffled the demand by delay and evasion; he said that the body of horse which he had already on foot was fully employed in, and absolutely necessary to the collection of his revenues, without which he could not fulfil his stipulations with the company, and that he was utterly unequal to the expence of raising a new corps. It is farther said, that the demand was lessened to a thousand; that he at length promised to supply 250; but that neither man or horse was ever sent. It is to be observed, that the Rajah's horse had done good and acknowledged service in a former war. So different are the fruits procured by violence, from those which are the spontaneous produce of good-will and affection.

It will scarcely be imagined, that as these unexpected demands served successively to weaken the Rajah's opinion of his own secu-

rity, and to lessen his faith in the English, so likewise, that they did not serve equally to weaken his attachment, and to loosen his fidelity to the company. It was natural, that he should look for new friends and connections; and that he should endeavour to provide some resource against the days of trouble and danger. Nothing could be more favourable to the encouragement and confirmation of such a disposition, than the general state of India. The disaffection to the English was unfortunately general throughout all that vast continent; they were in every settlement, and on every side, engaged in the most dangerous wars; and while the successes of Hyder Ally seemed to render their very existence in the Carnatic more than precarious, they no less diminished the reputation and dread of their arms.

The countries immediately bordering on, or surrounding the Rajah's territories, were in a state of the most marked disaffection to the company, and such of them as were under its government, scarcely restrained their violence, until a proper opportunity should offer for shaking off its yoke. The company's administration of the affairs of Oude, in concert with his weak successor, ever since the death of Sujah Ul Dowlah, had spread desolation, tumult and disorder through those extensive dominions. All these things, together with the general alliance and confederacy which was known to be in contemplation for chasing them entirely out of India, served to render their affairs apparently desperate.

In these circumstances it is not  
much

much to be doubted, that some of the charges laid against the Rajah Cheit Sing, might be well founded. That he perhaps entered into negotiations with the native princes in the adjoining countries, for mutual support, and for acting on some plan of general concert, in the defence of their respective rights; and that he might have corresponded with the discontented Begums of Oude, or caballed with the disaffected Rajahs, in the neighbouring English governments.

The governor general states, that various accounts had been repeatedly transmitted to Calcutta, as well by the English residents at Benares, as by several of the company's officers, from different parts of that country, of the frequent and strong marks of disaffection that were shewn by the Rajah himself; but which were displayed in a still higher degree by his officers, and by the people in general. These charges, indeed, so far as they are shewn, are laid in very loose and general terms; without any specification of facts, dates, names, or circumstances. It is not less remarkable, that they are not included in the written complaints of his conduct, which the governor general sent to the Rajah himself upon the spot.

But however just the charges of contumacy and disaffection laid against the Rajah might have been, and however necessary, perhaps, in some degree their correction, it is fully evident, that the enormous expences of the war had so drained the treasury of Bengal, and the means of still feeding it

in all its parts went so far beyond the revenues of the state, that the looking out for new sources of supply was become a matter of great urgency. In such circumstances, the supposed wealth and real weakness of the Rajah, pointed him out as the immediate and proper object for supplying the public necessities.

Such was the situation of the Rajah, and the state of affairs in the country of Benares, before and about the time that the governor general set out on his progress from Calcutta, upon the 7th of July 1781. He had, in that progress, other objects besides Benares in view. Order was, if possible, to be restored in the dominions of the Nabob vizier, and money, at all events, to be there procured. A separate peace with Madajee Scindia was then likewise in agitation, through the intervention of Colonel Muir; and the governor general hoped that his approach to the scene of negotiation, might afford means for bringing it the more speedily to a conclusion. This was indeed an object of the first importance.

With respect to Benares, the governor general states in his narrative of these transactions, that the disappointment of aid from the Rajah, though in a season of such extreme public distress and danger, was still less a matter of consideration with him, than that those repeated acts of contumacy and disobedience of which he had been guilty, appeared evidences of a deliberate and systematic conduct, aiming at the total subversion of the company's authority, and the erection of his own independency



pendency on its ruins; a design, he says, which had been long and generally imputed to him. He farther observes, that it was reported he had inherited a vast mass of wealth from his father Bulwant Sing, which he had secured in the two strong fortresses of Lutteespoor and Bidjeygur; and that he made yearly additions to it; that he kept up a large military establishment, both of cavalry, of disciplined and irregular infantry, and of artillery; that besides the two already named, he had many other fortresses, of strong construction and in good repair, constantly well stored and garrisoned; that he maintained a correspondence with the Marrattas, and other powers, who either were or might eventually become enemies to the company; and, that he was collecting, or had prepared, every provision for open revolt, waiting only for a proper season to declare it, which was supposed to depend, either on the arrival of a French armament, or on a Maratta invasion.

It will appear not a little extraordinary, that several of these matters, particularly whatever relates to the Rajah's military establishment and preparations, the state of his garrisons, and the internal condition or appearance of things, should be founded on no better authority than mere report, when it is considered, that the strong fortress of Chunar, in the centre of his dominions, and within an easy march of his capital, had for many years been garrisoned by the English; that his country was the highway and thoroughfare to the company's troops, in their frequent passage to and from the

dominions of Oude, and all the western side of India; that it was equally the passage and the residence of their merchants and traders; and that it was at all times open to the free observation and inspection of their officers whether civil or military.

Another offence was indeed charged on the Rajah, which perhaps had its weight. That he had, by his agents and emissaries at Calcutta, taken an active and decided part against the governor general, in those contests which had for some years back prevailed between him and other members of the council. To that continued opposition which he met with in Calcutta, to the disapprobation of his conduct industriously published by the parties formed against him in England, and to the constant expectation from thence entertained in India of his speedy degradation, the governor general attributes all the misconduct, misdeeds, and crimes of the Rajah of Benares.

In the progress of his narrative, the governor general by degrees opens and avows the motives and objects of his expedition, with respect to that prince. He says, that he considered Cheit Sing as culpable, in a very high degree, towards the state, and his punishment, (of which, he says, he had given him frequent warnings if he did not amend his conduct) as an example which justice and policy required. That, he was resolved to draw from his guilt the means of relief to the company's distresses, and to exact a penalty, which he was convinced he was very well able to bear, from a fund, which he was also convinced,

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ed, he had destined for purposes of the most dangerous tendency to the company's dominion. In a word, that he had determined to make him pay largely for his pardon, or to exact a severe vengeance for his past delinquency.—He seems, however, apprehensive in several instances, that the transactions of which he gives the detail, would be subject to much discussion, if not censure, at home; and in one, he seems to think it necessary to appeal to his motives, at least in a certain degree, as a justification of his conduct.—He says, “ I “ will suppose for a moment that I “ have erred,—that I have acted “ with an unwarrantable rigour “ towards Cheit Sing, and even “ with injustice; let my motive “ be consulted: I left Calcutta “ impressed with a belief that extraordinary means were necessary, and those exerted with a strong hand, to preserve the company's interests from sinking under the accumulated weight which oppressed them. I saw a political necessity for curbing the overgrown power of a great member of their dominion, and for making it contribute to the relief of their pressing exigencies.—If I erred, my error was prompted by an excess of zeal for their interests operating with too strong a bias upon my judgment.”

It appears from a conference between the governor general and Mr. Wheeler, (which is stated in the narrative, they being, as we apprehend, the only members of the council then in Bengal) on the eve of the expedition, that it was then confidentially communi-

cated and agreed upon, that the Rajah's offences requiring early punishment, his wealth being great, and the company's exigencies pressing, it was a measure of policy and justice to exact from him a large pecuniary mulct for their relief, the first having declared his resolution to extend the fine to the amount of 40 or 50 lacks.

The governor general's progress up the Ganges lasted near six weeks before his arrival at Benares. Whether it proceeded from a sense of past, a consciousness of intended criminality, or a full knowledge of the dangers with which such progresses were generally pregnant, and a conviction that these were now much augmented, under the peculiar pressure of the times; from whatever cause it proceeded, it appears evidently that the Rajah was exceedingly alarmed at this journey, and that his mind seemed already to forebode some part of the ensuing calamities. Indeed, exclusive of all other causes of apprehension, the favourable reception and entertainment which Oussaun Sing, a profligate relation of his, had for some time received at Calcutta, and the singular circumstance of his now attending the governor general in his train, and coming under that protection, would in themselves have afforded no small room for alarm.

It appears from the Rajah's manifesto, and other testimonies, which do not seem to be anywhere contradicted, that this man, who had once been dewan, or minister, having lost his office through the effects of misconduct, or court intrigue, and afterwards squandered

dered his substance in a course of vice and profligacy, he was at length banished the country for his crimes. That being in that state joined by several whose condition, characters, and desperate fortunes corresponded with his own, they drew together a number of those rovers of all nations, with whom India, more than any other part of the world, abounds, so that he was at length enabled to invade, and to excite some sort of rebellion in the country of Benares; and became so formidable, that it was only by the aid of the English, whose forces were called in for the purpose, that, after doing infinite mischief, he was defeated and driven out. Such was the man, who now came in the suite of the governor general, to revisit the city and country of Benares.

Upon the governor general's arrival at Buxar, on the borders of Benares, he was met by the Rajah, who brought with him a great train of the principal people of his country. Mr. Hastings remarks, with disapprobation, that he had brought with him a great fleet of boats; that he had afterwards been informed they were crowded with chosen armed men, to the amount of two thousand; and that this circumstance was a matter of much observation and notice with some of the gentlemen of his train. It is not improbable that this matter was much misrepresented to him. It is now evident that no design had been formed against his person; nor can it be drawn or supposed from the subsequent circumstances, that any such number of chosen, or of

armed men, were yet collected in a body.

The governor general informs us, that he received the Rajah with civility, and without any expression of displeasure, at Buxar. That he received a second visit from him in his boat, upon their passage up the river, on the following morning; when a private conference was requested and granted. He does not at all assume being correct in his recollection of the particulars which passed in this private conversation; for considering it, he says, as accidental, and as making no part of the plan which he had concerted in his own mind for his conduct with the Rajah, he did not think it of sufficient consequence to make any written minutes.

From his recollection, however, of the substance of this conference, it appears that the Rajah expressed much concern for his displeasure, and contrition for having himself given any occasion for it; declaring at the same time, and in the most humiliating terms, that the zemindary and every thing he possessed were at his devotion; that he expressed great fears about Oussaun Sing; and that, upon that occasion, whether it proceeded from an extraordinary agitation of mind, or from a desire to impress a strong opinion of his sincerity, he accompanied his words with the singular action of laying his turban in Mr. Hastings's lap.—The governor general, in answer, disclaimed the idea of his descending to become a party in the Rajah's family disagreements; but avowed his

his displeasure to be equal to whatever he had heard or might have conjectured of it; and concluded by declaring, that he had been already deceived by his oaths and protestations, and that he should not suffer his purpose to be changed, or his duty to be over-ruled, by any verbal concessions or declarations. He takes no notice of any demands being made, or terms offered, upon this occasion.

But the Rajah states in his manifesto, that the demands made upon him at this meeting, were in the highest degree exorbitant.— That after discoursing upon the subject of the tribute, and professions from him of his attachment and fidelity to the company, and of his willingness to comply with their demands, the payment of no less a sum than a crore of rupees (amounting to a hundred lacks, or about 1,200,000 pounds sterling), was the demand made upon him; and that to this was added his surrender of the fortress of Bidjeegur, which he calls his “family residence, the deposit of his women and of his honour.”— That to the first of these demands he pleaded inability; and with respect to the second, he asked what he had done, that the company should dishonour him so as to take away the fort where his family resided.

Aug. 14th, 1781. On the day of their arrival at Benares, the governor general sent

a messenger to forbid the Rajah's waiting upon him in the evening as he had intended; desiring, at the same time, that he might defer his future visits until he should obtain permission, as he had some matters previously to

settle with him. As this insulting and sufficiently alarming message produced no manner of effect on the Rajah's motions or conduct, it may well be concluded that he had formed no designs against Mr. Hastings's person; that he had made no armed preparations; and that he was equally indisposed to flight and to resistance.

On the following evening, Mr. Markham, the resident at Benares, was sent by the governor general with a paper drawn up by himself, containing the several charges which he laid against the Rajah, and demanding an immediate answer. These were founded on the Rajah's repeated evasion and breach of promise with respect to the payment of the subsidies, and the loss sustained, in one particular instance, by Colonel Camac's corps, through that failure; on his evasion and non-compliance with respect to the body of cavalry which was demanded of him; his endeavours to excite disorders in the English government, by the means of secret emissaries; and, misgovernment in his own territories, by his suffering the public perpetration of robberies and murders, in violation of the tenure by which he held them.— But the great stress of the whole seemed to be rested upon that infidelity and disaffection to government, which appeared in the two first instances.

The Rajah, in his answer, which was returned late at night by Mr. Markham, entered into a written justification of the several parts of his conduct. He states, that the payment of the subsidies had been much more regularly made than

than was represented; that he had sent a letter to the governor general, stating his distresses, and requesting a little longer time for one payment; but that receiving no answer, and finding the matter pressed, he had used every exertion for its speedy discharge.— He gives a number of dates opposed to sums, to shew that the payments for the use of Camac's troops, were, by him, made in due time; that the remittance of it to the army was not left to him, and if it had, that no delay should have happened; so that if the money was not conveyed in time, and any loss or detriment was thereby sustained, it could not be imputed to him, but to those agents to whom he was ordered to pay it.

With respect to the cavalry, he states, that the governor general having desired by letter to know the number he could spare, he had, in answer, transmitted to him an exact account of the whole number in his service, which amounted to 1200 in all; with an account of their respective stations, which were dispersed and remote. That he never received any answer to this letter; but that Mr. Markham having afterwards given him an order for having a thousand horse in readiness, he accordingly prepared 500 cavalry, and 500 burkendosses, (which we suppose to be some sort of militia or irregular troops) for this purpose. That he wrote an immediate account to the governor general of the state and readiness of these troops, expecting a consequent order for their disposal; that no answer was returned to this letter, any more

than the former; and that Mr. Markham and he repeatedly expressed their mutual surprize, that no order with respect to the destination of the troops had been communicated to either.

He totally denied the charge of his having sent agents, emissaries, or any of his people whatever, to Calcutta, excepting the few whom he particularly names, and who were sent openly and formally upon public business to the governor general himself. He represents these and other charges as falsehoods invented by his enemies, merely for the accomplishment of his ruin; and while he complains of, and laments the unhappy effects which they had already produced, in that change of the governor general's favour, which he so sorely experienced, he congratulated himself upon his arrival in the country, as he would thereby have an opportunity upon the spot of disproving all those charges.

The last charge, being that laid against his administration of justice, upon the ground of robberies and murders being publicly committed with impunity in his country, was, in all its parts, no less denied. The Rajah, in that degrading stile, which necessity, along with peculiar habits and modes of thinking and speaking, have established in the oriental world, concludes his letter by declaring himself the governor general's *slave* in all cases whatever.

This submissive language produced an effect very different from what might have been expected.— Through whatever medium it was seen by the governor general, this justification or defence, extorted

as it was at the instant, without time for deliberation or council, and against charges of the most alarming nature, was considered by him as an insult of the highest and most offensive kind. He says, it was less a vindication of the Rajah, than a recrimination on himself; and holds it as an answer nearly couched in terms of defiance. He observes that the Rajah, in his reply, insisted much upon the many letters which he had written to him, praying to be dispensed from obeying the orders of government, and of his receiving no answer to them. He seems to think this might be true; but he observes, in a high tone of authority, that it was the Rajah's duty to obey the positive and repeated orders which he had received, "and not to waste his time with letters of excuse, to cavil with his answers for evasions, or with his silence for delays." — The Rajah's pleas of want of money, or inability to perform whatever was required, were held, upon all occasions, present or past, as direct and absolute insult.

The governor general seems to have had some doubts, on the ground of policy and public opinion, with respect to the extent and rigour of the measures which it might be proper to pursue, for the reformation of the Rajah's conduct, and the preservation of the company's rights and interests. — He observes, that, to have left him in the full exercise of powers which he had notoriously abused, and which it was to be apprehended he would employ to the most dangerous purposes, would be totally inconsistent with the

maxims of justice and prudence. — On the other hand, that to divest him entirely of the zemindary, tho' justifiable on the grounds which he had stated, would have carried an appearance of severity, and might have furnished an opportunity for constructions, unfavourable to the credit of the company's government, and to his own reputation, from that natural influence, which, he observes, every act of rigour exercised upon the persons of men in elevated stations, is apt to impress on the minds of those, who are too remote from the scene of action to judge, by any other evidence than that of the direct facts themselves, of their motives or propriety.

He accordingly adopted, as a middle course, which might bring the Rajah to the terms, and into that state of dependence which he intended, without proceeding to the absolute extreme of severity, the measure of laying his person under an arrest. Mr. Markham, the resident, was commissioned to execute this business; being instructed to proceed early in the morning, with only his customary guard, as if it had been merely a common visit, to the villa or palace where the Rajah then resided, which lay on the banks of the Ganges, being on the same side of the river with the city of Benares, and at about two miles distance; he was there to put him under arrest; to require his immediate submission in the governor general's name; and to keep him in his custody until he received further orders. Two companies of sepoys, belonging to Major Popham's detachment, were ordered

ordered to follow and support Mr. Markham in the execution of this service.

The Rajah resigned himself with the greatest submission to the arrest, and assured the resident, that whatever the governor general's orders might be, he would implicitly obey them. He hoped, he said, that he would allow him a subsistence; but as for his zemindary, his forts, and his treasure, he was ready to lay them at his feet, and his life itself, if it was required. He lamented much, and seemed exceedingly to feel, the ignominy to which he was exposed by this public disgrace; and intreated Mr. Markham that he would return to the governor general, and give him an account of the full and ready obedience which he paid to his orders; hoping that he would make allowances for his youth and inexperience, and, in consideration of his father's name, release him from his confinement, as soon as he should prove the sincerity of his offers, and that he was deserving of compassion and forgiveness.—To confirm his verbal submissions, he repeated them in a letter, which he sent by the resident, the concluding sentences being,—“Whatever may be your  
“pleasure, do it with your own  
“hands. I am your slave. What  
“occasion can there be for a  
“guard?”

Succeeding letters soon followed Mr. Markham. These were couched in terms of such extreme despondency, that the governor general thought it necessary to prevent his apprehensions from operating in too great a degree, by informing him in a short note,

that Mr. Markham would explain particulars to him in the afternoon, and desiring him to let his mind be at rest, and not to conceive any terror or apprehension.—The following broken passages in the Rajah's letter will serve in some degree to shew the agitation of his mind, under the mixed effect of the various passions of shame, grief, and dismay, which then operated upon him.—“It depends on you alone  
“to take away or not to take  
“away the country out of my  
“hands. In case my honour is  
“not left me, how shall I be  
“equal to the business of the fir-  
“car? Whoever, with his hands  
“in a supplicating posture is  
“ready with his life and pro-  
“perty, what necessity can there  
“be for him to be dealt with in  
“this way?”

The resident had given him an early caution and charge, that he should order his people to behave in a quiet and orderly manner, for that any attempt towards his rescue would be attended with inevitable destruction to himself.—Upon Mr. Markham's departure, he had left the Rajah in the custody of Lieutenant Stalker, who commanded his own guard, and of the Lieutenants Scott and Simes, who led the two grenadier companies of sepoy. The instructions given to these officers were, that they should disarm every servant of the Rajah's; that they should allow him any eight or ten of his domestics, whom he might choose or approve of, for the attendance of his person; that to guard against any deception, these persons, so appointed, were to be particularly shewn to the sepoy guard;



guard; and that the officers might indulge the Rajah in any request which was consistent with the security of his person.

It was probably highly fortunate to Mr. Markham, that the preparing of his instructions (which were undoubtedly intended to be conclusive) took up so much time, as considerably to delay his return to the confined Rajah. It seemed indeed scarcely well to be expected, that in the neighbourhood of a capital city, adjoining besides to a large town, and in a part of the world where the people are so exceedingly attached to their native princes, such a matter could have hung in suspense during the greater part of a day, while the multitude, ignorant of what was really passing, dreaded every moment to be that, which might prove fatal to their sovereign, without its producing some violent popular commotion. It appears then upon the whole, that the governor general had placed too great a confidence in the effect to be produced by his name, and in the respect or terror attached to his situation and character, in venturing upon so bold and extraordinary a measure, without having such a force immediately upon the spot, as would be sufficient effectually to overawe the people, and if not entirely to prevent, to be at least able to check commotion in the very bud. Perhaps likewise he fell into that common European error, which neither reason nor experience have been able to eradicate, and built too much upon the supposed timidity of the people.

The antient palace of Ramnagur, lay on the opposite side of

the Ganges, and at no great distance from that in which the Rajah was in custody. This was the usual or principal residence of the prince; and in the antique stile, answered the double purposes of a fortress and palace. It was accordingly, a vast pile of irregular but massy buildings, constructed of stone, and partly lying on the banks, and partly built within the very bed of the river. Some small and ordinary outworks had of late years been formed as additions to its original strength; and by degrees, a close-built, large, and very populous town, had grown up round it. The establishment of a small standing garrison, and of a governor, who were appointed to the charge of this place, at all times, whether during the Rajah's presence or absence, seems to have been merely an object of state-shew and magnificence. The residence of the court, which had given birth to the town, may be supposed the cause, that the inhabitants were peculiarly and violently attached to the person and interests of the prince.

Just as Mr. Markham was setting out with his final instructions, intelligence was received, that large bodies of armed men had crossed the river from Ramnagur, and proceeded directly to the palace where the Rajah was in custody. The two companies of sepoy grenadiers who formed his guard, were stationed in an enclosed square, which surrounded the apartment in which he was confined. It will appear not a little extraordinary, but fully shews either the contempt in which the spirit of the people was

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held



held, or the reliance that was placed on their inoffensive character, that these grenadiers were led by their officers, upon a service so singular and alarming, without ammunition. Major Popham, upon some intelligence of this fatal error, and perhaps of the appearance we have mentioned, dispatched another company of sepoys, with ammunition, to supply and reinforce the first party; but these found the place already so entirely blocked up by armed men, and all the avenues so choaked by multitudes of people, that they found it impossible to make their way through such a crowd, determined as it was not to admit their passage.

It seems probable that the appearance of this party, served greatly to increase the rage of the already inflamed multitude; who perhaps consider them as conveying, or being the intended executors of, the final doom of their prince; for the attack of the grenadiers in the square, instantly commenced on their arrival. These being destitute of their usual means of defence, were little capable of withstanding the weight and fury of the outrageous multitude, who burst in like a torrent on all sides upon them. The unfortunate party were almost in an instant cut to pieces; the wounded being left in a condition less enviable than the slain. The three British officers are said to have sold their lives dearly; they were found covered with wounds, and lying almost side by side. 82 sepoys were killed on the spot, and 92 desperately wounded.

It may be easily conceived, that

the Rajah was nearly overwhelmed with terror, at the commencement of the tumult, expecting his life to be the immediate forfeit to the rashness of the people. He was, however, carried off by his attendants during the confusion, through a wicket, on the garden side, which led to the river; and the banks being there very steep, he was let down into a boat that conveyed him to the other side, by a number of turbans tied together. The tumultuous crowd who effected his rescue, and who seemed to be equally destitute of judgment and leaders, looked to nothing farther than his mere escape, and followed him across the river, in the same disorder that they had before passed.

Lieutenant Birrel, who led that company of sepoys, which brought up the ammunition, as the crowd decreased, pushed on to the palace, where he had a smart scuffle, in which about 30 of his men were killed or wounded, in clearing it of a party of the rioters, who had loitered behind the main body. Major Popham arrived soon after with the remainder of his detachment, which had been encamped at about two miles distance: but he had only the mortification of beholding the mangled bodies of his dead and wounded soldiers, without its being in his power to take any vengeance of the authors of the massacre.

The Rajah, in his manifesto, as well as in several of his letters to the governor general, attributes the whole outrage and mischief that happened, to the unparalleled insolence of an inferior officer belonging to the resident, who

who having been formerly in his own service, and being discharged for some misdemeanor, owed him a grudge on that account, and seized this opportunity of his distress, to treat him in the most contumelious manner. That the indignation of his people being excited to madness, at seeing their prince treated in so shameful a manner, and by so contemptible and unworthy a wretch, a quarrel arose between them and the sepoys, in which, many being killed on both sides, the issue was, at length, such as we have described.

Had any scheme of offence or resistance been at all formed, or even in the contemplation of the Rajah, or without any such previous scheme, had he only possessed common powers of political foresight and enterprize, he could not have missed the opportunity which was then presented, of striking an almost decisive blow to the British interests in India. The governor general, with about 30 English gentlemen, and a large but defenceless train, were lodged in a sort of villa, which was enclosed in the suburbs of Benares, and known by the name of Mahdoodass's Gardens, their whole guard consisting in a handful of sepoys, not exceeding 50 or 60 in number; so that it was not only in the power of the prince, but even without his appearance in it, or the aid of the military, of any tumultuous assembly of the people, to have cut them off without difficulty. It required no great sagacity, nor much political observation to enable the Rajah to perceive, that the die was already irrevocably cast, that the

means of accommodation were forever done away, and that the most apparently desperate, were then the only prudent measures. Whoever then reflects upon the desperate state of the English affairs at that time, will easily conceive that the immediate effects of such a blow, given at such a season, and scattered as their forces were throughout every part of that vast continent, must, in the nature of things, have been nearly irrecoverable.

It is a matter of no small surprize, and was no less fortunate to the governor general, as well as to the company, that the armed multitude who had rescued Cheit Sing, and who were estimated at not less than 2,000 men, inflamed as they were by success, and flushed in blood, had not, instead of following the Rajah, without any object in view, across the river, proceeded directly to Mahdoodass's gardens. Their not doing so sufficiently indicates, that the outrage at the palace was the mere act of the moment, without any previous concert, and without their being under the guidance of any bold or violent leader.

The Rajah, instead of vigorous council and bold resource, seemed entirely to sink under the late act, and his apprehension of the consequences. Wanting resolution to determine upon the course he should pursue, whether to place his trust in the hope of accommodation, or to commit all to the fortune of arms, he hesitated between both, and did nothing. In such a state of uncertainty and trepidation, it was natural to a weak mind, to place

all safety in distance from the scene of danger, and to trust to time for the recovery of that fortune, which was already lost. He accordingly fled from Ramnagur in the middle of the same night, taking with him his effects, such troops as were there, and such of his family as were present; the palace being left in the custody of its own small stationary garrison. With these the Rajah fled for shelter and refuge, to Lutteespore, one of his strongest fortresses.

Neither the late bloody catastrophe, nor the imminent danger to which he was personally exposed, seem to have produced the small effect upon the firmness or resolution of the governor general. He proceeded immediately to administer the affairs, and to dispose of the government of the country, as if nothing untoward had happened, and that neither resistance or danger were yet to be apprehended. On the very following day, he appointed Oufsaun Sing to the administration of the revenues and government of the country, until (as he says in his narrative) it should be determined to whom the zemindary might legally belong, and, who might be in a capacity to receive it. This act was immediately published by proclamation through the city of Benares; and messengers were dispatched with no less expedition, to convey circular notices of the event, to all the landholders throughout the country.

At the same time, to support measures so unexpected and astonishing to the people, and to pre-

serve the public tranquillity under their immediate operation, he dispatched immediate orders to Capt. Mayaffre, who lay in the city of Mirzapore, with the residue of Major Popham's detachment, and to a battalion of sepoys from Col. Blair's garrison at Chunar, to advance without delay to the capital. He likewise sent orders to Dinapore, for a regiment of sepoys to proceed from thence, with no less celerity, to Benares.

It will be here necessary, for the better comprehension of several succeeding circumstances, to take some notice of the situation of those cities, particularly of the two first, which lay within the Rajah's government. They both lie up the Ganges, to the south-west of Benares, in the direct way to Illahabad, and to other parts of the Nabob vizier's dominions. Mirzapore, is an open city; its distance from Benares, by a direct line across the country, appears to be under forty miles; but by following the winding course of the river, that would probably be more than double. Chunar lies about mid-way between both; and is the capital of a considerable territory of the same name. This is a very important fortress, from its commanding one of the principal passes on the Ganges; and has been accordingly garrisoned by the English ever since the war with Sujah Ul Dowlah, in the year 1764; it being retained as a curb upon that prince and his successors, and not upon the country of Benares, of which it composes a part. Dinapore lies in the opposite direction to these cities,

cities, being a great way down the river, in the Bahar country.

The precautions taken by the governor general were fully necessary, for the storm began now to gather a main; and that in a degree with respect to violence, and acceleration in point of time, which he seemed little to have apprehended. He had received intelligence, on which he relied, that Ramnagur had been abandoned, as we have already stated; but knowing the disaffection of the people, the difficulty of the approaches through such a town, and considering at the same time, the fatal consequences of a repulse in the present state of things, he very prudently abstained from hazarding Major Popham's small corps upon any intelligence, and waited for the arrival of the expected succours to make the attack. But on the second day after the Rajah's flight, when recollection had some little time to operate, Ramjeewaun, a domestic, and confidential chief of the family, arrived with a body of armed men, for the security of Ramnagur.

This unexpected circumstance, presenting a face of action till then unthought of, necessarily demanded new measures, and new dispositions with respect to the coming succours. Orders were accordingly dispatched to Chunar for two mortars, Major Popham having traced a spot on the shore, directly opposite to Ramnagur, from whence it was expected they would play with such advantage, that the clumsy strength of the palace could not long withstand their effects, and that the town itself would be rendered too warm,

to afford any longer protection, either to Ramjeewaun's party, or to the refractory inhabitants. Orders were likewise sent to the troops on their way from Mirzapore, under Capt. Mayaffre, and to the battalion from Chunar that they should proceed directly to Ramnagur; the strictest injunctions being at the same time laid on the officers who conducted these corps, that they should not hazard or attempt any thing, nor even commit hostility; but that halting at a safe distance from the town, they should keep their troops close and entire, until Major Popham had taken his measures and the command. These instructions were particularly enforced on Mayaffre, who being the senior officer, was to command the whole united body, until the arrival of Popham.

All these precautions were rendered fruitless, and the design not only frustrated, but the enterprize marked with heavy loss and disgrace, through the intemperate ambition, vanity and rashness of Mayaffre. That officer, intoxicated by command, hoping to establish a high military reputation, without regarding the propriety or rectitude of the means to be employed in its attainment, and despising an enemy of whom he had no knowledge, marched on directly, at the head of the united corps, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the other officers, and without reconnoitring the place, or looking for information, to the attack of Ramnagur.

The event was such as the nature of the act merited; and had the author alone paid the forfeit,

the catastrophe might have been considered, as an act of retribution, just. His own division consisted of four companies of sepoy, one of artillery, and a company of French rangers.

Aug. 20th. These, and the Chunar battalion, he soon involved in the narrow streets and winding lanes of the town, where they were fired upon in all directions, and slain in heaps by a safe and unseen enemy. Captain Doxat, who commanded the rangers and led the attack, was himself, with 23 of his men, almost instantly killed, besides a number wounded. The Chunar battalion led by Captain Blair, which bravely attempted to support the attack, was not much longer in action, when 57 men lay dead, and 41 were wounded. The whole loss of the several divisions before they could get clear of the town, amounted to 107 killed, and 72 wounded. Captain Mayaffre had the good fortune not to survive the disgrace. The retreat was conducted by Captain Blair in a manner which gained him much applause; and prevented the eager pursuit of the enemy which was continued to within four miles of Chunar, from producing any great effect.

Nothing more unfortunate could well be supposed to happen, in such a state of affairs, than this loss and disgrace. War, was in effect, from thence declared, and the whole country was instantly in motion. A success, that carried so brilliant and flattering an appearance at its opening, could not but give confidence to the Rajah's councils, and inspire all orders of the people with hope and resolution. The governor general found him-

self at once unexpectedly plunged again into a state of danger, scarcely inferior to that which he had so recently escaped. He met it with a confidence in his fortune, which is in a great measure peculiar to those, who have been accustomed to encounter great difficulties, and to triumph over them. Orders were written, and dispatched in multiplied copies to the different military stations, within reach, for the most speedy assistance; to the minister at the Nabob vizier's court, for a supply of treasure; and to Colonel Blair, for an instant reinforcement from Chunar. But the whole country was already in arms against the company; and the communications in every quarter interrupted; so that of the numerous messengers dispatched upon this arduous occasion, very few reached their destination; for being amazed and confounded at a scene of danger to which they had been hitherto strangers, they were either detected and made prisoners through their awkward fears and confusion, or not daring to make the attempt, secreted the dispatches.

In the mean time, on the very day after the defeat of Mayaffre, such preparations were making at Ramnagur for an attack upon the governor general in his quarters, that his departure from Benares not only became a matter of necessity, but liable to no small difficulty and danger in the accomplishment. His quarters, in Mahdoodas's Gardens, were situated in the heart of the suburbs of Benares, consisting of many detached buildings within one large enclosure, and the whole surrounded in such a manner by houses

houses and trees, as to intercept all outward prospect. His whole force, including the remains of that division of Major Popham's detachment which were immediately with him, amounted only to about 450 men; and were insufficient to man the defences, such as they were, even for one attack. It was therefore absolutely necessary to get out of so wretched and confined a situation, into some open and fair ground, where the troops might at least oppose their enemy upon equal terms. Nor did this point even, if they met with any opposition, seem easily to be gained, as well from the perplexed and difficult passages, which led through the suburbs into the country, as from their being incumbered with a vast quantity of baggage, and with a great train of defenceless people.

On the other hand, to these strong motives for abandoning Benares, were to be opposed the disgrace of a flight, to a person of the rank, authority and character of the governor general, the confidence which it would give to the enemy, and the encouragement and strength to rebellion; but above all, the cruel necessity which it would induce, of abandoning the poor wounded and faithful sepoys to the mercy of an enemy, from whom, in the usual course of things, little was to be expected.

The former consideration yielded to the danger and necessity of the case; and with respect to the wounded sepoys, as they were lodged in a remote part of the town or suburbs, at near a mile's distance, and incapable of remo-

val, the impossibility of protecting them, if the troops had even been equal to their own defence, was evident.

As a great number of boats were collected, and every preparation at Ramnagur directed to an immediate attack on that very night, no time was to be lost, and the retreat was accordingly commenced soon after dusk. By this sudden departure, notwithstanding the crowd of people, and the intolerable baggage with which they were incumbered, the troops had the fortune to get clear of the suburbs (where any attack upon them would have been attended with the greatest danger) without molestation. As soon as they had formed in the open country, they pursued their course to Chunar, where they arrived in the morning; having brought back with them the battalion of sepoys which Colonel Blair had dispatched to their assistance, and which they unexpectedly met by the way, having scarcely a hope, that the expresses sent for the purpose had reached that place.

Before the governor general's departure from Benares, he had sent a message to the Nabob Saadut Ally Cawn, (of whom we have no other knowledge, than that from his name and titles he must have been a Mahometan, and a person of consideration, and that it appears, he had been represented to Mr. Hastings, as having a great share in fomenting the present troubles) to request he would take the wounded sepoys into his care and protection; a request which he repeated by a letter from Chunar. But Saadut Ally did not wait to be asked a second time,



most faithfully and religiously to discharge the trust reposed in him; he had immediately visited the sepoy in person, furnished them with provisions and with money, employed native surgeons to attend them, and as they became individually, able to bear it, had them instantly removed to his own quarters. This will appear the more meritorious and generous, when it is considered, that the company's credit was then so entirely sunk, and its affairs deemed to be so irretrievably ruined, that it was by an exertion little short of force, that Colonel Blair was able to extort from the bankers of Chunar, who had lived and grown rich under the protection of the English garrison, a small loan not much exceeding three hundred pounds sterling, although the money was to supply the immediate and indispensable necessities of the troops, and that the presence of the governor general in the town, might be supposed to give weight and sanction to such an application.

The conduct of Benaram Pundit, the Maratta minister from the Rajah of Berar to the court of Benares, was no less distinguishable upon this occasion; and whether it may be attributed to national attachment, to a sense of public faith and honour, or even to private regard, is not wholly undeserving of notice; and the more particularly as it may tend, along with many other incidents which we have heretofore related of their conduct, in some degree to illustrate the character of that extraordinary people.

This envoy, and his brother, having come to pay a customary

evening visit at Mahdoodass's Gardens, arrived there at the very instant of the disorder and confusion which prevailed upon the sudden departure of the troops. They proceeded with them out of town, and were continuing the march with them on the way to Chunar, when they were discovered, without a single attendant, and on foot in the crowd, by the governor general, who was astonished on discovering their determination to proceed all the way in that condition. It is to be observed, that from his time of life, state of health, and corpulence of body, Benaram Pundit seemed very unequal to the fatigue of such a march. Without regard, however, to the arguments and remonstrances used to dissuade him from the design, particularly the danger to which he might thereby expose the large family he left behind, he still persevered in his resolution; and accordingly proceeded with his brother on the march to Chunar, where they continued, untill the troubles were so far subsided as to enable the governor general to return to Benares. It should be recorded, whether to the honour of the police of that city, or more properly to the civilized manners and excellent disposition of the inhabitants, that the smallest injury or insult was not offered to the family of the Maratta minister during his long absence, though upon an occasion, and in a season, so capable of exciting popular indignation. The generosity of Benaram Pundit afterwards, in offering, without application, to the governor general, all the ready money he was in possession of, amounting to a lack  
of

of rupees in silver, at a time when the former wanted credit and money for the mere support of his family and table, did not seem necessary to finish the picture, or to give the highest colouring to the former transaction. Such circumstances indeed are no small relief to the mind, when they intervene in the midst of scenes of calamity, blood, and cruelty.

Previous to the departure of the governor general from Benares, he received a letter from the Rajah, which, notwithstanding his situation and danger, procured so little attention, that he neither recollects its date, nor the time of its delivery; he states in general, that it was "filled with expressions of flight concern for what had passed, and professions, but indefinite and unapplied, of fidelity. I did not (he says) think it becoming to make any reply to it, and I think I ordered the bearer of the letter to be told it required none."

Notwithstanding this repulse, on the very morning after the defeat of Mayaffre at Ramnagur, application was made by an agent of the Rajah's to one of the English gentlemen, for his interposition with the governor general, to receive a letter and messenger in the evening from the Rajah, with proposals for an accommodation. We are not informed of the answer made to this proposal; but it would seem, that the governor general was determined to consider these applications, both now and at all times after, as the mere artifices of treachery, intended only to deceive and to gain time. However this opinion was founded, the continued repetition of them, will

not increase our opinion of the Rajah's political sagacity nor knowledge of mankind.

The former, however, acquiesced in another proposal made on the same day, that Contoo Bahoo, his dewan or treasurer, should receive a message from the Rajah, and confer upon its subject, with Mirza Abdoola Beg, his vakeel or envoy. This meeting and conference, which did not take place until after the retreat from Benares, produced no effect. The purport of the Rajah's message, was to exculpate himself from all concern in the outrage and massacre committed in his palace, which he attributed entirely, as he did upon all occasions, to the insolence of Mr. Markham's servant, which provoked the resentment of his own people, and concluding with professions of his obedience and submission to the governor general's will, in whatever way he should himself choose to dictate.

While the governor general had already enough on his hands to occupy all his attention, he found himself involved in a new embarrassment, which in the present crisis was not a little distressing. This was the reproach of the Nabob vizier, who having originally intended, as a mark of respect, if not of homage, to meet him at Benares, had set out from his capital for that purpose: and instead of being deterred by the present state of affairs, he had actually used the greater expedition in his journey upon that account. Nothing could be more perplexing than his arrival at this time, He was to be received and treated as a friend, at the same time that there were strong reasons for suspecting



pecting him to be an enemy. His weak and dissipated character, and his being of course in the hands of a set of profligate favourites, by whom he was entirely governed, left but little room for any confidence in his honour, or trust in the fidelity of his engagements. But along with these doubts and suspicions, which were well to be founded upon his personal character, there were actual matters with respect to his immediate conduct, which afforded much room for alarm. His whole dominions were already in a state of commotion and disorder, and the little attention which he paid to the violence and outrage of the people, looked as if these acts had met with his countenance and approbation.

For no sooner had the rebellion manifested itself in Benares, than the contagion spread through all the neighbouring countries under his government. And it was particularly observable, and served to increase all the suspicions with respect to his own designs, that it raged in none with so much violence, as in those which were under the influence of the princesses, his mother and grandmother, who are usually distinguished under the appellation of the Begums of Oude. These ladies, who resided at Fyzabad, on the river Dewa, the second capital of his dominions, openly espoused the cause of Cheit Sing; and not only publicly encouraged and invited men to enlist in his service, but suffered their own immediate servants to join in attacking the English troops. Their example and influence, corresponding with the disposition of the people, produced such in-

stantaneous effects, that not only the city of Fyzabad, and the adjoining country, but those extensive territories on the other side of the Dewa, which under the name of Gooruckpore and Burriage, stretch to the feet of the northern mountains, were every where in arms, and in declared hostility to the company. Lieut. Colonel Hannay, with two battalions of regular sepoys, which he commanded in the Nabob's service, had the charge of Fyzabad, and the countries in that quarter committed to his care. These troops were repeatedly attacked, surrounded, and many of them cut to pieces; their commander being himself so hard pressed and encompassed, that he narrowly escaped the same fate.

As we have mentioned the Begums of Oude, it may not be entirely unnecessary to observe, that women of that rank and condition, frequently possess great wealth, popularity, and influence in India; for that, through the opportunities afforded by weak reigns and minorities, along with their being freed by situation from the customary restraints of the sex, they are not seldom enabled to take a great share in the appointment of ministers, and the direction of public affairs; and their power appearing only in the most pleasing and popular parts of its exercise, they generally acquire great weight and confidence with the people, and are much beloved by them.

Along with all those circumstances of public notoriety, which concurred in rendering the Nabob's visit exceedingly perplexing, repeated intimations were given

given to the governor general, cautioning him to guard against private treachery; and he was particularly warned not to visit him, without so strong a guard as would be fully competent to the security of his person. It will ever be found, that those countries which are in the unhappy circumstances attending a precarious government, and holding out, like India, vast temptations of power and wealth, to arise from proscriptions, forfeitures, and the ruin of great individuals, will likewise abound with secret criminal charge, and with dark, malignant insinuation.

At the same time that so many concurring causes could not fail of producing their effect in operating upon the mind of Mr. Hastings with respect to this visit, he was not insensible to the credit and advantage, which, in the present fallen state of affairs, the presence and authority of the Nabob might communicate, if he were really a friend; nor that his troops (rabble though they were) would serve to keep the country in awe, and to divide the attention of the enemy. But even in this view of things, he did not approve of the visit. He considered, that such service or obligation, would invert the nature of their alliance and mutual relation, and give the Nabob a superiority at their meeting, which would defeat its purposes; nor did he think it consistent with the dignity of the English government, to employ a foreign aid for the suppression of a rebellion of its own subjects.

He therefore endeavoured by letter to dissuade the Nabob from

the farther prosecution of his journey, requesting that he would return to Lucknow, and there wait his own arrival, which would be as soon as the present disturbances would afford leisure for that purpose. The Nabob, however, notwithstanding the difficulties and dangers in which the governor general was involved, determined to seize that opportunity of giving a proof of his zeal and attachment by proceeding on his way with the greater expedition; while the former, willing to remove any ideas of distrust which might be excited by the preceding letter, sent another, returning his acknowledgments for so kind an attention. It appears that the greatest harmony subsisted between them during the whole time they were together.

In the mean time, the commotion in Benares operated as a signal to all the adjoining countries, and the flame seemed spreading on every side. Independent of the dominions of Oude, one half of which were in a state of actual rebellion or resistance to the company, a great part of their own province of Bahar was convulsed in scarcely a less degree. Many of the landholders, not only shewed the strongest symptoms of disaffection, but things were carried to such an extreme, that levies of men were openly made there for the enemy. Huteh Shaw, a chief on that side, being supported by Cheit Sing with money, had actually commenced a war, by laying claim to and invading the Sarun Sircar, one of the great divisions of that extensive province, and the right to which had not before been questioned since the acces-

accession of the company to the whole. But their ruin now was considered as being so inevitable, that the most petty chiefs and insignificant towns, eager to grasp at some share of the spoil, either laid claims which never before were heard of, or seized upon such villages and small districts as were within their reach without any claim at all. And while the company's affairs were in this state of confusion and danger, the communications were so entirely cut off, that the governor general was kept in a state of almost total ignorance at Chunar, both with respect to what was passing in the adjoining countries, and the success or failure of the various expresses which he had dispatched to different parts for assistance.

It was probably during this season of inaction that Cheit Sing published his manifesto, which was addressed to the Rajahs and native chiefs or princes of India. In this piece he gives a narrative of his father's conduct and of his own, of the treatment which he had himself experienced, of the causes and motives which led to the present troubles, and he calls upon them, as in a common cause against a common enemy, to join in chasing away those rapacious strangers, who were the authors of such numberless calamities to their country. This manifesto, is a plain simple piece of writing, entirely free from those gorgeous ornaments which so frequently load and disfigure the eastern style, but at the same time so exceedingly pathetic, that it could not fail of going home to the feelings of those to whom it was addressed. After stating his attachment and

fidelity, he complains that, notwithstanding, envious of the prosperity and riches of his country, he had been continually harrassed by pretended crimes, and forged calumnies, meanly forged, in order to extort money in atonement of them, and to compel him to purchase patronage and protection.— On this subject he says, “ every complaint has been heard against, “ and every wretch encouraged to “ misrepresent me.”

It is remarkable, that the charge of misgovernment, which had been laid against him, and of violence, robberies, and murders being authorized or tolerated in his dominions, seems to have particularly touched and affected the Rajah; and his insensibility upon this occasion leads him away from his immediate subject, and affords the means for his laying before us a most curious picture of the state of his own country before the troubles, contrasted with that, which he likewise presents, of those extensive dominions which were under the immediate government of the company. We are little qualified to judge of the truth of these representations, or of the degree of colouring with which they may be charged, but the one presents so new and interesting a picture of human felicity, and the other so many objects of reflection and observation, that if they had been purely ideal, we could scarcely refrain from endeavouring to preserve them.

The Rajah, in vindication of his government, says, “ Look to my “ districts, look to theirs! Do not “ the different pictures they present to you mark the limits of “ them more than the boundaries  
“ ries

"ries which nature itself has  
 "drawn out? My fields are cul-  
 "tivated, my villages are full of  
 "inhabitants, my country is a  
 "garden, and my subjects are  
 "happy. My capital is the re-  
 "sort of the principal merchants  
 "of India, from the security I  
 "have given to property. The  
 "treasures from the Marattas,  
 "the Jaits, and the Saiks, and  
 "the most distant nations of India,  
 "are deposited here. Here the  
 "orphans and the widows convey  
 "their property, and reside here  
 "without fear of rapacity and  
 "avarice. The traveller, from  
 "one end of my country to the  
 "other, lays down his burthen,  
 "and sleeps in security. Look to  
 "the provinces of the company!  
 "there famine and misery stalk  
 "hand in hand through unculti-  
 "vated fields and deserted vil-  
 "lages. There you meet with  
 "nothing but aged men, who  
 "are not able to transport them-  
 "selves away, or robbers watch-  
 "ing to way-lay their helpless-  
 "ness. When any of the servants  
 "of the English have passed thro'  
 "my country, every kindness  
 "has been shewn them, and all  
 "their wants supplied; even their  
 "very coolies have had their bur-  
 "thens taken off, and carried for  
 "them, and passed on from vil-  
 "lage to village. When any of  
 "these gentlemen travelled thro'  
 "my country, my officers have  
 "attended them to know their  
 "wants, supplied them with ne-  
 "cessary provision and carriage at  
 "my expence, and performed all  
 "their orders as if they were my  
 "own. Let any of them be ask-  
 "ed, if they met with such treat-

"ment in the countries under the  
 "company's management? Were  
 "they not almost continually rob-  
 "bed, and in danger of their  
 "lives?"

Such was the seducing repre-  
 sentation of his country, and of  
 the state of his people, which was  
 at this time given by the Rajah  
 Cheit Sing.

The fortress of Chunar, which  
 now afforded a secure asylum to  
 the governor general, is situated  
 on the south shore of the Ganges.  
 The principal force of the enemy  
 was assembled at a town called  
 Pateetah, lying about seven miles  
 to the southward of Chunar, and in  
 the direct way to the noted pass of  
 Suckroot, and the strong fort of  
 Lutteespore. Major Popham's re-  
 giment, with what force could be  
 spared from the garrison of Chunar,  
 were formed into a detachment un-  
 der his command, and encamped  
 about a mile from the town on the  
 way to the enemy.

Towards the end of Aug. 27th.  
 the month, Lieutenant Polhill  
 arrived from Illahabad,  
 with six companies of sepoy's be-  
 longing to the Nabob Vizier's body  
 life-guard; and was ordered to  
 encamp on the opposite shore of  
 the river, in order to keep the  
 communication on that side open.  
 In two days after the arrival of  
 this officer, he unexpectedly at-  
 tacked, and easily defeated a con-  
 siderable body of the enemy, who  
 were stationed, under the com-  
 mand of a principal chief of the  
 country, at a small fort and town  
 called Seeker, which lay within  
 sight of Chunar. A considerable  
 booty in grain, an article which  
 was then exceedingly wanted, was  
 the

the principal reward as well as object of this enterprize.

The vicinity of the enemy, who lay without motion, and seemingly without object or design at Pateetah, could not but prove an incessant and painful spur to the enterprising spirit of Major Popham. He accordingly detached Captain Blair, with his Chunar battalion, and two companies of his own grenadiers, to surprize their camp at that place.

Sept. 3d. The detachment marched at three in the morning, and arrived at the ground by day-light, but to their astonishment found the camp abandoned, and the enemy in complete order, waiting their attack about a mile beyond it. Though this was a stile of acting little to be expected from such raw troops and inexperienced commanders, yet the firmness with which they stood a severe and bloody action was still more extraordinary. They fought with such zeal and intrepidity, that the sepoys, seasoned as they were, and doubly fortified by mechanical and natural courage, were at length thrown into disorder, and it seemed as if all was over; but at that critical instant, the spirited and admirably timed attack made by the Lieutenants Fallon and Birrell, at the head of the two companies of grenadiers, upon the enemy's cannon, suddenly turned the fortune of the day, and left the field, and four guns, in the possession of the company's troops. The guns were very old and bad; but they were so well served as to excite admiration, and the apparatus for the artillery was modern and excellent.

This success was dearly purchased by Captain Blair's party, who had 48 men killed, and 85 wounded, being about one fourth of their whole number. It was, however, a victory; and produced its effect as such, in serving to dispirit one side, and to restore that confidence to the other, which the affair at Ramnagur had rendered necessary.

The governor general had written early for assistance to Colonel Morgan, who commanded far up the Ganges at Cawnpore, in the Vizier's dominions; and as the danger increased, he dispatched a second express to that officer, requiring him to follow the detachment (which was then supposed to be far advanced on its way) with his whole force, and enclosing an order to Sir John Cumming, who commanded at Futtehgur, to supply Morgan's place at Cawnpore. Tho' the expresses did not arrive in time, the vigilant zeal, and the comprehensive judgment of Colonel Morgan, were sufficient to supply the defect of instructions. Reports of the dangerous state of affairs in Benares having reached him, he at once considered the failure of official intelligence and instruction, as a proof that the communications were interrupted; and conceiving what orders were likely to be sent in such circumstances, he determined to act as if they had been received.

So spirited a conception of duty was not liable to be rendered abortive by any narrowness in the measure of the supply. He dispatched a very effective force to the aid of the governor general, consisting of two regiments of sepoys,

sepoys, (which may probably be estimated at four battalions) of 30 European artillery men, and two companies of European infantry; besides four six pounders, one howitz, with tumbrils, ammunition, draft and carriage cattle, and every other provision necessary for active service. Major Crabbe was appointed to the command of this powerful and exceedingly well provided detachment; which, in the same spirit that fixed its destination, was ordered, for the greater expedition, to proceed by water down the Ganges. The zeal of the officers corresponded so well with the design and wishes of the colonel, that though the resolution was only taken on the 29th, the whole party was embarked and on its way the 31st of August.

On the 10th of September, early in the morning, Major Crabbe, with his detachment, appeared on the shore opposite to Chunar. He had been much retarded on his course to Illahabad by strong adverse winds; and finding that these still continued, and that the course of the river from thence was besides extremely winding, he disembarked both men and stores, and proceeded the rest of the way by land. On the following day, the Nabob Vizier arrived and encamped on the same side of the river, where he continued during the time of his stay; and in two days after Major Roberts, who had been sent with his regiment to Lucknow, to serve as a guard to the governor general's person during his intended visit in that capital and country, arrived from thence with the troops; and bringing with him what was

more wanted even than their aid, the very welcome supply of a lack of rupees in silver. This was soon followed by another supply of money, though to a less amount, from the Vizier's receiver at Illahabad.

It was now evident, to all who had only a moderate knowledge of military affairs, that the fate of the Rajah, Cheit Sing, was finally decided. Major Popham had now under his immediate command, (exclusive of the garrison of Chunar) four complete regiments, and one battalion of sepoy, being all seasoned, tried, and excellent troops; he had along with these three European companies, of which one were grenadiers, one light infantry, and the third French Rangers; and he had besides six companies of the Nabob's body guards, under Lieutenant Polhill, and 30 European artillery men. These were led by officers who had not only seen much service, but who were already highly distinguished for enterprize and action; the subalterns were equal to commands, and among the principal commanders were some of the best in the company's service. To this force in hand, was to be added the hourly expectation of farther and considerable reinforcements from different quarters; a circumstance which never fails to increase the present energy in action. Such troops, so commanded, would probably have little to apprehend in the field from any native force that could be collected in India, Hyder Ally and the Marattas being only left out of the estimate.

To oppose to these, besides



7690 regular and irregular troops of his establishment, the Rajah, Cheit Sing, had a numerous, ill armed, and undisciplined rabble, including almost every order of men in India, hastily collected by different chiefs in the neighbouring parts, as well as in the country, under the various denominations of sword men, pike-men, matchlock men, and others, of similar value, though less intelligible, and probably worse provided, and led by commanders as ignorant of every kind of military service as they were themselves. Even among the troops of the Rajah's establishment, no less than 1,800 were matchlock-men, and there was not a man on his side who could be considered as a soldier. As fear and ignorance always place their confidence in numbers, so the disorder and confusion of this heterogeneous crowd was still farther increased, by the junction of many thousands of husbandmen and labourers, who, instigated by zeal or the hope of plunder, caught up such weapons as they could lay their hands on, and were eagerly received as fresh additions of strength.

The Rajah himself, so far as may be judged from what appears of his character, seems to have been totally destitute of every talent or quality fitting for war.—So far as can be gathered from Mr. Hastings's account of him, he seems to have been a weak, pliant, good-natured, inexperienced prince, who was easily led to any thing by those about him, and who had been involved in the present troubles, through the rash and ambitious councils of his brother, Shujan Sing, and of Saddanund,

his favourite, and prime minister, who had some time before been his envoy at Calcutta.

But however violent these councils might have been, the Rajah himself seems to have anxiously endeavoured, if that had been possible, to accommodate matters. He accordingly, notwithstanding the failure of his former attempts for that purpose, renewed his applications to the governor general upon the subject, during that season of inaction which succeeded his retreat to Chunar, as well by a variety of letters directly from himself, as by others, written under his immediate direction, by Mr. Barnett, and Contoo Baboo, who were held prisoners by him at Lutteespore.

Some of these letters were preserved, and others, said to be lost. The governor general observes that they were all alike in substance; that they contained acknowledgments and professions of submission, assertions of his own innocence, particularly with respect to the massacre at the palace, which he was utterly incapable of preventing, and a claim of merit, founded upon his having in each of the three past actions borne the suffering part, though in all successful, and his having in no instance been the aggressor; and that they all concluded with general offers of accommodation. That the letters which were written, either under his direction, or by his order, contained a pompous display of his inexhaustible wealth, of the multitude and bravery of his troops, and the devoted affection and fidelity of all his subjects.—The governor general persevered in

in his refusal to answer any of his letters; but took care to let him know, that they were written with too much presumption, in a stile of equality; and that they contained inapplicable professions of no value.

The passion for the preservation of his wealth operated so strongly upon the Rajah, that he seemed blind to all other considerations, and equally incapable of consulting his reason, or of listening to his fears.

It was intended to commence the military operations with the attack of Ramnagur, partly from its having been the late scene of disgrace, partly with a view to the refractoriness of the inhabitants, who had been the first authors of mischief, and above all, as its capture would be the means of gaining possession of the capital without blood or difficulty, whereby the credit and character of the company being restored in the public opinion, and the Rajah cut off from the seat and sources of government, his forces would soon dwindle, and his fortresses fall of course. Battering cannon and mortars were accordingly ordered to Major Popham's camp, and the necessary preparations made for a siege.

But it was desired that a native of the country should point out a shorter and easier way to conquest, than had yet, or could otherwise have been thought of. A man, named Bundoo Cawn, a native and inhabitant of Chunar, where he had a wife and large family, had, since the troubles commenced, given some instances of an extraordinary attachment to the English. For he had voluntarily and gra-

tuitously accompanied Captain Blair, in the two expeditions which he had undertaken with the Chunar battalion, first to the attack of Ramnagur, and afterwards to surprize the enemy's camp at Pateetah; and on both occasions, his accurate knowledge of the ground and country, and his advice in the application of that knowledge, were of great use to that officer.

This man gave information to the commanders, that as the Rajah's forces were principally collected at Lutteespore and Pateetah, and were daily accumulating, it would become exceedingly difficult, if not impracticable, to dislodge him, if he were allowed much longer time to strengthen himself, in grounds and posts already so strong, and so exceedingly difficult of access. He observed, that though the walls of Pateetah, and the defences of its fort, might appear of little moment, considered merely as fortifications, yet from the peculiar situation of that large town, the nearness of Lutteespore, at its back, and the fresh forces with which the Rajah could constantly supply the defence, it would be found a matter of no small difficulty or loss, to carry it even at present; and if that point was gained, it could answer no purpose, as it could not possibly be retained, while Lutteespore continued in the hands of the enemy. The next object then must be the reduction of that fortress; but it was unassailable on that side; and it could not be invested, or attacked on the other, while the enemy were in possession of the impracticable pass of Suckroot, which



which lay at its back in the gorge of the mountains; and which besides kept the communications open for reinforcements and supplies of every kind, as well as a free and direct intercourse with the strong fortress of Bidjeygur, where the means of supporting the war, the Rajah's treasures, were deposited.

When he had thus stated the almost insuperable difficulties which barred the way against all obvious attempts upon the Rajah, in his present situation, this singular guide who seemed to unite in himself the qualities and intelligence of a topographer, engineer, and general, proceeded to show the means by which they might be evaded or overcome. He proposed that the main part of the army should carry on its approaches in front, and in the usual forms, against Pateetah; and that while it was thus engaged, and the whole attention of the enemy naturally directed to the attack and defence on that side, a division of the most active troops, which was previously and secretly to take its departure by night, should, under his guidance, and freed from all incumbrances, by a long circuitous march of several days through the woods and mountains, come round in such a manner to the back of the pass at Suckroot, that the defences of the enemy being foiled, or turned against themselves, it would fall without difficulty into their hands; the consequences of which must be, either that they should immediately abandon their fastnesses at Lutteespore and Pateetah, or be shut up in them to certain destruction. Bundoo Cawn

showed so much knowledge of the subject, and such an assured confidence in the facility and success of the enterprize, upon the issue of which he staked his person and family, that Major Popham, equally convinced of his sincerity and of the propriety of his advice, at once adopted the scheme.

The only motive assigned by Bundoo Cawn, besides general attachment, whether for the proffered or the past services, was the interest and security of his large family, whose situation, from that circumstance, seems to have been in some manner connected with the garrison of Chumar. To assure his fidelity, and to give him the greater interest in the enterprize, a jaghire, or estate, in perpetuity to himself and his family, was promised, as the prize and reward of success.

In pursuance of this scheme, the cannon and mortars intended for the siege of Ramnagur were now directed to that of Pateetah; and Major Crabbe, with his own regiment of sepoys, being the 7th, the first battalion of the 6th, and the six companies of the Vazier's guards, under Pollhill, with four six-pounders, and a five and-half-inch howitz, were destined to the new enterprize. These troops being told off, took their departure from the camp, with all the secrecy such a circumstance could admit of, about 11 o'clock at night, on the 15th of September; and at three in the morning, Major Popham advanced with the main body to the attack of Pateetah.

He found the works of this place much stronger, and the approaches more hazardous, than they

they had been represented; the extensive earthen walls of the town, were of such a thickness as to be proof to his artillery, and the small stone fort was covered by situation from their effect. After four days ineffectual effort, he grew apprehensive, that this unexpected failure on his side, would tend to the overthrow of the enterprize under Major Crabbe, on the other. Major Popham accordingly determined to attempt the place by storm on the fifth morning. A mode of proceeding which seldom fails of success against raw and undisciplined troops. The storming party was led by

Major Roberts, who, after a slight resistance at the outer entrenchment, threw the enemy into such irretrievable disorder that they fled on all sides, and the town and fort were almost instantly abandoned. A body of the enemy had made a weak and ineffective attack on the camp during this time; but were easily repulsed, and not without loss to themselves.

Nothing could have been more timely, and more ruinous to the enemy, than this attack and success. For it happened that Major Crabbe, after leading his division so long through ways which seemed impracticable, and which would have been found so, if it had not been for the assistance of Bundoo Cawn, arrived on that very morning at a village in the mountains called Lora, which lies within about two miles of the pass of Suckroot. Here he found a body of the enemy, who, without any intelligence, or even suspicion of the march of his detach-

ment, were entrenched, with three guns, for the security of the pass on that side. Major Crabbe attacked the enemy with such vigour, that notwithstanding a firm resistance, they were defeated, pursued, and driven through the pass, of which he took immediate possession.

The runaways from Lora and from Pateetah, arrived at Lutteespore at the same instant, and the general dismay and confusion which they spread, fully equalled whatever could have been expected from such troops and such commanders. The Rajah himself, astonished, confounded, and overwhelmed with terror, at the personal danger, in which he was so suddenly, and to him unaccountably involved, giving every thing else up for lost, thought of nothing but the means of escaping from the toils with which he seemed to be surrounded. The pass of Suckroot was shut up on his back, and Major Popham's army, with Pateetah in their possession, were closing him in front. Flight was the only refuge; but what road or passage could be supposed free from an enemy, who had already penetrated the innermost recesses of the mountains?

There was, however, no time for hesitation; the attempt must be made at all events. The pass was his direct way to Bidjeygur, which was the only place of refuge now left. As that was shut up, the Rajah, on the same day, with a few of the best mounted or most attached of his followers, departed from Lutteespore, and taking a circuit through the mountains, recovered the road a

[C] 2 few

few miles beyond the pass. The disorderly crowd he left behind, being now without union or command, only waited to pillage Lutteespore of whatever they could carry away, and then dispersed on all sides; every man providing as well as he could for his own safety, without farther care or consideration. The many thousands of the country militia, and of the volunteer husbandmen, who had flocked to join the Rajah, now returned as fast as they could to their respective homes, and resumed their wonted occupations, as if nothing had been the matter.

Never was revolution more rapid. Within, not many hours, the whole country assumed as peaceable an appearance, as if no war had prevailed, nor even disturbance happened. Ramnagur, where the enemy had a considerable force, and the fort of Sutteessgur, which lay several miles from Lutteespore in another direction, were both abandoned on that very evening; and a full submission to the company was every where established. The Nabob vizier now returned to his own country; where his presence, if he was capable of restoring order and government, was sufficiently wanted. The governor general proceeded first to Ramnagur, and from thence to the peaceable city of Benares, which wore its usual face of tranquillity.

In order to quiet the minds of the people, and to render the tranquillity perfect, he issued a proclamation, offering pardon to all who should peaceably return to their obedience; the Rajah, with his brother, Shujan Sing,

and a town, named Goffe Gunge, being alone excepted from the benefit of this pardon. That town was excepted, on account of a barbarous murder committed there on two soldiers during the troubles; and to render the example terrible both now and hereafter, it was entirely destroyed.

The governor general then proceeded to settle the succession to the government; and the male line being now cut off, by the exclusion of Cheit Sing and his brother, and he not thinking it would be prudent, to put the submission of the people to the test of a new species of dominion, he determined that the next lineal heir to Bulwant Sing, should succeed in the rajahship. This successor, named Bauboo Mehipnairain, was a grandson of Bulwant Sing's, by a daughter married to Doorgbijey Sing; the father and mother were both living; and the young Rajah's being under age, certainly did not lessen his eligibility as an object of choice to the succession, at the same time that his claim in point of blood was such as to afford satisfaction to the people. To supply the place of years and experience, his father, Doorgbijey Sing, under the title of naib, was endowed with the sole management of public affairs. The succession being thus fixed, a new and very advantageous settlement with respect to the tribute or revenue, was concluded by the governor general with the new Rajah, and his guardian or minister, they having agreed to pay the company a perpetual rent of four millions of rupees, or about half a million sterling a year. So that  
the

the company have gained a standing revenue of about 200,000l. a year, by the contest with Cheit Sing, independent of their claim on the ready-money spoil, which was seized by the army. It is observeable, if not remarkable, that no notice whatever was taken of Oussaun Sing, in this final arrangement.

In two days after the flight of the Rajah from Lutteespore, the 28th regiment of sepoy from Dinapore, under the conduct of Major Crawford, accompanied by a body of cavalry, joined the army. The tide of fortune being now turned, success crowned the company's arms on every side. In the Vizier's country, Major Naylor, having marched with the 23d regiment of sepoy to the relief of Colonel Hannay, who had been long enclosed, and reduced to great straits by a tumultuous armed force on the northern banks of the Dewa, he totally defeated and dispersed that multitude, and quelled the revolt in that country. On the side of Bahar, another Regiment under Major Lucas, no less effectually defeated Futtu Shaw, and drove him entirely out of the Sarun Sircar. And during this tide of success, as if it had been to give the greater eclat to the governor general, and to shew the superiority of his fortune, a separate peace, and treaty of alliance  
Oct. 18th, and friendship, was  
1781. concluded by Colonel Muir with Madajee Scindia. An event, in the precarious and doubtful state of the company's affairs at that time, which may be considered among the most for-

tunate that could possibly have happened.

In the mean time, as soon as the necessary preparations for a difficult siege could be compassed, Major Popham advanced with the army in pursuit of the Rajah to Bidjeygur. This place, the envied depositary of his father's treasures and of his own, lies not far from the frontiers, and about fifty miles to the south-east of Chunar. The fort is erected on the solid rock of a hill, which rises to the perpendicular height of 745 feet above the level of the adjoining country; and was reckoned, next to Gualier, among the strongest in India; being considered, like that, as impregnable. The Rajah, however, did not think the strength of the one any security against the conqueror of the other.

That unfortunate prince accordingly, without venturing to wait for Major Popham's near approach, abandoned the fort, and his country, probably for ever; leaving behind him a great part of those treasures which cost him so dearly, and that honour, in the persons of his women, which he had so highly estimated; himself flying a wretched fugitive for protection to strangers, who were in no condition to afford it without imminent danger to themselves. He did not neglect to take with him all the treasure which the elephants and camels in his immediate possession were capable of carrying; being, it was said, one lack of mohrs or gold rupees, and sixteen lacks in silver, amounting to about 375,000l. besides jewels, to a  
[C] 3 sup-

supposed great, but unknown value. His wife and mother, (the former of whom is described by Mr. Hastings, as a woman of an amiable character) with all the other women of his family, and such of the descendants of Bulwant Sing as still adhered to him, were left behind in the fort, with the remainder of his treasures, and a sufficient garrison.

Major Popham's troops did not want so powerful an incentive as the treasures enclosed in the fortress, to induce vigour in their attacks; though the prospect of such a prize, by no means tended to slacken their zeal. The difficulties were however so great, that the month of November was advanced, before they had proceeded so far by sap, as to have a mine ready to spring, which it was expected would enable them to storm the place. In these circumstances, the Rhanny, (by which appellation the Rájah's mother was known) who  
Nov. 10th. seems to have had the

entire command, surrendered the fort by capitulation. By the terms, she was to be allowed 15 per cent. upon the effects in the fort; and to be entirely at liberty, whether to reside in the country, or to follow her son; in the one case to meet with perfect protection, and in the other, to be escorted by a proper safeguard to the frontiers. We are totally uninformed as to the fate of the Rájah's wife.

The governor general wished that the treasures taken at Bidjeygur should become a prize to the captors, as a reward for the unparalleled zeal and alacrity displayed, and the eminent services

performed by the officers and troops, through the whole of this business. A letter written by him to Major Popham during the siege, was understood, as giving a full sanction to such a disposition of the spoil. The officers, however, being justly apprehensive, that the company, or the council of Calcutta, might not agree to this measure, determined, by a speedy distribution of the money, to put it as far as possible beyond the power of recall. They accordingly proceeded to make a dividend of all the cash that could be told out, or ascertained in the time, (being the greater part) on the very second day after taking the place.

The sum to be distributed on this first dividend, amounted to 25 lacks, or 312,500l. of which the commander in chief's share was 36,750l. each of the majors, 5,619l. the captains above 3,000l. a piece, and the subalterns, something more than 1400l. each. The dividends of the native officers were but low; and a common sepoy's share, something more than six pounds. It was supposed that something near two thirds of the cash was disposed of by this dividend; but the other parts of the spoil, consisting of large quantities of rich merchandize, and of rubies, diamonds, emeralds, and other precious stones, it was supposed would produce a very great sum.

This disposition of the Rájah's treasures, was not at all satisfactory to the council of Calcutta, who passed resolutions by which they declared, that the governor general had not formally, nor according to any liberal construction

tion which could be put upon his letters, renounced, on the part of the company, as their representative, their legal right to the property of the booty found at Bidjeygur. That the precipitate and irregular division of the booty made by the officers, shewed they did not consider those authorities as constituting to them a legal title to it. That, their own unqualified acquiescence in the measure, would establish a dangerous precedent with respect to the future conduct and claims of the army. And, on these grounds they resolved, that they could not renounce the company's claims on the booty; but that such measures should be taken as would bring the question to a legal decision, independent of any other measure it might be thought necessary to adopt; leaving, how-

ever, to the officers the alternative, of submitting the whole matter to the determination of the board, in which case it was promised, that the governor general's recommendation should be liberally considered. It being laid down as a farther condition, that the officers should lend to the company, as part of a public loan, upon the usual terms, their shares of the prize-money, excepting only what each might respectively declare upon honour to be necessary for the supply of his private wants. An answer, in a given time, was demanded from the officers; a failure in which would be considered by the board as a disobedience of orders, and proceeded upon accordingly.

Such was the issue of the war of Benares, and such the fate of Rajah Cheit Sing.



## CHAP. II.

*Peninsula of India. Efforts by France to recover her ancient possessions and influence, and totally to overthrow the English power. French squadron sails from the African islands with a strong body of forces for the coast of Coromandel; takes the Hannibal of 50 guns, and appears suddenly before Madras, intending to destroy the English squadron in the road, and, in concurrence with Hyder Ally to besiege that place by sea and land. Causes which obliged M. de Suffrein to abandon that design and put out to sea. Is pursued by Sir Edward Hughes, who chases and takes several of the convoy. Partial sea-fight; in which the French, having the wind in their favour, direct their whole force to the attack of the rear and a part of the center of the British line. Admiral's ship, the *Superbe*, and Commodore King's ship, the *Exeter*, suffer extremely, through the great superiority of force by which they are attacked. Capt. Stephens, of the former, and Capt. Reynolds, of the latter, killed. Enemy suddenly haul their wind and stand off; are out of sight in the morning. Admiral, on his way from Madras to Trincomale, is joined by the *Sultan* and *Magnanime* from England. Falls in with the Enemy's fleet. Bloody action off the coast of Ceylon, on the 12th of April. The damage on both sides so great, and so nearly equal, that the hostile commanders lie for several days within sight of each other, repairing their shattered ships. French fleet proceed to Batacalo, and Sir Edward Hughes to Trincomale. Consequences of these naval actions. Great disappointment to Hyder, in his expectation of such a co-operation on the part of France, as would enable him speedily to reduce the Carnatic. Major Abingdon arrives with a body of troops from Bombay at Tellicherry, on the Malabar coast; where he defeats and takes Saados Carn, who had long blockaded that place.*

**W**HILE General Sir Eyre Coote was gallantly and successfully opposing the vast superiority of force, and the immense resources of the redoubtable invader of the Carnatic, and that Sir Edward Hughes and Sir H. Monro, were directing the British arms with vigour and effect against the Dutch settlements, France was unwearied in her endeavours, to establish such a land and naval force at her African islands, as would not only be the means of recovering her antient power and influence on the coast

of Coromandel, but of giving such a fatal and decisive blow to her old rivals, as might enable her, with the aid of the native powers, to chase them entirely out of India.

The state of affairs on that continent, was the most favourable that could be imagined, or almost wished, to that design; for besides the exhaustion of their strength and treasures, in that open, very extensive, and dangerous war, in which the English were unfortunately engaged with the two greatest powers of India, most

most of the other states happened at that time, through various untoward causes, to be avowedly or secretly inimical to their interests; and France was to consider all their enemies, as being virtually her own allies. She accordingly spared no expence, and avoided no risk, for the accomplishment of this purpose; and notwithstanding the vast objects which she had in view, both in America and the West Indies, at the same time, her attention to this was unremitting, and her exertions in sending out men, ships, stores and artillery, were great and unceasing. We have heretofore seen that she was not always fortunate in these attempts, and that the loss of some of her convoys were no small impediment to her design; but perseverance, as usual, at length triumphed over misfortune.

The new alliance with Holland, and the inability of that republic to protect the great sources of her power and wealth in the East, against the designs of the English, was an additional spur to France, for endeavouring by all means, and at all events to acquire a naval superiority in India. Nothing less could effectually protect the Dutch settlements; and as Sir Eyre Coote had so unexpectedly and effectually opposed, and given such severe checks to Hyder Ally, it seemed that nothing less could secure to that conqueror the complete reduction of the Carnatic, particularly including Madras, without which, nothing else could be considered as secure.

M. de Suffrein, after his unsuccessful attack upon the English

squadron and convoy into Port Praya Bay, fulfilled, however, (as we have formerly seen) the second object of his commission, by securing the Dutch settlements at the Cape of Good Hope from the hostile designs of that armament; and having left a sufficient French garrison behind for their future protection, proceeded, with the remainder of his force, to join M. de Orves, who was his superior in command, at the island of Mauritius. Upon this junction, the French commanders having now a force of ten sail of the line, besides one fifty gun ship, and several large frigates, they sailed for the coast of Coromandel, being accompanied by a number of transports and store-ships, together with a considerable body of land forces; and M. de Orves dying on the passage, the sole command of the fleet devolved on M. de Suffrein.

The British squadron and convoy under the conduct of Capt. Alms, with the troops under Gen. Meadows, which had departed for India while the French were still at the Cape, met with such extraordinary delays, through adverse winds, and a succession of exceedingly bad weather, that they were exposed to the greatest danger of falling in, shattered and dispersed as they were, with the united force of the enemy, who had sailed so much later from the Mauritius than they had done from the Cape. The Hannibal, of fifty guns, happened to be the only victim to this unlooked for danger. That ship being entirely separated from the rest, found herself in very dark and tempestuous weather,



weather, in the centre of the French fleet, before she could be in any degree aware of her situation, and was, after a gallant, but evidently fruitless defence, of necessity taken. The other ships of war, and the convoy, arrived, dispersed and late, at the places of their destination.

Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, after the taking of Trincomale, was obliged, on the last day of January 1782, to set sail for Madras, in order to procure a large supply of stores and provisions; articles which his ships, after the long and hard service they had undergone, could not but now stand in great need of. His squadron consisted only of six ships of the line; and these had been so long at sea, as to be necessarily much out of condition, and their crews much weakened by loss and sickness. Upon his arrival in Madras Road, Feb. 8th, 1782.

he received intelligence from Lord Macartney, the governor, that a French fleet, amounting to thirty sail of all sorts, had arrived upon the coast, taken several vessels, and were then supposed not to be above 20 leagues to the northward. In this alarming and critical situation, exposed in an open road to the attack of so superior an enemy, and that even before he could get the necessary supplies on board, the admiral was most fortunately reinforced on the following day, by the arrival of Capt. Alms, in the Monmouth, of 64 guns, accompanied by the Hero, of 74, and the Isis, of 50 guns.

The admiral used the utmost dispatch in getting the necessary stores and provisions on board,

while Sir Eyre Coote, with his usual zeal and attention to all parts of the service, strengthened the squadron by the much wanted supply, of a detachment of 300 officers and men of the newly arrived 98th regiment; who were accordingly distributed by the admiral in those ships which were the weakest in point of men. This dispatch was fully necessary; for on the 15th of February, and before the ships had yet completed their equipment, the French fleet appeared suddenly in the Offing, consisting of twelve sail of line of battle ships, (including the English Hannibal, and another fifty) six frigates, eight large transports, and six captured vessels. The enemy, after standing in directly for Madras, seemed at once to receive some unexpected check in their design, and suddenly cast anchor, at noon, about four miles without the road; while the English admiral was busily employed in placing his ships in the most advantageous positions for covering and protecting the numerous vessels which lay within side of them, and in clapping springs upon their cables, in order that they might bring their broadsides to bear full upon the enemy in his approach.

The sudden change of motion and design which appeared on the side of the French commander, proceeded from the unexpected discovery, and consequent disappointment, which his near approach had produced. He had no previous knowledge or even idea, of the arrival of the three ships of war from England. He had proceeded to Madras under the most flattering illusion; that of signa-

signalizing his entrance into action by the glory of determining a war of such importance and magnitude by a single blow. He had made sure of finding the British admiral with only five, or at the most six ships of the line, and these entirely out of condition, and unprepared, lying without shelter in the open road of Madras; and he considered them as a cheap and easy prey already in his hands. The loss of the numerous trading and provision ships in the road, would complete the distraction and calamity of the town; while the French forces, being joined with Hyder Ally's numerous army, carried on their joint attacks against it by land, and the squadron besieged it by sea. Any resistance it could make in such circumstances, was not deemed an object worthy of consideration.

These splendid hopes being overthrown, by the immediate discovery of nine English ships of war (instead of five) drawn up to receive him in the road, all views of attack were abandoned, and, at four o'clock in the afternoon, M. de Suffrein suddenly weighed anchor, and stood off to the southward. This example was immediately followed by the English admiral, who as suddenly weighed anchor, and standing out of the road in their sight, pursued the enemy through the course of the night. At day break he perceived that their fleet had separated in the night, and were then in different directions; their twelve line of battle ships and a frigate were in a body, bearing east of the British fleet, and at about four leagues distance, while the

other frigates, with the transports, were standing to the south-west, at about three leagues distance, and making directly for Pondicherry.

Upon this discovery of their situation, Sir Edward Hughes instantly threw out the signal for a general chase to the south-west; for besides the temptation held out by the convoy, he knew, that as Suffrein, with the line of battle ships, must unavoidably return to their rescue, it afforded the only certain means of bringing him to action; and his superiority in number and force, were not sufficient to deter the British admiral from appealing to this issue. In the course of the chase, the copper bottomed ships came up with and took six vessels of the convoy, of which five were English prizes, newly taken, with their crews on board; but the sixth, taken by Capt. Lumley, in the Isis, proved to be the Lauriston, a huge French transport of 1300 tons burthen; and deeply laden with a cargo of the utmost possible value and consequence to both parties; it consisting of a considerable train of artillery, (intended for a present to Hyder) of a large quantity of gunpowder, and of a complete assortment of other military stores. This valuable prize had likewise on board a number of land officers, together with 300 soldiers of the regiment of Laufanne.

Too much praise cannot be bestowed on the spirit which dictated this bold and masterly manœuvre. The pursuit of so superior an enemy, and the chase and attack of the convoy under its eye, are strokes of such a nature, as to be,

be; perhaps, almost without example. It was indeed a pity, that the effect could not be equal to the judgment and merit of the design, through the want of frigates, a few of which would have secured the whole of the enemy's convoy and troops; and thereby have overthrown at once, all the schemes formed for supporting and assisting Hyder Ally by land. The Sea Horse, of 20 guns, was the only frigate in company with the squadron; and she was so totally insufficient in point of strength, that instead of taking others, she was with no small difficulty saved from being taken herself, when she got entangled with the heavy, powerful, and well armed French transports, filled, as they were, besides with troops. The line of battle ships were too few, and the enemy too near, to admit of their being much separated; and there were no others for chasing.

As soon as the French squadron perceived the danger of their convoy, they put before the wind with all the sail they could carry, in the hope of bearing down in time to their relief. The various course in almost every direction which the flying vessels of the convoy had taken, each hoping that pursued by himself might be most fortunate in evading the danger, necessarily led the English chasing ships to be considerably scattered, and drew them likewise by degrees, to a great distance from the body of the squadron. In these circumstances, Sir Edward Hughes perceiving, about three o'clock, that M. de Suffrein was bearing down fast upon him, and that his best sailors were

already within two or three miles of the sternmost of the English, he found himself under a necessity of recalling the chasers, who were just then getting into the most essential part of their service; the Isis, in particular, having come up with two more of the transports, which she was obliged to abandon. In order to secure the prizes, he at the same time ordered that they should be sent off directly to Negapatam.

The chasing ships having rejoined the admiral, the hostile squadrons continued within sight of each other during the night; and at day-light, the enemy were perceived to the north-east, at about three leagues distance. The weather was very unfavourable to all naval operation; or at least afforded no room for reliance on the effect of any evolution, however judicious; for besides it being dark and hazy, sudden and frequent squalls of wind, were as suddenly succeeded by dead calms; so that though Sir Edward Hughes threw out the signal for the line of battle a-head at six in the morning, it was with the greatest difficulty, though with so small a number of ships, that it could be formed by half past eight o'clock. His object was to weather the enemy, in order to bring on so close an engagement, and to lead up his ships so compactly into action, that their mutual and collected efforts might make so powerful an impression, as should prevent the effect of that superiority in number and force which he had to encounter. But all his diligence and ability were unequal to the accomplishment of this purpose; the perverseness

verseness of the weather was not to be subdued; and the squally wind, irregular and uncertain as it seemed, was constantly in favour of the enemy when it blew at all.

Having perceived about noon, that they were bearing down in an irregular double line a-breast, towards the rear of the squadron, which, through the want of wind, was somewhat separated, he threw out the signal for the line of battle a-breast, in order to draw it closer to the centre, and thereby frustrate their design of breaking in upon his line. After various other movements, all tending to close his line, and to render the engagement general, instead of partial, while the enemy directed all their efforts to fall upon his rear, the English admiral finding at length, that situated as he was to leeward, and without wind sufficient to work his ships, no management could prevent his being forced into action upon disadvantageous terms, he submitted at once to the necessity, and threw out the signal to form the line of battle a-head.

Through these untoward circumstances, M. de Suffrein was enabled to bring eight of his best ships, to direct their whole attack upon five of the English, of which the *Isis*, of 50 guns, was one; while the *Eagle*, *Monmouth*, *Worcester*, and *Burford*, four of their best ships, under the most approved commanders, were idle spectators in the van, without a possibility of coming to the assistance of their fellows. Sir E. Hughes was in the *Superbe*, of 74 guns, which formed the central ship; the four below the

admiral were, the *Hero*, Capt. Wood, of the same force; the *Isis*, Lumley; the *Monarca*, Gell, of 68 guns; and the *Exeter*, of 64; the latter commanded by Commodore King and Captain Reynolds. Upon these the attack fell.

The squadron being then on the larboard tack, the *Exeter* was the sternmost ship, and being, through the failure of wind, as well as from her being a bad sailer, considerably separated from her second a-head, three of the French ships bore down directly upon her, and commenced a furious attack; while M. de Suffrein, in the *Heros*, with several other ships, bore down in the same manner upon the *Superbe*, and fell with no less fury upon the admiral. It was evidently their design, at all events, to disable those two ships; while they seemed to intend little more than to keep the intermediate ones in play, while this business was doing, and never once extended their attack beyond the centre. These two ships were of course exceedingly hard pressed, and could not avoid suffering extremely under such a weight of fire, as was poured on all sides upon them.

Yet after enduring all these disadvantages for about two hours, and sorely wounded as they had been in that time, a squall of wind coming suddenly in their favour at six o'clock, the five English ships became in turn the aggressors, and renewed the action with such vigour and effect, that in 25 minutes time, it being then near dark, those of the enemy within their reach, after having

having visibly sustained considerable loss, suddenly hauled their wind; and the whole French squadron stood off to the north-east.

The *Superbe*, besides having her main yard shot to pieces in the flings, and neither a brace nor a bow line left entire, was so severely wounded in her hull, that at the time the enemy bore away, she had no less than five feet water in her hold; and it was not until a number of the largest shot-holes under water were plugged up, that it could be prevented from gaining on the pumps. The state of the *Exeter* had been the most calamitous through the action, that could almost be possibly imagined. She had undergone the fire in all directions of almost the whole French squadron, and had from three to five ships at times laid upon her, until she was at length reduced nearly to a wreck; and if it had not been for the prompt and gallant assistance of Captain Wood, of the *Hero*, she could scarcely have escaped going to the bottom.

Captain Stephens, of the admiral's ship, and Captain Reynolds, of the commodore's, two brave and distinguished officers, lost their lives in this unequal and imperfect action. The whole loss of men amounted to 32 slain, and 95 wounded; of which 30 of the former, and 87 of the latter, were in the *Superbe*, *Exeter*, and *Hero*. The unshaken fortitude displayed by Commodore King, under the long pressure of so vast a superiority of force, and the fierce attack of so many fresh ships coming up in succession to take a close and steady aim as at

a dead mark, while they still expected that every broadside must have decided the fate of the *Exeter*, could not have been sufficiently praised or admired. In the most desperate state of the action, the blood and mangled brains of Captain Reynolds were dashed over him by a cannon ball in such a manner, that he was for some little time absolutely blinded; yet he still preserved a most admirable equality and composure of temper; and when at the heel of the action, and the *Exeter* already in the state of a wreck, the master came to ask him what he should do with the ship, as two of the enemy were again bearing down upon her, he laconically answered, "there is nothing to be done but to fight her till she sinks."

The enemy being out of sight in the morning, and the masts of the *Superbe* and *Exeter* having received so much damage as rendered it unsafe to carry sail on them, while many of the shot holes were so far under water that they could not be stopped at sea, the admiral found it necessary to proceed to Trincomale, where only their damages could be repaired.

This business being hastily performed, the admiral returned before the middle of March, with the squadron to Madras, having neither seen nor heard of the enemy. He was on his way back to Trincomale, with a reinforcement of troops and a supply of military stores for that garrison, when, on the 30th of March, he was joined by the *Sultan* and *Magnanime* ships of war, of 74 guns each, from England. These ships

ships, having had a very tedious and bad passage, were extremely sickly, their crews being much weakened and reduced by the scurvy, and its concomitant disorders; but the admiral, notwithstanding, considered the service he was upon as too urgent, to admit of his returning to Madras for the mere purpose of landing the sick and scorbutic; for besides the necessity of securing Trincomale against the designs of an enemy now so powerful by sea and land, he had another object no less immediately interesting and important in view, which was to cover and receive the convoy with troops and stores from England, only a small part of which had yet arrived, the rest having put into Morebat Bay some weeks before, and being then on their way to join him at an appointed rendezvous. He accordingly kept on his course, with an intention of neither seeking nor shunning the enemy.

But the same object, though with different views, which affected the conduct of the English admiral, operated no less upon that of the enemy. For they likewise knowing the expected approach of the convoy, determined to use every effort to cut it off, or at least to prevent the junction. In the pursuit of this design, the French fleet, amounting to 18 sail, appeared in the north-east quarter, and to leeward of the English, on the 8th of April. The British admiral held on his course, and the enemy continued in fight, and holding the same relative position, during that and the three succeeding days; but having made the coast

of Ceylon, about 15 leagues to windward of Trincomale, on the last of them, Sir Edward Hughes, in pursuance of his original intention, bore away directly for that place. This change of course took place in the evening, and most unfortunately afforded an opportunity to the enemy of gaining the wind of the English squadron in the night. With this advantage on their side, they were discovered at break of day crowding all the sail they could carry in pursuit, and their coppered bottomed ships coming up so fast with the rear, that the action became unavoidable.

At nine in the morning, Sir Edward Hughes accordingly made a signal for the line of battle ahead on the starboard tack, at two cables length distance asunder, the enemy being then north by east, within about six miles distance, and the wind in the same quarter. Nothing could have been more untoward to the English, whether with respect to time, place, or circumstance, than this engagement.— They were hemmed in upon a most rocky and dangerous coast, by an enemy much superior in every respect, with the wind full in his favour, so that he had it in his power to choose the mode of his attacks, to direct them to those points he saw most to his advantage, and to withhold them as he liked. This leisure, and variety of choice, accordingly occasioned their spending about three hours in various manœuvres, during which time they so frequently changed the position of their ships and line, as seemed to indi-



indicate no small want of determination.

Having thus taken full time for deliberation, five sail, which composed their van, stretched along to engage that of the English, while the admiral, with the other seven ships of the line, bore down directly in a body upon Sir Edward Hughes, who, in the *Superbe*, was in the centre of his line, and upon his two seconds, the *Monmouth*, Capt. Alms, a-head, and the *Monarca*, Gell, a-stern. The engagement began about half past one in the van, and within a few minutes after, M. de Suffrein, in the *Heros*, and his second a stern, the *L'Orient*, both of 74 guns, bore down within pistol shot of the *Superbe*, and pouring in a torrent of fire, continued to engage her so close, and with such extraordinary fierceness, that it was the general opinion their intention was to board, and endeavour to carry her by a *coup de main*. The French admiral held this adventurous position, giving and receiving a most dreadful fire, for about ten minutes; but he found the encounter so exceedingly rough, and his ship had suffered so much apparent damage in that short time, that making room for the ships that were coming up to supply his place, he suddenly shot away, and stood on to the attack of the *Monmouth*, which was already closely and equally engaged. The battle continued to rage with great violence, particularly in the centre, where the odds, as to number and force, were constantly and greatly against Sir Edward Hughes and his two brave seconds. At three o'clock,

the *Monmouth*, after long sustaining, with unparalleled fortitude, the joint attack of two great ships, one of equal, the other of superior force, besides frequently receiving the passing fire of a third, had her mizen-mast shot away, and, in a few minutes after, her main-mast meeting the same fate, she underwent the necessity of falling out of the line to leeward. The enemy used every effort to profit of her condition, and, from their number, made sure of carrying her off. Indeed she was in the greatest danger; but the admiral bearing down instantly to her relief, and being speedily followed by the *Monarca* and the *Sultan*, they covered her with such a fire, that the enemy were glad to relinquish their expected prize.

The disadvantage which the English had hitherto experienced, of being obliged to fight close in with a rocky and dangerous lee-shore, they hoped would have been remedied by the customary change of the wind in the afternoon; but this continuing still unexpectedly to the northward, the admiral found himself under a necessity, at forty minutes past three, in order to prevent his ships from being too nearly entangled with the shore, to make a signal for the squadron to wear, and haul their wind in a line of battle a-head, still fighting the enemy through the whole evolution. At length, towards the approach of night, finding himself in only fifteen fathom water, and being apprehensive that the *Monmouth*, in her disabled condition, might drift too near the shore, he made a signal for the squadron to prepare

prepare to anchor; and the French squadron about the same time having drawn off in great disorder to the eastward, the action entirely ceased.

M. de Suffrein's ship, *Le Heros*, had been so torn, early in the action, that he had been obliged to shift his flag to the French *Hannibal*, which was of the same force; and soon after dusk, the frigate *La Fine*, of 40 guns, being either under orders to tow off and assist the disabled *Heros*, or else to discover the state and situation of the British squadron, fell so closely on board the *Isis*, that she was obliged to strike her colours to Captain Lumley; but soon perceiving the weak and disordered state of the *Isis*, which, besides her loss in the action, had been originally so badly manned, that the defect was now visible in the manner of repairing her damages, the French frigate seized the advantage afforded by this circumstance, and, by the darkness of the night, suddenly to get clear of the *Isis*, and totally to escape.

The condition of both squadrons was so nearly alike, and they had suffered so extremely in the action, that similar apprehensions were entertained by each through the night, of being attacked by the other in the morning; Sir Edward Hughes, however, only founding that opinion on the disabled state of the *Monmouth*, which he thought might possibly stimulate the enemy to a bold and hazardous attempt in the hope of carrying her off.—The morning light removed the deception. The enemy were perceived at anchor about five miles

without the English squadron; but they were in such apparent disorder, and evident distress, as sufficiently told that they were in no condition or temper for present enterprise. They had, however, the fortune of not losing any of their lower masts; a circumstance of great importance; as their damages, however great in other respects, were still capable of such a repair at sea, as would render the ships manageable, and capable of undergoing a certain degree of service; while, on the other side, the *Monmouth* could only be restored, by length of time, new masts, and a good harbour.

Both parties continued in this situation for several days, each busily employed in repairing their damages, placing their ships in the best situation for withstanding a sudden attack, and eagerly watching every motion of the other. At length, on the morning of the 19th, the enemy got under sail, and stood out to sea close hauled; but at noon they tacked with the sea breeze, and stood in directly for the body of the English squadron, with the apparent view of an immediate attack. This resolution was not lasting; for when they arrived within two miles of the British line, the countenance which they perceived, and the preparation made for their reception, were so little inviting, that they suddenly again tacked, and standing to the eastward by the wind, were entirely out of sight by the evening. The *Monmouth* being refitted with jury-masts, in the best manner which the present situation would admit, the admiral



was enabled on the fourth day after to proceed to Trincomale, where he used the utmost diligence in repairing the ships, and preparing the squadron for further speedy service; the calls for their utmost exertion becoming now more frequent and urgent, than at any former time.

Such was the result of this fierce and bloody naval contest, in which the English fought under every disadvantage of wind and situation.— Captain Alms had the fortune to be peculiarly distinguished; and it was remarkable, that his situation in the Monmouth on this day, should so nearly resemble that of Commodore King, and of the Exeter, in the last action. The slaughter of his men was equal to the havoc of his ship. No less than 45 were killed, and 102 wounded, in the Monmouth only; which was probably a full third of her crew. The extraordinary fortitude with which he sustained so long and so desperate a contest, against a superiority that seemed to render courage fruitless, would have afforded room for the highest praise, and even for national exultation, if it had been displayed in circumstances wherein that virtue was less general. It was much and generally regretted, that his recollection of such an action should have been embittered, as it was, by the loss of his son, a most gallant youth, who having been just made a lieutenant in the admiral's ship, fell, on that day, in a noble emulation of his father.

The whole loss sustained in the squadron, amounted to 137 killed, and to 430 wounded; the latter,

in that climate, and at that distance from home, being little less a deduction from the common strength than the former. The French not only directed their principal attack to the centre, but it was there only that, after the example of M. de Suffrein, and immediately under his eye, they ventured upon bold exertion, and came into close action. Our officers in the van complained that they generally kept at a guarded long-shot distance; a mode of action, which, from whatever cause it proceeds, generally proves very pernicious in its effect upon the masts and rigging of English ships.

The strong motives which induced Sir Edward Hughes rather to wish to avoid than to seek action, until he had landed the supplies and troops, and got quit of the sick at Trincomale, proved extremely unfortunate in the event, having afforded the means for all those advantages which the enemy possessed in the engagement.— Could he have foreseen or thought that they were really determined on fighting, he undoubtedly would have bore down upon them, and brought them to that point while the wind was in his favour; but more especially on the first day of their appearance, when they are said to have been so much scattered, that they could not easily have recovered their order. In either of these cases, but particularly the latter, it may well be presumed, that the action would have borne a very different colour, and produced consequences far different from what it did.— But it is to be observed, that the admiral could only form a judgment

ment of the enemy's present, by their general conduct, which at almost all times goes rather to evade than to seek, close and general action with the English at sea; at least without a very decided superiority; which, as they were ignorant of the weak state of the Sultan and Magnanime, was not at this time of such apparent magnitude, as might encourage any extraordinary deviation from the usual practice. It seems then, considering the essential objects which he had in view, that the admiral acted the part of a wise and able commander, in not abandoning them for a vain pursuit, or for the sake of fighting the enemy, when even that would have presented no consideration of equal value in return. It seems indeed, that the intention of fighting on the other side, only sprung up with the unexpected occasion of advantage that offered, when the English squadron was so locked in by the wind and the land, that they might direct their attacks against it, in whatever manner, and to whatever extent they pleased.

The French fleet proceeded after the action to Batacalo, a Dutch port on the island of Ceylon, about 20 leagues to the southward of Trincomale, where they were detained until the month of June, in endeavouring to repair and equip their shattered ships.—It is acknowledged in their own account, that the admiral's ship the Heros, with her seconds, the L'Orient and the Brilliant, had suffered extremely; that M. de Suffrein had been obliged to shift his flag from the former to the Ajax; that the condition and

situation of these three ships occasioned his putting an end to the action, and making the signal to cast anchor. It is farther acknowledged, and serves to shew more than any thing else, the disorder and confusion which then prevailed on the French side, that the Heros had cast anchor in the middle of the English squadron, while the rain and darkness prevented their perceiving her situation; until her captain at length discovering his danger, seized a favourable moment to cut his cable, and escape. They likewise acknowledge, that the La Fine had been under orders to tow her off, when she fell on board the Isis; but the fact of her striking is overlooked; and it is only coldly observed, that she separated from that ship without fighting.

The loss of men on the French side, as stated in their published account, by no means accords with former experience, any more than with the nature and circumstances of the action, the acknowledged damage sustained by their ships, and the number of officers (whose names could not well be concealed) which appear in both lists of the killed and wounded.—In this account, the slain are rated at 139, and the wounded at 364.

Though these actions neither were nor could be decisive in favour of the English, yet they were, particularly the first, of no small importance in their consequences. Every body knew the great force which France, at an immense expence, had been long collecting in her African islands; and all India was in expectation of the mighty blow which she was now to give,

and which it was supposed would have proved fatal to the British interests in that quarter of the globe. It was in this idea that Hyder Ally first ventured to invade the Carnatic; and it was upon the same principle, that notwithstanding his repeated defeats, he still rejected every overture tending to an accommodation that could be made. A sufficient naval force to crush that of the English, was, excepting some artillery and engineers, probably all the aid which he wished for from France; for he was little disposed to place any great confidence in the services of a French, or indeed of any European army in India; their military knowledge and skill, as officers and engineers, was all that he valued; nor did he wish that France, or any other foreign nation, should retain any inland footing whatever in the country. He only wished the English resources by sea to be cut off, and he knew that every thing must then be at his own disposal.

Exhausted then as his patience was, through the failure of France in so long delaying to fulfil her engagements, whilst he was alone exposed to all the rigours of a most dangerous war, how great must have been his disappointment, and how highly must it have excited the astonishment of all India, when it was seen, that with so considerable a real, and so vast an apparent superiority of force, the French fleet would not venture to attack the English in the open road of Madras; but that on the contrary, these instantly pursue the superior enemy, take or disperse the con-

voy under his protection, and in a hard fought battle, wherein they had other disadvantages besides a superiority of force to encounter, leave the claim to victory undetermined? Nothing could have impressed the princes and states of India more strongly with an opinion of the great superiority of the English in all naval affairs, than these circumstances; nor could any thing afford a more grievous mortification to Hyder; who now saw his hopes of taking Madras, of deposing the Nabob of Arcot, and of placing his son Tippoo in possession of the Carnatic, to be as remote and uncertain as ever.

We have heretofore seen, that Tellicherry, on the Malabar coast, had been constantly invested, and more or less closely pressed, by Hyder's forces, from the very beginning of the war; and, that under the pressure of those losses and misfortunes, which were about that time so general, and of that depression and hopelessness, bordering on despair, which prevailed, it had even been in contemplation to abandon that settlement. We have likewise shewn, that Sir Edward Hughes had relieved and preserved the place.—The blockade, however, still continued, and the strength and number of the enemy increased; but they were of a kind, at that distance from the seat of Hyder's power and discipline, unequal to the carrying on of a regular siege, and were contented with closely shutting up the place, and barring the principal passages with forts; waiting for famine, or other distress, to supply the defects of military skill. The works  
with

with which they blocked up the place, were covered by a fortified camp at a moderate distance.

Such was the state of things at Tellichery, when, in the very beginning of the year, Major Abingdon having arrived there from Bombay, with a considerable reinforcement of troops, he immediately concerted measures for relieving the town from the distresses which it endured through its present straitened situation, by a vigorous attempt to dislodge the enemy, and open the communications with the country. Having originally encamped with his own troops without the town, he was the better enabled to discover the situation of the enemy, and could the more immediately commence his operations; while his lying quiet for some days together with a vain opinion of their own strength, concurred in rendering them totally unapprehensive of his design.

Having drawn such part of the garrison as could be spared, without notice, into his camp, he concerted his measures so well, that he had surprized, attacked, and carried their several forts, before day, on the morning of the 8th of January 1782; and pursued his success with such celerity and vigour, that not giving them a moment to recover from their confusion, he stormed the enemy's fortified camp as soon as it was light, and completely routed and dispersed their main force. Saddos Cawn, who commanded for Hyder, with his family, and a party of his best or most attached troops, retired into an exceedingly strong fortified house, and of a most singular construction; it be-

ing scooped into the side of a hill, and the walls formed of the living rock. Here they made an obstinate defence; but their fastnesses were at length forced with considerable slaughter: and an inner recess, which was of such strength and contrivance as to be bomb proof, was not sufficient to save Saddos Cawn (who was sorely wounded) and his family, from being made prisoners. This man was represented in the European gazettes as being brother-in-law to Hyder Ally, an error founded on a sister of his being in that prince's seraglio; a sort of connexion which is not at all considered as constituting any such degree of affinity.

Several hundreds of the enemy were killed, and fourteen or fifteen hundred taken prisoners, in this brisk action; which besides afforded a very considerable spoil, consisting in a numerous artillery, with a large quantity of military stores, and a number of elephants, which were found in the several forts and redoubts. By this success, the communications with the country were not only opened, but the coast for several miles on either hand of Tellicherry, was entirely cleared of the enemy. Few things could have been more vexatious to Hyder than this stroke. For his possessions on the Malabar coast, being partly acquired by conquest and partly by fraud, the Nairs, who are the native princes and nobility, and who had suffered most severely in the ineffectual struggle for the preservation of their ancient rights and liberties, which had, from the earliest times, till then, been unviolated, were still exceedingly disaffected

to his government. It was besides a matter of the most serious alarm to him; that the English should at all become formidable in that quarter, from its vicinity to the rich kingdoms of Canara and Mysore, which were the great sources of his wealth and power.

## C H A P. III.

*Colonel Brathwaite's detachment suddenly surrounded by Tippoo Saib, with a considerable army, on the banks of the Coleroon. Desperate resistance. Cruel slaughter restrained by the humanity of M. Lally. Southern provinces laid entirely open to the enemy by this loss. Embarrassing situation of Sir Eyre Coote. French forces, under the conduct of M. Durbemin, land at Pondicherry, and are joined by a body of Hyder's troops; the combined enemy besiege Cuddalore and Permacoil, both of which they take; and meditate, in concert with the grand army, an attack upon the important fortress of Vandivash. Sir Eyre Coote, in advancing to the protection of Vandivash, hopes thereby to bring on a battle with Hyder; but finding the latter relinquished his object to evade that design, he pushes on two days march to attack him on his own ground. Hyder abandons his camp, and retires to a secure position on the Red Hills. British general, in order to draw the enemy from his strong post, and bring on an action, advances towards the fortress of Arnee, where his magazines are deposited. Manœuvre succeeds: Hyder immediately descends from the Red Hills, and marches to the relief of Arnee. Battle of the 2d of June. Enemy routed and pursued till night. The want of cavalry on one side, and abundance of it on the other, prevent the grand effects of victory in this war. Pursuit continued for two days. Enemy abandon the great road, and cross the country to Arnee. British grand guard cut off. Fatigue, sickness, and want of provisions, oblige the army to fall back towards the sources of its supply. Sir Eyre Coote's ill health obliges him to quit the army, and leave the command to General Stuart. Hyder in a similar state of ill health. Destined never to face each other again in the field. Both, probably, victims to the contention. Failure of Hyder's great designs, affects his constitution. French Squadron returns from the island of Ceylon to the coast of Coromandel, and is followed by the English. M. de Suffrein takes on board great reinforcements of troops and artillerymen at Cuddalore, with a view of entirely crushing the British naval power in those seas. Appears before Negapatam, to challenge Sir Edward Hughes. Action of the 6th of July. French fleet saved by a sudden shift of wind. Severe strikes to the Sultan, but afterwards escapes. Capt. Maclellan, of the admiral's ship killed. Great loss of the enemy. While the squadron is refitting at Madras, M. de Suffrein joins the Sieur d'Aymar, on the coast of Ceylon, who is arrived there with two ships of the line, and the second division of the Marquis de Bussy's troops from the Mauritius. Enemy besiege and take Trincomalee, while the British Squadron is detained by adverse winds from its rescue. Sir E. Hughes arrives early in the morning close in with that place. Enemy, relying on their superior*

*superior force, come out to battle. Desperate and well fought action on the 3d of September. Enemy lose one of their best ships in getting in to Trincomale. Loss of men small, with respect to number; but the three brave captains, Wood, Watts and Lumley, with other distinguished officers, are unfortunately slain. Great loss of the enemy. Admirable behaviour of the British commanders, through the whole course of this severe naval warfare.*

THE blow which Hyder received on the Malabar coast, was soon returned with heavy interest on the banks of the Coleroon. Indeed retaliation was generally to be apprehended as the consequence of success, in the conflicts with that dangerous enemy.

Colonel Braithwaite had for some considerable time commanded a detached body of forces, which was called the southern army, and appears to have been destined to the protection of Tanjour and the adjoining provinces. It likewise appears that Sir Eyre Coote had early in the year been training every nerve to advance the army from Madras to the southward, in order to be at hand to repress the designs of Hyder Ally and the French on the side of Pondicherry; and that he was so entirely destitute of the means necessary to that purpose, that it was a work of time, and a matter of the greatest difficulty, to make a movement even to so small a distance as Chingleput. It is not a little fortunate to the commanders of armies in general, that such embarrassing circumstances with respect to the means of warfare are not frequent.

We find by that general's letter to the secretary of state upon the subject, that he was at the same time involved in another difficulty, the nature of which we can by no means clearly compre-

hend. Sir Eyre Coote represents in that letter, that he was anxiously expecting the result of an application which he had made to the governor general and council of Bengal, for restoring his authority over the southern troops, that he might be enabled to direct them to such a co-operation, as would tend to facilitate his own movements, and to distract the designs of their enemies. What new powers the commander in chief of all the company's forces could have wanted upon this occasion, or how the southern command should have got beyond his authority, we are incapable of explaining.

Colonel Braithwaite lay with his detachment on the banks of the Coleroon, which forms the northern boundary of the Tanjour kingdom. Though his force was not great with respect to number, his troops were excellent, consisting of about 2,000 tried infantry, and a small body of 250 cavalry, with 13 field pieces. His situation in a flat and open country, where no security, through the want of advantageous posts, could be obtained by retreat, and where succour was impossible, evidently would have exposed him to great danger, if a superior enemy, abounding in cavalry, had been within reach to profit of it; but this did not appear to be the case, for Hyder's army was distant, and



the several deep and great rivers in the way, seemed to forbid the sudden and unexpected approach of any such considerable body of the enemy, as might be sufficient to afford real cause for alarm.

These circumstances of the colonel's situation did not escape the vigilant attention of Tippoo Saib; whose active mind, eagerly seeking for adventure, was still the more stimulated to this sort of desultory enterprize, from the success which had attended his attack upon Colonel Baillie. It is to be observed, that rivers, and even small or moderate arms of the sea, are a very ineffective barrier against Hyder's forces: who has for many years constituted the passing of such great and dangerous waters, under the most untoward circumstances and alarming appearances, among the common military exercises both of his cavalry and infantry. Tippoo Saib was accompanied in this expedition by Mons. Lally, with about 400 French; his native forces being estimated at 20,000, of whom more than half were cavalry. With this army, and 20 pieces of cannon, he, by several forced marches, gained, with great expedition, the banks of the Coleroon; and passing that river with no less celerity than he had hitherto surmounted all other obstacles in his way, suddenly surrounded Brathwaite's corps, which could not be supposed in any degree of preparation for so unexpected an attack.

This action, in many respects, resembled that in which Colonel Baillie was engaged, but was of much longer continuance. The attack commenced on the 16th of

February, 1782, and the affair was not decided until the 18th. It has been asserted in a letter, written by an officer who was in the action, that during 26 hours of those three days, an unremitting fire of cannon and small arms had been supported on both sides. The suddenness of the surprize, nor the imminence of the danger, produced none of their usual effects, whether with respect to the collection and composure, or to the undaunted courage, which were displayed and supported through the whole affair, by the British commander and his officers; the former of whom, though severely wounded and bleeding fast, could not be prevailed upon to withdraw from the action even for a moment. As he was attacked on all sides, and obliged to present a front to every attack, he threw his detachment into a hollow square, with his 13 field pieces interspersed in its faces, and his small body of cavalry drawn up in the centre.

Tippoo Saib's design, (and in which he thought he could not fail of succeeding) was by a violent cannonade on all sides to break or disorder the square in some of its faces, and then rushing on impetuously with his cavalry, instantly to complete the destruction of the whole. But the noise and violence of his cannonade, with the distant fire of his musquetry, were totally incapable of making the smallest impression on the order of the British sepoys, who, with a firmness that cannot be too much admired, were proof to a fire; and to such an aspect of inevitable destruction, as might have put the constancy and discipline

pline of the best European troops to the test. Finding this failure in the first part of his design, and not placing the loss of men in any competition with the attainment of his object, he thought to supply the defect by the number and courage of his cavalry, who he expected could not fail of breaking in at some point or other of the attack, and of then soon-cutting or trampling down the whole party. He accordingly made reiterated attempts to lead on his cavalry to the charge; but though they advanced with the greatest impetuosity and fury, they were constantly received with such incessant showers of grape and musket shot, and such havock made amongst them in the approach, that they were as constantly broken on the way, and obliged to fly in the utmost disorder; whilst at the very instant of their breaking, the party of cavalry sallied full gallop from the centre of the square, and pursuing them furiously with heavy and unresisted execution to a proper distance, again returned to their former station.

Such was the nature of the repeated attacks which they sustained, and such the hard and desperate service, which this handful of brave men underwent through so long a course of time. But in this course their numbers were continually thinned, while the brave survivors, worn down with wounds and fatigue, were still more subdued by the evident fruitlessness of their exertions. At length, on the third day, Monf. Lally seeing the total failure of the cavalry, and that so far from fulfilling Tippoo Saib's sanguine hopes of riding over at once and

trampling upon the British infantry, no possible means could bring them to the resolution of ever making one charge up to the lines, he proposed a new disposition and more effectual mode of attack.

M. Lally marched himself at the head of his 400 Europeans, with fixed bayonets, to the attack of that side of the square, which was the most exposed or seemed the weakest; he being accompanied and supported by several battalions of the enemy's best infantry, and flanked by cavalry. Whilst he was advancing to this attack, the whole fire of their artillery was poured in upon the other three faces, which were at the same time menaced and harrassed by great bodies of cavalry, who were ready to rush in upon them, at the instant that they ventured upon any change in their position; so that the attacked front could not receive the smallest support whatever from the others. The poor wearied sepoys in that front, were little able to withstand the vigorous bayonet attack of such a body of Europeans coming fresh into action, confident, as they were, of success; and supported by such a weight of native troops. They were soon broken, and the cavalry instantly rushing in, a dreadful carnage ensued.

This moment of horror and destruction afforded an opportunity to M. Lally of displaying the noblest humanity, and of transmitting his name with favour and honour to posterity. He not only issued immediate orders for putting a stop to the carnage, which were readily obeyed by the infantry,



fantry, but he hastened personally, and with apparent hazard, to chastise and restrain the blind and cruel fury of the cavalry; five of whom are said to have fallen by his own hand in that generous exertion. The slaughter was, however, great in the first instance; but as soon as it was effectually restrained, Lally, as if it were entirely to perfect what he had so happily begun, prevailed upon Tippoo Saib to commit the prisoners to his own charge; and the kindness and tenderness which they continued to experience from him, particularly the officers and wounded, fully equalled his generosity and humanity in the field. Many gallant British officers fell in this unfortunate affair; and of the whole number who were in the field, only one escaped being wounded. They lost every thing but their honour; and were still doomed to suffer the miseries of a long and cruel imprisonment at Seringapatam, Hyder's capital in the Mysore kingdom.

This unfortunate stroke on the Coleroon, could not but totally disconcert Sir Eyre Coote's plan for the conduct of the campaign. All the countries to the southward were now laid entirely open to the designs of the enemy; whilst Hyder, with his grand army, closely watched the motions, and was powerfully prepared to obstruct the designs of the English general, on the northern side, who was already most unfortunately cramped in his operations through those circumstances which we have before stated. In this state of imbecility or constraint on the one side, and of active power on the other, the French forces and ar-

tillery from the islands, under the immediate conduct of M. Duchemin, (being the first division of that great force, under the Marquis de Buffy, which was intended for the subversion of the English power in India) were, in the course of the month of March, disembarked by Suffrein at Pondicherry. These being received or joined by a body of Hyder's forces, the combined enemy marched in full confidence and security to besiege Cuddalore; a place of sufficient strength and of great importance; but not expecting a siege, and being, through that, and the unfavourable circumstances of the times, unprovided for any length of defence, Captain Hughes, the commandant, was obliged to surrender it by capitulation on the 8th of April. Thus assured by success, and encouraged by having no enemy to oppose them in the field, as well as by the weak and unprovided state of the garrisons, they advanced to the northward, where they besieged and took Permacoil; and then, in concert with Hyder, were directing their views to a joint attack upon Vandiwash.

These unexpected losses, and this new danger, were not necessary to quicken Sir Eyre Coote in his endeavours to put the army in motion. Vandiwash was indeed of such great importance, that a less active and vigilant commander, could have left no means unsought, nor resource untried for its preservation. He accordingly advanced with the army towards that place, in full confidence that Hyder, being now strengthened by so powerful an aid of Europeans, would be no

ways

ways averse to a general action, or indeed that he would rather be pleased with so early an opportunity of trying, and of benefiting by their energy : at all events, he concluded that he would sooner fight, than relinquish an object, which he had so much at heart, and which was of so much real consequence as the taking of Vandiwash. He found himself, however, mistaken in all his conclusions, well founded, as they certainly were ; and it soon appeared, that the presence even of his European allies, was not sufficient to restore Hyder's confidence in the issue of a field battle with the English.

The protection of Vandiwash was not, however sufficient to satisfy the British general ; and as his position there was too advantageous to encourage Hyder's approach, he determined to seek him upon his own ground ; still concluding, that the disgrace of retiring from so inferior a force under the eyes of strangers, who were themselves his allies, eminent for their own military abilities, and already prepossessed, through the greatness of his name, in an opinion of his superior prowess in war, together with a sense of the impression which so shameful a retreat would make upon all the other states of India, and even upon his own subjects and forces, would inevitably induce Hyder to stand the hazard of a battle ; and that even though the measure should be contrary to his own opinion, he would notwithstanding be forced to give way to the united operation, of so many powerful concurrent motives. In this opinion,

he pushed on two days march directly to Hyder's camp. But that wary prince was not to be overruled or guided in his conduct, by any regard to appearances, or to the opinions of others. He submitted without hesitation to the supposed disgrace, and took care to fall back in good time, without at all waiting for so near an approach of the British army as could by any means enable them to disturb his retreat ; and directing his course to the Red Hills, he there took a position of such strength, as he well knew would deter an able and experienced general, from all attempt upon an army of such magnitude as he commanded.

It is perhaps among the distinguishing features of great talents, and is undoubtedly highly necessary in military affairs, not to trust so much to them, as to venture upon measures of great importance, and capable of much danger in their consequences, without full consultation and advice. This was at least a leading part of Sir Eyre Coote's character. He held a council of war, and having communicated all the intelligence he possessed to his officers, he then laid before them his own ideas, and the plan he had thereupon framed, in order to draw the enemy from his present strong post, and thereby to obtain an opportunity of bringing him to action. Hyder's great magazines were deposited in the strong fortress of Arnee, and the general suggested, that a movement towards that place, would not only be a means of effectually checking his supplies, but would alarm him so much for its safety, tha

that on both accounts, he probably would be led to descend from his present position on the hills.

The general's proposal being unanimously approved of in the council of war, he directed his course towards Arnee, and encamped within five miles of that place. This judicious movement, immediately produced the intended effect, by drawing Hyder down from the hills, who marched with the utmost expedition to the rescue of a place which contained the means of carrying on the war. This movement, however, continued unknown to the general, until a little before day, at the very moment that the army was commencing its five mile march to Arnee; and this intelligence rendered it then a matter of deliberation, whether he should still proceed to that place, or advance to meet Hyder, and fight him on the way? He determined on the former, as the most certain means of bringing the enemy to action; for if Hyder found that he could save the place, by drawing the English army away from its position, he then would have been under no necessity of risking a battle, which was a decision that he evidently had no disposition to appeal to, while it could be avoided without some signal loss.

It was not the least of the many great difficulties which the British general had to encounter in this war, that the vast crowds of Hyder's cavalry, which constantly attended and watched all the smallest movements of the army, covering as it were the whole face of the adjoining country, ren-

dered it almost impossible to obtain any precise information of the motions or situation of his main body; nor could the evolutions or approach of the former, which they were endless in the repetition of, be considered as the smallest indication either of his distance or designs. The van of the army had already reached Arnee, and were marking out a camp in sight of the place, when a distant cannonade on the rear, announced to the general Hyder's sudden approach, who was till then supposed to be at several miles distance.

This surprize, however, produced no manner of disorder, although their arrival at that critical juncture afforded great advantages to the enemy in their attack; for the army was in a low situation surrounded by commanding grounds, which Hyder's forces instantly took possession of; so that their manœuvres were performed under every possible disadvantage in that respect, and they were exposed to a heavy though distant cannonade during the time they were forming. These difficulties and disadvantages by no means disconcerted the general, who used the utmost dispatch, and displayed all his usual ability, in making such dispositions, and adopting such measures, as would the most speedily remove or remedy them, and might, in their effect, tend to bring the enemy to close and decisive action.

It was notwithstanding June 2d, near mid-day, before he could reduce the enemy's 1782. various attacks to one settled point of action; but as soon as that

that was accomplished, the British troops advanced upon them with such resistless impetuosity, that Hyder's army gave way on every side. A total rout ensued, and the enemy were pursued till late in the evening.

The want of cavalry on the British side, and the superabundance of it on the other, prevented victory from producing any of its grand effects in this war, whether with respect to the destruction of men, the taking of prisoners and artillery, or the total dispersion and ruin of the enemy's army. It is however a matter peculiarly worthy of observation, and although Hyder's tried and veteran sepoys and grenadiers, who once would not have dreaded the encounter of any enemy whatever, had long since been worn out and consumed in this war, yet that such were the effects of his own great military talents, and of the remains of that admirable order and discipline which he had been so many years establishing, that even the sort of troops which he now commanded, though incapable of long standing the brunt of close and severe action with the English sepoys, yet they were, in all circumstances, still obedient to command, and soon recovered their order; never once being guilty of that shameful dereliction of their commanders, and irretrievable dispersion, which, before his time, had been the constant concomitants of defeat in Indian armies. When Hyder's army was beat, whatever the loss, or however great the defeat, it was still beaten like an European army; and, like that, was easily recalled to order

and service, and speedily fit for fresh action. It is not less remarkable, nor worthy of observation, that, although before Hyder's time, the surprize of Indian camps at night by Europeans, and the ever consequent destruction of their armies, were among the common incidents of warfare: yet, that so wonderful was the change which he introduced in the government of armies, and so admirable the measures with respect to guards and the establishment of posts, that in all the course of his wars with the English, though opposed by some of the most enterprising officers in the world, and by commanders of first rate abilities, no camp of his was ever surprized by night or by day. Nor will this appear the less extraordinary when we recollect, that some of the greatest generals and best armies, even in Europe, have not at all times been exempt from such misfortunes.

On the day after the battle, Sir Eyre Coote having obtained intelligence, that Hyder was encamped upon such strong ground, as might encourage him to stand another action, and seemed to be chosen for that purpose, he again advanced upon him. But, upon his coming up, he found the enemy retreating with great precipitation, although the approaches to his encampment were so difficult that they might be disputed with much advantage. The pursuit was continued on the following day, until it was found that the enemy had quitted the road, and crossed the country towards Arnee. But however Hyder might be defeated, and obliged to fly, he still remained unconquered; and

and was ever formidable and dangerous. In less than a week after the battle, a body of his chosen cavalry found means to draw the British grand guard into an ambuscade, and cut them entirely off before they could be supported by the army. The troops and cattle during this time, having suffered greatly by heat, sickness and fatigue, and the stock of provision they had brought with them being nearly exhausted, the general found it necessary to fall back, within reach of the sources of his supply.

The battle of the 2d of June was the last, in which these two great commanders were ever destined to face each other; nor was either of them afterwards present at any action of importance. They did not survive many months; and though they equally escaped the dangers of the field, it seems probable that they were both victims to this contention.

The British general could not but complete the ruin of a constitution, already much impaired and broken, by the fatigues which he underwent, and the unparalleled difficulties which he had to encounter, in every part of this most arduous and dangerous war.

On the other hand, though his great rival and antagonist, was much a younger man, and possessed an uncommonly vigorous and robust constitution, he had for some time encountered, and was now particularly experiencing, such a series of unexpected difficulties, disappointments, and dangers, as were sufficient to put the firmest mind and the strongest constitution to the test. His prospects were every day becoming

more unfavourable, and affairs seemed now rapidly tending to a crisis, which could not, to a mind so comprehensive as his, but be seriously alarming. He had been able to bring desolation and ruin upon the Carnatic; but with all his power and all his exertions, he had failed in the great purposes of the war; and he was too clear sighted not fully to perceive, that the season for their attainment was now elapsed. He had long considered the English as the only effective obstacles to the vast designs which he had formed in India. His ambition not only soared to the restoration of the Mogul empire, and its establishment in his own family, but he confided in his own ability, for laying it out upon a more extensive scale, and fixing it upon much stronger and more permanent foundations, than those upon which it had been originally raised. The present weak and degenerate race of Mahomedan princes, who had sprung up upon the ruins of the fallen empire, he held in such contempt, as men unworthy of the situations in which fortune had placed them, and incapable of all the purposes whether of war or of government; that so far from considering them as at all interfering with his views, he, on the contrary, held their wealth and their power as sure resources, to be applied, as the occasion might require, to their completion. The Mahrattas were the only native power which he had to apprehend; but he had been so long in the practice of playing upon and managing those intestine divisions, to which the nature of their government so pecu-

peculiarly exposes that people, that he had no doubt of being equally successful in the future; and that he should be able, either by money to render them inert, or by civil commotion incapable, until he had grown beyond their grasp or reach.

These mighty designs, which had been long restrained by the great power and military reputation of the English, were at length brought into act, by that distracted state of affairs, and those numerous enemies, which the alternate weakness and temerity of their councils, with the rapacity of individuals, had, at length, brought upon them. These were the real motives, independent of all former causes, whether of private or public resentment, which led to Hyder's irruption into the Carnatic. The state of their affairs at that time, and the weakness and ill government of their ally, the Nabob of Arcot, seemed to lay that rich and extensive country an easy prey at his feet; and his first successes were such, that it was no wonder he expected to have been master of Madras, and of the whole coast of Coromandel, within a few weeks. With this vast addition of power, and increase of renown, together with the means which they would afford to him of prescribing laws for the conduct of all the lesser states, and of directing the already excited resentments of the Mahrattas to the attainment of his own purposes, it seemed as if there would be nothing but a sufficient naval force wanting, to enable him to drive the English entirely out of India. This deficiency France had promised to

supply, and he depended upon her engagement. Indeed so little was he disposed to depend upon the aid of others, in any thing which came within his own possible comprehension, that he had for several years past used extraordinary, and for that part of the world, almost wonderful efforts, to become himself a potent maritime power; not only by the acquisition of a great length of sea coast, but by his sparing no expence in the purchase and building of ships; not to mention his conquest of the numberless Maldivé islands, which would have afforded him an inexhaustible resource of seamen.

The vigorous measures pursued upon the arrival of Sir Eyre Coote at Madras, and the subsequent repeated defeats which he received from that commander, not only blasted Hyder's hopes of speedy conquest, but broke in upon and disconcerted the whole scheme of his designs. He soon made the unexpected and unwelcome discovery, that instead of rapidly subduing the Carnatic, and being then free to follow up the chain of his other projects to the end, it was become a matter of the greatest doubt, whether his own force singly would ever be equal to the accomplishment of the first object. The confidence in his own power thus overthrown, he had only to place his trust in, and wishfully to look forward to the arrival of that French naval armament, which was to sweep the English out of the Indian seas; this great service once performed, Hyder well knew that he was himself fully competent to the completion of the business by land,



at least so far as related to the coast of Coromandel. After long and tedious delay, when expectation and hope was nearly exhausted, the French fleet arrived, and after exciting a transitory gleam of hope, failed in the attainment of all its objects, so far at least as related to him; for desperate fights at sea, without any decisive consequences, or the taking two or three transports, or a number of provision vessels on their way to and from Madras, were matters which afforded neither consolation nor profit to Hyder.

It could not then be without that anguish, which disappointed ambition, and a total overthrow of the most sanguine hopes are capable of exciting, that he now beheld all his designs frustrated. The lingering war in the Carnatic afforded neither advantage nor hope; and, if it was ruinous to his enemies, it was scarcely less so to himself. The country was already so desolated, that it was of little farther value to either of the parties, than as it afforded them a multitude of strong posts and garrisons, and a wide scene for every kind of action and manœuvre in war. It had already been the grave of his best generals, officers and troops, and not much less of his own military reputation; at the same time, that he was so deeply involved, that he could not quit so unfortunate and hopeless a scene of contest, without a total dereliction of his past name and renown.

Whilst he was thus chained down in the Carnatic, he saw the clouds gathering on every side, and every indication of an approaching and dreadful storm. He

knew that a treaty of peace, and perhaps of alliance, was far advanced, if not already concluded, between the English and the Mahrattas. He had too much reason to apprehend, that an intended partition of his dominions would be the band of union between those late enemies; who were both exceedingly jealous of his power, and had both suffered extremely by his arms. He had no confederacy to oppose to so formidable a junction; which, on the contrary, was likely to draw after it all the states in India; for there were few of them who had not been either jealous of his power, or afraid of his designs; and the most inconsiderable would hope to pick up some share of the spoil, in such a general wreck of his fortunes. But if this apprehended confederacy did not even take place, he saw that the English being now freed from their Mahratta enemy, would direct their whole force against him singly; and that while his hands were fully occupied in the Carnatic, Bombay and Bengal would urge their utmost efforts against him on the Malabar side; where he was most vulnerable, and from whence they might easily carry the war into the very centre of his dominions. As to his French allies, they had already failed him in that point, in which only he considered them as capable of doing him any essential service; for as to their land forces, he set but little value upon them; and he besides knew, that they could never be able to send such an army to that distance, as would be in any degree capable, in these circumstances, of turning the scale of war



war in his favour. Indeed it had been one of his own long established maxims, that the Europeans could never become powerful or formidable in India, by any other means, than by that of native troops, raised and disciplined in the country.

Such was the situation, and such probably the feelings and reflections of Hyder.

Sir Eyre Coote's ill health rendering him incapable of continuing any longer in the field, and Sir Hector Monto returning to Europe, the command of the army devolved on Major-general Stuart. The country was now so entirely ruined, that the contending armies were obliged to draw their supplies from other quarters, which, besides the immense expence it occasioned, could not but greatly impede the operations of the war. Hyder, however, from the nearness on all sides of his own dominions, was, comparatively with the English, but little affected by this circumstance. As the enemy still cautiously abstained from risking an action, and that it was impossible to force them to it, at the same time, that they were too numerous and powerful in the field, and the French too strong at Cuddalore, to admit of any attempt for the recovery of that place, a toilsome campaign on the side of General Stuart, was spent in long and laborious marches, either occasioned by the motions of the enemy, or intended to counteract their designs, by the supply and relief of garrisons; so that no event of any considerable importance took place in the Carnatic during the remainder of the year.

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But this cessation was confined entirely to the land; for the Indian ocean was still destined to be the scene of hard and bloody action. M. de Suffrein had returned from Battacalo to the coast of Coromandel, pretty early in June, and having touched at the Danish settlement of Tranquebar, where his fleet was re victualled by several Dutch ships which had arrived for that purpose from Batavia, he proceeded thence to Cuddalore, which the French had rendered their strong and great place of arms, both for the land and sea service. The French commander had it now in contemplation to fulfil Hyder's hopes, (with whom he had held several conferences) by totally crushing the English squadron, before the arrival of Sir Richard Bickerton, who with several ships of war, had been long on his way from England, and most impatiently expected at Madras. He still preserved his former superiority, of twelve ships of the line to eleven, besides his heavy frigates, and he used all possible means to prepare them in the best manner for immediate action. In order to render this superiority fully decisive against a squadron so weakly manned as the English, he replenished his ships with 400 French, and as many sepoys, at Cuddalore; and receiving intelligence soon after that Sir Edward Hughes was arrived on the coast, he, under pretence of a design on Negapatam, strengthened his squadron with 300 artillery men; than which, no aid could be more thoroughly effectively.

Sir Edward Hughes having new masted the Monmouth, and re-  
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fitted his other ships, as well as time and circumstances would admit at Trincomale, as soon as he received intelligence that the enemy were departed from Batacalo, lost no time in his preparation to follow them to the coast; and having taken on board his recovered men, arrived at Negapatam towards the end of the month.

The French commander, confiding in his strength, appeared boldly with 18 ships before Negapatam to challenge his enemy, who, without regard to his number or force, was by no means slack in answering the defiance. It was past noon when the French fleet came in sight, and Sir Edward Hughes was in such admirable readiness, and so little disposed to give them any delay, that by three o'clock he had weighed anchor, and instantly putting out to sea, stood to the southward during the evening and the night, in order to gain the wind of the enemy. This essential point being gained, and confirmed by several masterly evolutions in the morning, when the squadron had nearly closed with the enemy, he threw out signals for every ship to bear down directly upon her opposite in the French line, and to bring her to close action. These orders were admirably obeyed; and for some considerable time, the action was close, warm, and generally well maintained on both sides. The firing had commenced in the French line, about twenty minutes before eleven o'clock, but was not returned on the side of the English until they had sufficiently neared

the enemy, which was some minutes later.

At something more than half past twelve, the French line appeared to be in great disorder, and several of their ships were perceived to have suffered extremely both in their masts and hulls. The van ship had already been obliged to bear away quite out of the line; the *Brilliant*, the French admiral's second a head, had lost her main-mast; and several others shewed sufficient marks of loss and disorder. At this critical moment, when even hope itself could scarcely find any thing to cling to, fortune befriended the enemy, and a sudden shift of wind saved the French squadron from absolute ruin. The sea-breeze set in with such unusual power, that several of the English ships in the van and centre, particularly those which had received the greatest damage in their masts and rigging, were taken a back, and paid round on the heel, with their heads the contrary way; while others, particularly those in the rear, whose rigging had suffered the least in the action, were able to withstand this shift of the wind, and accordingly continued on their former tack.

The circumstance, so fortunate to the one side, and untoward with respect to the other, necessarily breaking the British line, and totally deforming their order of battle, rendered them incapable of prosecuting their advantage with effect; while the disabled, broken, and flying enemy, were thereby enabled to recollect and recover themselves. For during this state of disorder in the British

British line, the French squadron had time to wear, and getting upon a new tack, to form with those ships which had suffered least a-line to windward, in order to cover those which were disabled. In the intermediate time, Sir Edward Hughes seeing part of his ships on one tack, and the more numerous on the other, while the *Eagle*, *Worcester*, and *Burford*, which had been able to continue on their former, were nearing the enemy's main body very fast, he attempted to remedy this disorder, by hauling down the signal for the line, and throwing out another to wear, which he intended to follow with that for a general chase. But at this instant he was hailed by Captain Gell, of the *Monarca*, who informed him, that not only all his standing rigging had been shot away, but that his ship had otherwise received so much damage as to be utterly ungovernable; and the admiral perceiving at the same time, that the enemy, who had now worn, and were coming on the larboard tack, were endeavouring to cut off the *Eagle*, while at the other extremity of the line, his van ship, the *Hero*, was getting in so close with the land as to make a signal of distress, he found it necessary to throw out the signal for wearing only. During this operation, a partial engagement was continued between such of the English ships and of the French as happened to come within the reach of each other, and the *Eagle* was for some time hard pressed by two of the enemy.

At half past one, the admiral made the signal for the line of

battle a-head, and was preparing to renew the attack; but at two o'clock, seeing that the enemy were standing in shore, and collecting their ships in a close body, while his own were much dispersed, and several of them ungovernable, he gave up that design, and thought only of collecting his ships, and preparing them for that service, which he hoped would be conclusive and final with respect to its object, on the ensuing morning. The British squadron cast anchor at the approach of the evening between Negapatam and Nagore, and were busily employed during the night in securing their lower masts, as most of their standing rigging had been shot away, and in stretching serviceable sails to their yards; but no exertions, in so short a time, could render them capable of fresh evolutions and immediate service; they had been well able in the line, to continue the engagement; and to press upon their enemy to the last; but when their already torn rigging had been strained and racked in the gale, and by the subsequent movements, they could not but be crippled in such a manner, as must require time, as well as application, for its cure.

The French squadron had anchored about three leagues to leeward; and it could not be without the most unpeakable mortification, that the English admiral beheld them getting under sail in the morning, and proceeding on their way to Cuddalore, while his ships were utterly incapable of preventing or pursuing them. Their frigates upon this occasion,

as well as in all the late preceding circumstances, were of the most signal service to them.

The enemy were completely beaten, although the fruits of the victory could not be gathered. If the English ships had not been thrown out of action, in the singular manner, and at the instant they were, when the enemy's line was completely broken, some of their ships running away, and others too much disabled to run, it can scarcely be supposed that many of them would have escaped to Cuddalore. The fore, or indeed the only real part of this action, serves to throw great light upon the two former engagements; for it is from thence clearly evident, that if they had been general instead of being partial, and that all the English ships could have been brought fairly up at once to the encounter, the result of both would have been very different from what it was; unless indeed, that the first might have been so decisive as to prevent any second trial. Upon the whole it may be truly said, that the elements, without being absolutely unfortunate, had been exceedingly perverse to the English in these three actions.

In the course of the disorder occasioned by the sea breeze, the *Severe* of 64 guns, one of the French admiral's seconds, had suffered so extremely, and was become so totally ungovernable, that she fell along side of Captain Watt, in the *Sultan*, and struck to him. But while Captain Watt was, under signal, in the act of wearing, to join the admiral, the *Severe*, taking advantage of that

situation, suddenly hoisted all the sail she could get up, and without shewing any colours, and in defiance of the established laws of war and of nations, poured her fire into and raked the *Sultan* as she passed. It is not a little to be regretted, that she escaped the vengeance due to such an act, by getting in among a cluster of French ships, whose nearness undoubtedly gave life to the design. Sir Edward Hughes dispatched Captain Watt on the following day with a letter to M. de Suffrein, complaining of this treatment, and demanding the surrender of the ship; but the French commander, not chusing to avow the act, alledged, (on what foundation every man will form his own opinion) that the colours had not been intentionally struck, but had come down through the halliards of the ensign being shot away.

The result of an enquiry into this transaction, which afterwards took place in Paris, and was there published, totally overthrows M. de Suffrein's defence, and substitutes one which does not seem much better. By that it is acknowledged that the colours were really and intentionally struck; but this act is not attributed to necessity, but charged to the cowardice of the acting commander at the time; a strange story is then told, that an auxiliary officer being dissatisfied with his striking, and sensible of the motive, first had the address to persuade him that he was dangerously wounded, and then, that it was absolutely necessary for his health to go down; that having  
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by these means obtained the command, he renewed the engagement, and bravely fought and saved the ship.

The loss of men on the English side, amounted to 77 killed, and to 233 wounded; on the side of the French, their acknowledged loss was much more considerable, the slain amounting to 178, and the wounded to 601; the comparative state being 779 to 310, or above five to two. Among other brave officers, as well of the 98th regiment, as of the naval department who fell in this action, the gallant Captain Maclellan, of the *Superbe*, was shot through the heart in its very commencement. It was remarkable, if not singular, and fully shews the warm service they were engaged in, that the admiral's two immediate captains should have been killed within so short a time of each other.

We are totally in the dark as to the motives which induced the admiral to keep the sea, to the windward of Negapatam, while the French were busily employed in repairing their ships at Cuddalore, for near a fortnight after this engagement; at the same time, that the desire of information on this head is exceedingly excited, from its seeming, that the very unfortunate event which soon after happened, was, in a very considerable degree, the consequence of this delay, in not proceeding directly after the action to Madras, where the stores were, in order to refit the squadron. It is not from hence even to be imagined, that this proceeding was not fully authorised by the motives, although they do

not appear at this distance; and it is as little to be supposed, that the admiral did not communicate them to government, however it might at the time be deemed inexpedient or unnecessary to lay them before the public. It might be imagined that he intended to cover the arrival of Sir Richard Bickerton's long expected squadron, had not the French fleet been in a condition which seemed to forbid all present adventure. The probability seems to be, that the naval movements now, as at other times, were concerted with, and in a great measure governed by those of the army; and that the situation of the latter at that time, or perhaps some proposed scheme of co-operation, made it appear necessary for the squadron to keep its station on that part of the coast.

However these things were, the necessity of providing some of the ships with top-masts, and other essential articles which had been lost in the late action, and of supplying the whole with ammunition and provisions, both of which were nearly exhausted, became at length so urgent, that the admiral proceeded with the squadron to Madras, where he arrived on the 20th of July. He was there joined by the *Sceptre*, of 64 guns, which had left England along with Sir R. Bickerton. The *Sceptre* having been separated from the rest of the squadron soon after clearing the Channel, had put into the Brazils, where meeting with the *Medea* frigate, they were proceeding in company, when falling in on their way with a large French ship laden with naval stores, Captain

Graves left the prize in charge of the *Médeia*, that he might proceed himself with the greater expedition to join the admiral. While the squadron were refitting and taking in their supplies, Sir Edward Hughes, anxious for the security of Trincomale, dispatched the *Monmouth* and *Sceptre*, with such a reinforcement of troops, and such supplies of provisions and stores for that garrison, as both the general and admiral expected, would have been fully competent to their repelling, at least, any desultory attempt which the enemy might make upon that place.

In the mean time, M. de Suffrein used the utmost industry and dispatch in refitting his squadron at Cuddalore, and having received advice from the *Sieur d'Aymar*, that he was arrived at Point de Galles, which lies on the south side of the island of Ceylon, in his own ship the *St. Michael* of 64 guns, accompanied by the *Illustre* of 74; and of their having under their convoy the second division of the *Marquis de Bussy's* troops and artillery, the French admiral was enabled to sail on the first of August to join them at that island.

So exceedingly difficult were the means of information at that time, that with an army in the field, garrisons every where dispersed, and in a country belonging to the Nabob of Arcot, no intelligence of a transaction of such importance and notoriety, and at the distance only of Cuddalore, was received at Madras until about the middle of the month; and then only through mere accident, and from a directly opposite quarter. For it happened, that

Captain Mitchel, in the *Coventry* frigate, of 32 guns, being cruizing on the coast of Ceylon, fell in with the *Bellona* of 40 guns, when a confidence in himself, and in the goodness of his ship's company, on the one side, and in the weight of his ship, and the great superiority of his force, on the other, drew on a most desperate engagement of two hours and a half; at the end of which, Capt. Mitchel most gallantly obliged his enemy to fly; and pursuing him with great eagerness, was astonished at finding himself led by the chase amidst a French fleet of 23 sail, when he did not imagine they had such an armament at sea; he, of course, was obliged to fly in turn, being chased by two ships of the line; and fortunately escaping, brought the intelligence directly to the admiral.

This intelligence, and his anxiety for Trincomale, urged the admiral to quicken his departure, and the ships having received their supplies, and being rendered tolerably fit for service, he sailed from Madras on the 20th of August, and used every endeavour with the utmost expedition to gain the island of Ceylon. But the usual perverseness of the weather, not only now recurred, but operated with more mischief in the effect than at any former time; the wind blew directly against him, and the extraordinary delay thereby occasioned, produced the intervening loss.

The French admiral having been joined by the ships of war and convoy at Point de Galles proceeded directly to the attack of Trincomale, where he arrived towards the end of the month, and



and the fire of the batteries was incapable of preventing his fleet from anchoring in Back Bay. The landing of the troops, under the conduct of the Baron de Agoult, was effected the next Aug. 26th. morning before day, and the place was immediately invested. After two days work on the batteries, those on the left were opened early on the morning of the 29th, and soon gained such a superiority over those of the garrison, that they were entirely silenced before night. This encouraged the French commanders, on the following morning, to summon the place. Some difficulties at first arose about the terms of capitulation; but M. de Suffrein was too eager to gain possession of the place, and too apprehensive of the arrival of Sir Edward Hughes, to lose much time in debating conditions.

Captain Macdowal, the commandant, accordingly obtained every thing he demanded. The honours of war in the utmost extent; they being to carry off with them entirely two field pieces and a mortar, with a certain number of charges, and all things whatever appertaining to them; the garrison to be directly transmitted to Madras, and amply provided for, in ships to be properly equipped for the purpose, at the French King's expence; and a particular ship appointed for the conveyance of the officers and staff. A particular and laudable attention was paid to the interests of the Dutch inhabitants, altho' they were falling into the hands of their own allies; it being specially provided, not only that all private property, whether belong-

ing to the garrison or the inhabitants, should be fully secured, but that all the rights, privileges, and prerogatives of the latter, should be preserved inviolate.—Two of the articles seemed to indicate some distrust of the good faith of the enemy; for by one, the commander of the land forces was rendered personally responsible for any disorders committed by his troops; and by the last it was specifically prescribed, that the capitulation should be executed, in all the eleven articles, with reciprocal good faith. It is observable, that there was not a single condition binding on the garrison, excepting merely the delivery of the public magazines, and that there was not a possibility of their evading. Fort Ostenburgh was given up on the following day, which was the last of the month, upon the same conditions.

Nothing could have been more unfortunate, whether in its immediate effect, or in its subsequent consequences, than the loss of Trincomale; nor does it appear that any event through the war so grievously affected Sir Eyre Coote and the admiral; who both seem likewise to have conceived that the place was capable of a much longer and more vigorous defence. The garrison undoubtedly was sufficiently numerous, and as they had been so lately supplied, it does not seem that they could have wanted either provision or the means of defence; but as it does not appear that any blame has fallen upon the commandant or his officers, it may be supposed that the natural or artificial defences were not so strong as had been imagined; that there



were some defects in other respects, of which we are not informed; or, perhaps, that the enemy's artillery were more weighty and powerful than could have been apprehended.

When it was no longer of use, the wind suddenly became favourable to the English squadron, and the French commanders had no more than time to possess and secure their new acquisitions, when Sir Edward Hughes, on the 2d of September at night, arrived off Trincomale. Nothing undoubtedly could exceed the mortification and astonishment with which the admiral, at the opening of the morning, perceived French colours flying in all the forts, and a fleet of above 30 sail riding at anchor in the different bays. Of these fifteen were of the line, including three fifties, (for they had been reinforced by an old company's ship of fifty guns, as well as by the *St. Michael* and *L'Illustre*) ten or eleven were frigates or fire-ships, and the rest transports. Thus they had three fifties to spare, while they presented twelve ships of 64 guns and upwards to the English line of the same number; but in which the *Isis* of fifty guns was of necessity opposed to one of their sixty-fours.

The admiral might well have avoided an engagement, and the superiority of the enemy, together with the loss of the place, which no success could now immediately recover, would undoubtedly have warranted his so doing; but such was the general indignation spread through the whole squadron, that no superiority of force could stand in the way to their vengeance, nor induce a sufficient consideration

of the consequences in its pursuit.

The enemy, fully sensible of their superiority, as soon as they perceived the English in the morning, who were then within two leagues of them, got immediately under sail, and about six o'clock, making their way through Back Bay, they stood out to sea to the south-eastward; by which they gained the wind, then blowing strong off the shore. Sir Edward Hughes immediately made the signal for the line of battle a-head at two cables length distance; and shortening sail, edged away from the wind, in order that the ships might the more speedily get into their respective stations for completing the line. Soon after eight o'clock, the enemy began to edge down towards the English line, and the British admiral, in order to render the action decisive, by drawing them as far as possible from Trincomale before its commencement, stood off before the wind from the shore until eleven o'clock. During this whole time, the enemy shewed great indecision in their movements; sometimes edging down, as if disposed to come to action, again bringing to, and keeping no regular order, as if totally undetermined how to act.

But towards noon they seemed to have fixed their resolution for action; and at half past two they began to fire upon the English line, which was in a few minutes returned, and the engagement soon after became general. Sept. 3d. The French, to derive the greater advantage from their superiority in number, directed the attack of their additional ships upon

upon the extremities of the English line, which were already in close action with an equal enemy. By this means the Worcester, which was the last ship of their rear, was most furiously attacked by two of the enemy, who seemed confident of entirely ruining, if not of taking her, as all her fellows in that division were fully engaged. But she made so noble a resistance, and the Monmouth, which was her second, throwing all her sails a-back, came up so timely, and threw in so close and powerful a fire upon the enemy, that the attack on that side entirely failed of its expected effect. At the same time, five of the enemy's ships came down in a cluster, and fell with equal fury and greater powers upon the Exeter and Isis, which were the headmost of the English van. It seemed peculiarly destined to the Exeter to be exposed to the encounter of great odds. In so unequal a combat as the present, it could be no wonder that she was so much disabled, as to be at length obliged to retire from the line; while the weak and forlorn Isis was left, it might be said, to run the gauntlet, under the successive passing fire of the 5 French ships before she could be supported.

During these fierce attacks on the points of the English line, the centre divisions on both sides were fairly and closely, ship to ship, engaged; the rival commanders, in the Superbe and Heros, dealing out their rage with unremitting fury upon each other. At half past three o'clock the French admiral's second a-stern had his mizen-mast shot away; and his second a-head lost his fore and mizen top-masts. The battle was,

however, still desperately maintained at half past five. At that time, the wind shifting suddenly from the south-west to the east-south-east, Sir Edward Hughes made the signal for wearing, which was instantly obeyed; and the evolution was performed by the whole squadron with such alertness, and in such admirable order, that it seemed to be rather a naval exercise of parade, than a movement in the height of action and danger.

The enemy were engaged, during this time, in the operations of either wearing or staying their ships, until the English renewed the engagement on the other tack with fresh violence. At 20 minutes past six the French admiral's main-mast was shot away close by the board; and soon after his mizen-mast met the same fate. On the English side, the Worcester about the same time lost her main top mast. At seven o'clock, the body of the French squadron hauled their wind to the southward, but were exposed to and received a most severe fire from the ships in the English rear for about 20 minutes after, when getting clear off, the action entirely ceased.

Thus ended one of the best fought actions perhaps recorded in naval history; and it terminated a naval campaign (if the word may be admitted) unequalled as to the number, the variety, the nature, and the obstinacy of the actions by which it was distinguished. Certainly we have no memorial of the same men, and the same ships, meeting and fighting, so often and so desperately, in so short a space of time.

It cannot be supposed, after so long

long and so severe an engagement, that the English Squadron could be in any condition for pursuing the enemy; but the darkness of the night, and the nearness of Trincomale, would not have admitted the attempt, under any possibility of effect, if things had even been otherwise. No part of the French Squadron was to be seen at day-light.

The loss of men on the side of the English, was, in point of number, so small, as to be almost below credibility; amounting to only 51 slain, and 283 wounded; but if considered with respect to the brave officers who fell, though included in that small number, the loss to their country, and to the naval service, was beyond estimate. Among those who gloriously dedicated their lives on that day, to the service of their country, were the three brave and distinguished captains, Wood, of the Worcester, Watt, of the Sultan, and Lumley, of the Isis. The last, on account of his youth and noble family, as well as of his being an officer of the greatest hope and gallantry, was deeply and peculiarly regretted. Such a slaughter of captains, in so small a number of ships, and where the general loss was so moderate, was singularly unfortunate. Indeed, officers in general seemed peculiarly destined to suffer in this day's action; several other brave men, as well of the 78th and 98th regiments, as of the naval department, having fallen, and a very considerable number being wounded. Too much could not be said in praise of Colonel Fullarton, and of the other officers, as well as of the private men of

these two corps, who had, at their own desire, and at the liberal expence of their blood, continued, during so many months, to encounter all the hardships and incommunities of so exceedingly severe and trying a service; and which was in so many respects contrary to their professional habits and duties.

It was highly to the honour of the British commanders, that thro' the whole course of this severe naval contest, and thro' so many days of hard, bloody, and doubtful trial, constantly fighting too against a superiority of force, yet, that under all these circumstances, the breath of slander had not been able to leave the smallest soil on the character, or to censure the behaviour of any one of them; but that, in every action, each was acknowledged to have done every thing in the power of a brave and experienced officer; whilst, on the other side, the French admiral was continually breaking or suspending his officers, and actually sent several of them home prisoners to France for trial. Perhaps, in no season of the highest naval success and glory in any country, could another instance be produced of an equal number of commanders going thro' such a course of action, and being so uniformly great in their conduct, as not to admit of any distinction in the claim of honour at the conclusion.

The French returned to Trincomale on the very night of the action, and seem to have been so much hurried on that occasion, that the L'Orient, of 74 guns, one of their best ships, was lost in the dark, in the act of getting in. M. de Suffrein gives no account,

as was customary with him, of the number of his killed or wounded; he barely gives the names of the officers who suffered in either respect, and then unaccountably goes back to state the loss which he sustained on the 6th of July. A circumstance that afforded at the time full room for supposing, that his loss in this action was greater than he, or the French ministers, chose to acknowledge. This opinion was fully confirmed some months after, by an accurate state of the French loss in that action, which was brought home by the Fox packet from India.—By

that statement, which gives the particular loss of each ship, the whole number slain amounted to 412, and the wounded to 676. It is remarkable, that of these, Suffrein's own ship the Heros, whose crew at the beginning of the engagement amounted to 1200 men, had no less than 140 killed, and 240 wounded; a slaughter seldom equalled, except in the cases of burning or blowing up. Suffrein was so little satisfied with the conduct of his officers, that he broke, and sent prisoners to the Mauritius, no less than six of his captains.

#### CHAP. IV.

*Treaty of peace concluded with the Mahrattas, through the mediation of Madajee Scindia. Negotiation conducted with ability by Mr. Anderson. Madajee Scindia, the mutual guarantee. Peace fortunate with respect to the season of its conclusion, and advantageous in its stipulations to the English. Baroach ceded to Scindia. Supposed causes which delayed the ratification at Poonab. Dreadful hurricane, and deplorable famine at Madras. British Squadron driven to sea, and suffer much from bad weather in their passage to Bombay. Advantages derived by the French fleet from the possession of Trincomale. Colonel Humberstone's successes on the coast of Malabar. Penetrates far into the country; but is obliged to retire with loss from Palacatcherry. Government of Bombay dispatch a body of forces under General Mathews to the coast, with a view to extricate Humberstone; while Tippoo Saib proceeds with the utmost rapidity from the Carnatic, in order to cut him off. Colonel Humberstone gains intelligence of his approach, and retires to Paniany, closely pursued by the enemy. Command of the troops devolves on Colonel Macleod, who is immediately invested by the enemy. Tippoo Saib and M. Lally attack the British lines with a great force, but are gallantly repulsed with considerable loss. Tippoo Saib breaks up his camp by night, and returns to the Carnatic. General Mathews takes Onore by storm. Death and character of Hyder Ally. General Mathews takes Cundapore; forces the Gauts, and makes his way into the Bednore country. Some observations on the conduct pursued, and the cruelties committed in this expedition. Short account of the antient kingdom of Canara, and of the royal city of Bednore, or Hyder Nagur, the supposed depositary of Hyder's treasures. Private negotiation and treaty with Hyat Saib, who surrenders the country and capital to the British forces. Great discontents in*

*in the army, relative to the disposal of the treasures found in the royal palace. Differences between the general and the principal officers of the king's forces, occasion the Colonels Macleod and Humberstone, with Major Shaw, to quit the army, and return to Bombay. Dispatches from the general, containing a general accusation against his army. Proceedings of the government of Bombay; appoint Colonel Macleod to the command of the army in the Bednore country. Captain Carpenter takes Carwar, with other forts, and reduces the whole Soundah country. General Matherws returns with part of the army to the coast; besieges and takes Mangalore. Tippoo Sultan abandons the Carnatic, and marches with his whole army to recover the Bednore country, and his dominions on the Malabar coast. Letters from General Matherws to the government of Bombay, informing them of the approach of the enemy, and requiring a reinforcement; returns to Bednore; marches out to fight the prodigious army under Tippoo Sultan; being instantly defeated, he retires with the remainder of the forces to the adjoining fortress; closely surrounded and besieged. The strong posts in the Gauts shamefully lost to a detachment from Tippoo's army. The fugitives from the Gauts communicate their panic to the garrison of Cundapore, who set fire to the magazines, and abandon the place, with a large field of artillery. General Matherws capitulates upon honourable conditions. Capitulation violated by Tippoo Sultan.—General, and principal officers, seized and imprisoned. Army plundered, and inhumanly treated. Miseries endured in a cruel march, and imprisonment.—General, and several officers, said to have been barbarously murdered. Siege of Mangalore converted to a blockade, upon the departure of the French auxiliaries from Tippoo Sultan. Sir Eyre Coote returns to Madras, where he dies. Sir Edward Hughes arrives with the fleet from Bombay. Successes of the Colonels Lang and Fullarton in the Coimbatour country. General Stuart besieges Cuddalore. French lines and outworks carried, after a desperate attack and resistance, with great slaughter on both sides. Last naval action between Sir Edward Hughes and M. de Suffrein. Great sally made by the French with their best troops, who are repulsed with much loss. Account of the peace being received, an immediate cessation of hostilities takes place.*

**D**URING this severe course of hostility by sea and land, in the Carnatic, and on the coasts of Coromandel and Ceylon, that fatal source of all the loss and most imminent danger, which the company had been exposed to in India, was, at length, most fortunately closed, by the termination of the Mahratta war. The ruin which had fallen upon the Carnatic, the still exceedingly doubtful state of the war with Hyder Ally, with

the vast increase of its expence and danger, through the great force sent out by France, and the addition of Holland in the opposite scale, were, all together, at length able to dispel those visionary ideas, which had been so long entertained, and so pertinaciously adhered to, of procuring a revolution in the Mahratta government, or of effecting a partition of their dominions. Nor could the flattering successes of the Bengal army, nor

nor the alluring hopes of permanent conquest, and the attainment of great territorial revenue on the side of Bombay, any longer withstand the operative effect of those powerful causes.

On the other side, the free and generous release of the Bombay army at Worgaum, by Madajee Scindia, had early marked the favourable disposition of that eminent chief to the English; nor did the shameful breach of faith which his country experienced upon that occasion, and by which he was himself so deeply and personally affected, seem at all to render him, in his subsequent conduct, either a bitter or an implacable enemy.—We have accordingly seen, that a separate treaty of peace was negotiated and concluded with Madajee Scindia, by Colonel Muir, about the time that the war of Benares had been brought to a conclusion. This was the prelude to Madajee's becoming the successful mediator to restore peace and harmony between the English and the court of Poonah. Indeed the placability of the Mahrattas through the whole course of these late wars, and the moderation of their resentments, under great losses, and the most grievous provocations, must ever appear unaccountable to Europeans. In fact, they never seemed to be truly angry, much less to harbour any appearance of malice or fixed revenge; and they appeared to be equally disposed to listen to terms of accommodation, under the impressions of success or defeat.

Nor will the constitution of the Mahratta government, as developed by the present transaction, (unless indeed that this proceed-

ed merely from the disordered state of their affairs) appear less singular. Madajee Scindia, already a subject in a certain degree, as holding large territories by a loose feudal tenure, straitens the bands much more closely, and renders himself entirely amenable to government, by holding the first offices, and consequently becoming the immediate servant of the state. He is the leader of their armies in a dangerous war against a powerful enemy, and in the midst of that war, not only concludes a separate peace for himself, and his own territories, without the participation or consent of his masters, but enters into a treaty of close friendship and alliance with this declared and dangerous enemy to the state. This might be considered as desertion and treachery; but he continues still in the same command, without any attempt to deprive him of it, or any charge of having debauched the army; and then, still continuing in the capacity of general, he assumes at once the character of a neutral sovereign power, by mediating and concluding a peace in his camp, of which he becomes the guarantee to both parties for the faithful discharge of its conditions.

Mr. Anderson, being furnished with full powers by the governor general and council of Bengal, had the fortune to bring this business to a happy conclusion, and seems to have displayed great ability through the whole transaction. This treaty, as usual, takes its name from the place where it was concluded; being a village or town called Salbey, where Madajee Scindia had his head-quarters; and



and where it was signed on the 17th of May, 1782; being still to be confirmed by the ratification of the principals on both sides.

By the stipulations of this treaty, all places and countries whatever, Bassein included, which had been taken by the English from the Mahrattas, since the conclusion of the peace with Colonel Upton, (called the Poonah treaty) were to be restored to the Paishwa, within two months after the respective ratifications. Salsette, and the adjoining islands, (so exceedingly valuable and necessary to Bombay) which had been ceded to the English by Upton's treaty, were now confirmed to them for ever. Baroach, and its territory, to be for ever confirmed to the English, according likewise to the terms of Upton's treaty. A claim upon a territory near Baroach, valued at three lacks of rupees a year, which the Paishwa, in Upton's treaty, had promised to grant as a mark of friendship to the English, (and which the failure on their side, with respect to other articles, had hitherto prevented from being fulfilled) was now, at the particular request of Scindia, entirely relinquished.— A disputed country, which the English had obtained from the Gujacars, and which the Paishwa claimed as his own, to be given up by the former, and the question of right between the others, to be settled in the usual course of justice, according to their own laws, and peculiar modes of tenure or inheritance. The two Gujacars, (of whom we have formerly taken notice) to be placed in exactly the same situation, that

they stood in before the war, and their territories subject to all former tributes and services to the Paishwa; but no retrospect to be taken as to conduct, nor no demands to be made with respect to the time past. — The firebrand, Ragonaut Row, who had been the author of so much mischief to his country, and the instrument of so much misfortune and calamity to the English, was to be allowed four months from the ratification to determine on the place of his future residence; after which time the English are bound not to afford him support, protection, assistance, or money for his expences; but if he will, of his own accord, voluntarily repair to Madajee Scindia, and quietly reside with him, he is to be secured from all injury whatever, and the Paishwa is bound to allow him a pension of 25,000 rupees a month (amounting to about 36,000l. a year) for his support; all territories, or grants of territory, given by him to the English, being for ever relinquished.

With respect to Hyder Ally, the Mahrattas engaged, that within six months after the ratification of the treaties, he should be obliged to relinquish to the English and to their allies, all places which he had taken from them during the war; that all the prisoners on both sides should be released; and the English, on their side, agree, that on the performance of these conditions, and so long afterwards as Hyder should abstain from hostilities against them and their allies, and so long as he should continue in  
peace



peace with the Paishwa, they would, in no respect, act hostilely against him.

This was, indeed, a great point gained; but the grand concession made by the Mahrattas, and an article of still greater importance than even the foregoing, is that by which the Paishwa binds himself, and all his subordinate chiefs, or in other words the whole Mahratta people, from suffering any other European nation to establish factories in their dominions; and from holding any intercourse of friendship with any other European nation; but the Portuguese, with respect to their ancient settlements in the Mahratta countries, were particularly and expressly excepted from the conclusion. On the other hand, the English bind themselves, not to afford any assistance to any nation of the Decan, or Hindostan, at enmity with the Paishwa. And by a subsequent article the parties mutually agree, that neither shall afford any assistance to the enemies of the other.

The allies on both sides are included in the benefits, and bound to the conditions of the perpetual peace. The Nizam of the Decan, and Ragojee Boosla, the son and successor of Moodajee Boosla, the Berar Rajah, (whose name we have had occasion heretofore so often to mention) are particularly stated as allies to the Mahrattas; from which it might perhaps be inferred, that the latter is not now considered, as being in any degree of dependance on the Mahratta empire: the Nabob of Arcot, with the Vizier Azoph Ul Doula, Soubah of

Oude, are those specified as allies on the side of the English. The principals on both sides are responsible for the conduct of all the subordinates and members of their respective authority; the governor general and supreme council being answerable for the presidencies of Bombay and Madras, as well as for the factory at Surat. We have already observed that Madajee Scindia was the mutual guarantee but this was not merely a nominal office; for he was specifically bound by the treaty, in case of any violation of it by either party, to assist the injured in bringing the other to a proper understanding. Some perhaps may imagine that this scheme of guarantying, by which Scindia was, as it may be thought, rather strangely, instituted the conservator of good faith between the two parties, looked forward to other matters, besides his mere attention to the written formalities of a treaty, or his watchfulness in detecting and punishing all infractions of it. But it is to be remembered that Madajee, independent of his princely, and which may in effect be considered as little less than tantamount to a royal patrimony, was in act, through his high offices and great interest, the second person in the Mahratta government, under the minor Paishwa; so that he was an excellent security to the English for the good faith of his countrymen, however incapable he might have been of compelling their own.

Nothing could have been more fortunate with respect to time and the occasion than this peace; and, inde-

independent of the peculiar circumstances which rendered it of such vast importance in those respects, it was by no means deficient in others; and it perhaps afforded as many advantages to the English, as it would have been consistent with their own real interests to obtain. Without any enquiry into the rate, at which that iron curb, now clapped into the mouth of Hyder, might be estimated, the exclusion of all other Europeans from the Mahratta trade and dominions, was a concession of such value and magnitude, that it becomes a matter of astonishment, how, in the present inauspicious state of affairs, it could have been obtained. Upon the whole, it will be easily observed, that the English gave up nothing to which they had a natural right, and that the Mahrattas gained nothing more than the recovery of their own possessions, which had not only been unjustly, but under the aggravation of the most injurious circumstances wrested from them. But leaving the matter of right and justice entirely out of the question, it will probably be found a real and permanent advantage to the English, that they had been under a necessity of relinquishing those territories. For though they might have afforded, for a time, a considerable, and perhaps a large annual revenue, yet the holding them upon such terms, would ever have been productive of war, danger, and mischief; but that their possession could not, in the nature of things, be lasting. Indeed the company's conquests had

already swelled far beyond their grasp.

Upon the whole, Mr. Anderson had undoubtedly great merit in negotiating and perfecting the treaty of Salbey.

Madajee Scindia, like other statesmen, was, upon this occasion, properly attentive to his own peculiar interest. The city of Baroach, with its valuable territories, producing a clear revenue of about 200,000*l.* a year, was, by a private, or separate agreement, ceded to him and to his family for ever by the English. Such an addition to his hereditary possessions, cannot fail greatly to increase his weight and power in the empire; which may possibly lay the foundation of new revolutions in the Mahratta government. It is easily seen, that in any other state of things than that which now prevailed on the side of the Mahrattas, this circumstance would have been deemed sufficient to vitiate the whole proceedings, and have served as good ground for refusing to ratify the treaty.

From whatever cause it proceeded, the length of time that elapsed before the ratification took place, notwithstanding the strong remonstrances made by the governor general, as well as by Madajee Scindia upon the subject, sufficiently indicate the great difficulties which the measure met with at the court of Poonah. It would seem, that Nana Furnavese, the Paishwa's nominal prime minister, but in fact the regent, and Madajee Scindia, are at the head of the two great parties, which by their union govern;  
and

and by their dissention are capable of convulsing the Mahratta empire. Independent of any remains of their past enmity, something near an equality of power must be at all times necessary to preserve the accord of two such leaders; and however convenience, and the apprehension of consequences may operate in that respect, their mutual jealousy will still continue, and render each exceedingly watchful of the other. It cannot then be supposed, that the Mahratta minister could be indifferent, or could even avoid being alarmed, at the great accession of influence, power, and weight, which the conduct of the war, the conclusion of the peace, the acquisition of Baroach, and the friendship of the English, could not but procure to Madajee Scindia. Nor would it be a matter of wonder, considering the spirit of intrigue, which the company's servants had so long manifested with respect to the affairs and government of the Mahrattas, if he suspected that their extraordinary union with Madajee Scindia, might be directed to future as well as present objects; and that so valuable a surrender as that of Baroach, was not made merely for the accomplishment and guarantee of the peace. Such probably were some of the causes which so long delayed the ratification of the treaty by the court of Poonah.

There being no harbour on the western coast of the island of Ceylon, in which, at that late season of the year, Sir Edward Hughes could anchor with safety, and several of the ships making much water, through shot-holes

which could not be come at in the open sea, besides that they had much other damage to repair, he found it necessary, after the action of the 3d of September, to return with the squadron to Madras. As the monsoon season was at hand, when the line of battle ships could not continue with safety on that coast, the admiral intended no more at Madras, than to give the ships such a hasty repair, and to take on board such a stock of provisions and water, as would be necessary for their proceeding round to Bombay; where, besides being safe from the monsoon, they were to be coppered, and to receive such a thorough equipment, as, along with the certain recovery and health, which that place at all times afforded to the crews, would enable them, when the season admitted, to return to the coast of Coromandel with a fresh stock of vigour and ability. He had likewise great hopes of there meeting with Sir Richard Bickerton, of whom he had yet received no intelligence, and whose junction could alone enable him to withstand the great reinforcement from France and the islands which was expected to join Suffrein.

But before he could fully accomplish the purposes which detained him at Madras, the squadron was exposed to great and unforeseen danger, by one of the most sudden and dreadful hurricanes than had been remembered even on that coast. Oct. 15th. The ships of war were fortunately anchored in a deep water of 15 fathoms, and it was still more fortunate that the tempest blew from the shore, other-

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wise

wife the consequences to the squadron would have been fatal. Having soon parted their cables, they put out to sea, most of their boats being ashore, and many lost in the effort to recover their ships; the long boats, however, were able to withstand the fury of the tempest, and without an exception succeeded in the endeavour.

Nothing could be more deplorable than the scene of distress and horror, which soon presented itself at Madras. The shore, for several miles was covered with wrecks, and with the bodies of the dead and dying; while the roaring of the surf, and the howling of the tempest, intermixed with the piercing cries of those who were yet struggling with fate, were insupportable to the senses of the terrified hearers or beholders on shore. Several English trading ships, of which number was the Earl of Hertford Indiaman, were either sunk at their anchors, or dashed to pieces on the shore. About a hundred of the coasting vessels of the country, met with the same fate. Such trading ships and transports, as had not been so suddenly overwhelmed, as to prevent their being able to cut, and to put out to sea, generally escaped; and it seems almost unaccountable, that a few had braved and rode out the storm.

This hurricane was still more grievous to humanity in its consequences than in its immediate effect, by screwing up to its highest pitch a calamity, which had long prevailed in a certain degree, and the most deplorable to which mankind is liable. The desolation of the country having

prevented the cultivation of rice, the failure of this supply, which constitutes almost their only food, could not but reduce the natives to great penury and distress in that respect. Still, however, the great supplies which the English procured of that article, by sea, at Madras, though incapable of affording any thing like plenty to the multitudinous native inhabitants of that city, as well as those depending on it in the neighbourhood, yet was sufficient, according to their very abstemious manner of living, to preserve them from the absolute extremes of want. The depredations of the French upon the rice ships, since their arrival upon the coast, had so much narrowed these supplies, that even the garrison of Madras had for some time been reduced to a short allowance of that article. A great supply had newly arrived before the hurricane; but through that unfortunate event, most of the provision vessels were lost before they could discharge their cargoes; and this misfortune coming upon the preceding penury, the consequences were obvious.

The famine at Madras accordingly, became within a few days calamitous in the extreme. Money could procure no relief, where the wanted commodity did not exist. The roads, outlets, and even the streets, were strowed with the dead and the dying. It was estimated, that at least 200 of the natives perished every day. All other people had a resource in animal food; but the constancy and fortitude with which the unhappy Hindoos endured the lingering torments and the intolerable

ble pangs of hunger, and the more than philosophic calmness and mildness, with which, without a complaint or a murmur, they submitted silently to their fate, rather than to preserve life at the expence of those laws which they held to be sacred, was not less astonishing than deplorable. Surely such virtue, however mistaken in its principle or direction, cannot fail of the reward due to its intrinsic worth!

As soon as the news of this calamity reached Bengal, the governor general and council ordered every vessel in the river of Calcutta to be immediately loaded with provisions, and dispatched with the utmost expedition to Madras; and so laudable was the diligence used on this occasion, that a great fleet of victuallers arrived, and a most ample supply of rice was furnished, sooner than the most sanguine expectation could even have hoped. The humanity and benevolence of individuals was likewise nobly exerted at Madras during the sad intervening term, by procuring large supplies of rice from every place within reach for the relief of the famished multitude. But notwithstanding all these efforts about 10,000 of the natives were supposed to have perished through this calamity.

Sir Edward Hughes experienced a continued course of extraordinarily bad weather in his passage to Bombay; and we may judge in some degree how boisterous it was, when for near a month scarcely any two ships of the squadron had been able to speak together. The *Superbe* was accordingly dismasted, and suffered

much more in every respect than any other of the ships; so that the admiral was obliged to quit her, and shift his flag to the *Sultan*. In order to expedite the repair of the squadron, and knowing that only four ships of the line could be laid down at once in the docks of Bombay, he left the *Hero*, the *Monmouth*, and the *Sceptre*, (being probably those which had suffered least damage) to be refitted at the antient Portuguese capital of Goa; once the great and famed emporium of the Europeans in the east. The exceeding tediousness of the voyage, together with the necessity the ships were under of keeping their lower ports closely shut through the whole way, occasioned the crews of those which kept on for Bombay, to grow sickly in an extreme degree; and they were at length so scattered by the unceasing continuance of the bad weather, that their separate arrival at that place, extended from the 13th to the 21st of December. The recovery of the sick at Bombay was so sudden, as almost to exceed all belief.

Sir Richard Bickerton arrived at Madras from Bombay, with five ships of the line, and his convoy, towards the end of October, having neither met nor heard of the admiral; and what was much less to be expected, having good weather all the way, and being totally ignorant of the hurricane until his arrival. He had brought with him under convoy, three regiments of infantry of 1,000 men each, of which one was Hanoverian, besides Sir John Burgoyne's regiment of light horse, amounting to about 340; and

and a thousand recruits, which had been raised for the company's service in Ireland. Notwithstanding the unusual length of time which they spent in the voyage, both the seamen and troops were uncommonly healthy, and the ships of war in excellent condition. Sir R. Bickerton returned to Bombay to join the admiral; and it requires some knowledge of the theory of the winds in the Indian seas not to be surprized, that he arrived at that place some weeks before him, and met with most favourable weather through the whole way.

The French now experienced the vast advantages which they derived from the possession of Trincomale, as the English did, the full extent of those evil consequences which resulted from its loss. The former, instead of being exposed to the rigours of the monsoon, before they had yet well recovered the effects of the late action, and being besides obliged to abandon the scene of action, and to return to the African islands, as well for safety as equipment, were now fully at ease, and in the greatest security, thoroughly refitting their ships at that place. By being thus immediately upon the spot, they became the uncontrouled masters of the Indian seas as soon as the season for action began to open, and were thereby enabled, at a most critical period, to interrupt with great effect, and much mischief to the English, the trade and intercourse between Bengal and Madras. In the intermediate time, they proceeded to Achen, on the coast of Sumatra, probably to procure some articles of

supply, which the island of Ceylon was not competent to furnish. As they were in expectation of being joined, as soon as the season admitted, by the Marquis de Bussy, with the last division of his troops from the Mauritius, which were estimated at about 5,000 men, and as he was to be accompanied by a strong reinforcement of fresh ships of war, which were newly arrived from France, and were to bring a vast supply of all manner of naval, and military stores and provision, together with the most formidable train of artillery that had ever been sent to India at any one time, they entertained no doubt, but that the tide of war, both by sea and by land, would, in the ensuing season, be turned entirely in their favour.

But during this state of hope and design on their side, the governments of Bengal and Bombay, being now freed from the Mahratta war, were directing their views to the making of so powerful a diversion on the Malabar side, as would compel Hyder entirely to abandon the Carnatic, and return to the defence of his own dominions; which he might in a little time, perhaps, find a task more than equal to his powers. In that case, all the designs of France would be entirely frustrated; as she was totally incapable of maintaining a war singly, for any length of time, against the English in the Carnatic; nor could she ever support such an European force there as would be equivalent to the purpose, if they were freed from their contests with the native powers.



In the mean time, until matters were ripe for greater exertions, and encouraged perhaps by the success of Major Abington, the presidency of Bombay, had, towards the close of the European summer, dispatched Col. Humberstone, with a considerable detachment both of the king's and the company's forces, to the coast of Malabar. This officer soon took or gained possession of the antient and royal capital of Calicut, which lies upon the coast, between 30 and 40 miles to the southward of Tellicherry; and proceeding farther in the same direction, took the considerable city of Panian, or Paniany, lying about the same distance beyond Calicut; all the intermediate places along the coast, undoubtedly falling into his hands.

Encouraged by these successes, and perceiving no enemy able to oppose him, the colonel ventured to quit the sea coast, and to direct his operations inland. This happened early in the month of September, 1782; and as none of the places specified on his route appear in the maps, we can only suppose that he bent his course towards the borders of the Coimbatour country. However that was, it is evident that he encountered great difficulties on his way, and that several weeks elapsed, without his being able to penetrate to any considerable distance. In that course he took a number of small forts, which there much abound, in order to guard the narrow passes and deep defiles of those almost impracticable mountainous regions, which every where environ the iron-bound and nar-

row country which stretches along the coast of Malabar.

Having at length taken and garrisoned a fort called Mungarry Cottah, which lay in so strong a position as to afford a secure retreat, the colonel advanced to the siege or attack of a town called Palacatcherry; and which seems to have been of more strength or consideration than any he had yet met. He arrived before this place on the 19th of October; but it soon appeared, that he had been miserably deceived and misled by his intelligence; for on the very next day, he found the enemy so unexpectedly strong, and so close upon him, that he was compelled to a sudden and hasty retreat; and though it was only eight miles to Mungarry Cottah, he was pursued and attacked with such violence and fury, that besides the men who fell, he lost both his baggage and provisions in that short way. Major Hutchinson, of the 98th regiment, was mortally wounded in this unfortunate affair.

The government of Bombay having received 15 lacks of rupees from Bengal, in order to enable them to carry on the war with vigour on the coast of Malabar, and being themselves apprehensive that Humberstone's situation at Mungarry Cottah was exceedingly perilous, they used the utmost expedition in dispatching General Mathews, with such troops as were immediately at hand, to his relief; for a considerable part of those forces which they had employed in the Mah-ratta war, and which were now destined to the Malabar service, had



had not yet returned from the northward.

In the intermediate time, Tippoo Saib, being greatly alarmed at the danger in which the Malabar coast was involved, and extremely irritated at Humberstone's penetrating into the interior country, he determined to set such an example of vengeance, as, at the same time that it removed the evil and danger, might serve to damp the enterprize of future invaders on that tender and vulnerable side. He accordingly, with his usual address and activity, suddenly and secretly collected a considerable body of troops, conducting his measures with such ability, that his motions, and even his departure from the Carnatic, were scarcely observed upon the spot; and using equal precautions to conceal his march, he proceeded with incredible rapidity to cut off the British detachment at Mungarry Cottah.

But notwithstanding all his diligence and precautions, Colonel Humberstone had the fortune, by some means of which we are not informed, to receive intelligence of his arrival, with some troops, on the northern banks of the Coleroon; and it happened no less fortunately, that though the intelligence went no farther, the colonel at once suspecting his design, immediately 'blew' up and destroyed the fortifications at Mungarry Cottah, and retreated to Ramgaree; where, receiving certain intelligence, that Tippoo Saib was approaching with the utmost rapidity, he retreated to Paniany, which he reached in a march of two days. He had run some

risque in waiting upon this occasion to destroy the works at Ramgaree; for he was closely pursued, and not a little harrassed by the enemy, during the course of the two subsequent days retreat; but it is probable, that none but their irregular cavalry had been able to come up, for his loss of men was so very small as to shew the pursuers were by no means formidable.

Colonel Macleod being just arrived at Paniany from Madras, the command of the forces of course devolved to him; nor was this in any degree to be considered as a mere honorary command; for at the instant of receiving it he found himself invested by Tippoo Saib and Mons. Lally, with a very formidable force, consisting of 8,000 regular infantry, including some hundreds of French and other Europeans, who composed Lally's corps; of 10,000 cavalry, and above 6,000 poligars. The British troops were strongly posted with respect to natural advantages; and they spared no industry in improving these by new works; they were likewise supported and assisted by the Juno frigate and the Pondicherry armed ship. The enemy kept up a considerable but ineffectual cannonade for several days, without any farther attempt; and this circumstance, along with some misinformation in respect to their strength, and, possibly, more than both, a sense of the facility with which Indian armies had been heretofore liable to defeat and ruin in the same manner, induced the British commander to attempt, at the dawn of day, to surprize their

their camp. But Hyder's son was not to be caught asleep in his camp. After forcing an out-post or two, and taking a few prisoners, the colonel either perceived such a face of things, or received such intelligence, as convinced him that it was necessary to relinquish his design, before he was too far involved in the attempt.

This insult was returned by the enemy a few days after; who made a regular and vigorous attack with their whole army upon the British lines and works, being led by Lally at the head of his Europeans; but they were every where repulsed with the greatest gallantry, and with no small loss to themselves; the termination of the affair, so far as the great disparity of force would permit the victors to profit of their success, being no less than an absolute defeat. About 200 of their dead, whom they could not carry off, were buried by the English; and a French officer, who led up one of the columns to the attack, was taken prisoner. Col. Macleod had great merit in this action; and his conduct fully justified all the praise that was bestowed on it.

Tippoo Saib acknowledged his defeat, by repassing the river of Paniany, and placing it as a barrier against his enemy. A state of inaction succeeded on both sides for several days; but in the night between the 11th and 12th of December, Tippoo Saib suddenly broke up his camp, and returned by the most rapid marches to Palacatcherry; from whence he held on his course directly back to the Carnatic. As Hyder had

for some time been grievously afflicted by a most painful and incurable disorder, no doubt can be entertained but that this precipitate retreat proceeded either from intelligence of his death, or of his life being in extreme danger; for it is not to be supposed that any thing less could have induced him to abandon the Malabar coast, in the state of danger to which he knew his departure would expose both that and the interior countries; nor were there any military operations, either in act, or in immediate contemplation in the Carnatic, which could at all have demanded his presence.

In the mean time, Col. Macleod being reinforced by some troops from Bombay, and General Mathews having received intelligence at Goa of Tippoo Saib's defeat and retreat, and knowing that the detachment to the southward was thereby freed from all danger, he changed his intention of proceeding much lower down the coast, and directed his views to an attack upon Hydr in the richest and most valuable parts, as well as those the most remote from succour, of all his dominions. In this view he proceeded with the fleet and forces to the river Mirjee, which falls into the sea, something about eighty miles to the southward of Goa, and about five leagues to the northward of Onore. After taking a fort at the mouth of this river, he changed his design of attacking another fortress of greater strength which lay higher up, and proceeded directly to besiege the city of Onore, which lies about midway between Paniany and Bombay,

and is something about 300 miles from either. It seems to be the capital of the long and narrow territory of Canaree, shut in between the mountains and the sea; and separated by the former from the antient kingdom of Canara, of which it is a member.

General Mathews had already dispatched most of the transports with a convoy to the southward, with orders to bring up all the troops that could be spared from the mere purposes of defence on that part of the coast, to assist in his intended operations. In consequence of which, Col. Macleod immediately embarked as many troops as the ships were capable of receiving, consisting of all the Europeans, and of the second regiment of sepoys, with which he proceeded, under convoy of the *Isis* and *Juno*, to join the general; two other regiments of sepoys, being left at Tellicherry in readiness to proceed, together with the elephants and draught bullocks, and the African man of war staying behind for their convoy, as soon as other ships should arrive for their conveyance.

Jan. 5th. But before the arrival  
1783. of the southern troops, Onore was taken by storm, and a cruel slaughter was said to have been made of the inhabitants of all sexes, ages, and orders, as well as of the garrison; the official accounts however state, that the killedar, or governor, with 1200 men, were made prisoners. It is to be observed, that Hyder had no regular forces in this or the neighbouring parts of his dominions; that the defence of the country was committed entirely to the na-

tive poligars or militia; and that these, particularly in this quarter, had never before seen the face or appearance of war; for the kingdom of Canara (which, from the former name of its capital, is generally called by the English the Bednore Country) had fallen to Hyder without striking a blow; and its situation had, in all earlier times, been considered as inaccessible to the approach of an enemy. Tho' no particulars as to the amount are given, the plunder at Onore must have been necessarily very great; and some peculiar circumstances which then took place with respect to the disposition of the spoil, laid the seeds of that dissatisfaction and discontent between the commander and the army, which continued to grow up and strengthen thro' the whole course of the expedition, and ended in mutual charge and accusation.

Hyder Ally's death happened about this time; probably towards the close of the year 1782. We are left in the dark as to time, place, and all the other circumstances of that event; for as Tip-poo Saib's situation afforded the strongest motives for keeping it secret as long as possible, so, when it could no longer be concealed, it was past over as a thing already known, without the parade of a detail which would have been then out of time.

Hyder Ally was undoubtedly one of the greatest princes, as well as the greatest warrior, that India ever produced. His mind was so vast and comprehensive, as at once to reach to and embrace all the parts of war and of government. It seemed as if all the

the qualities necessary to the foundation and permanency of a great empire, were among the earliest seeds that sprung up in his mind; and that he looked forward from the smallest beginnings, to that ultimate point which never departed from his view. The formation of such a native military force, as India had never beheld, and was thought incapable of producing; the conquest of great countries, and the acquisition of others without the sword; the raising of these to a degree of power, estimation, and real value, which they never before possessed, afforded but a moderate display of Hyder's talents and abilities. Besides the establishment of a mighty empire, and the reducing of the Europeans to their original state of merchants and factors, living, as such, entirely under the protection and government of the state, his vast designs reached, not only to becoming the greatest commercial power of Asia, but to what the east had never before beheld, the creation of an invincible navy, which should for ever secure the coasts of India from the invasions or insults of foreigners. If he was not a legislator, he had, however, the merit of establishing so mild and equitable a system of government in his dominions, that the new subjects of so many countries were not only attached to his person in a most extraordinary degree, but the neighbouring nations shewed on every occasion their wishes to come under his protection; excepting only from the foregoing part of this conclusion, that most singular of all people, the conquered Nairs on the Ma-

labar coast, whose habits were invincible, though their bodies were easily subdued.

Nor was he more redoubtable as a warrior than as a statesman; and if his actions, and the chain and motives of his conduct, had not been too remote from observation, to be thoroughly known and comprehended, he might possibly have been considered as one of the first politicians of his day, whether in Europe or in Asia.—He was so far from being naturally cruel, that he differed in that respect from all the eastern conquerors of whom we have any knowledge; but as he detested all private treachery, and was a strict observer himself of the laws of war, and of the public faith, so his punishments in the one instance, and his retaliations in the other, were so extremely severe, as to carry upon some occasions the appearance of cruelty: especially with those who were not informed of the causes, or who were not disposed to consider the motives. Hyder despised, and dispensed with, so far as it could with propriety be done, the vain pageantry and haughty pomp of the Indian courts; living in habits of great intimacy and familiarity with his friends, courtiers, and officers; displaying in his own person the frank manners of a camp, instead of the proud distance and austere reserve of an eastern despot. He had been, greatly through their own fault, and partly through their interference with his designs, a bitter, and very nearly a fatal enemy, to the English East India company; but it would be disgraceful and mean, on that account, to suppress

press his virtues, or endeavour to conceal his great qualities.

General Mathews had received positive orders from the president and council of Bombay, that, if the reports of Hyder's death were confirmed, he should, without delay, use every possible exertion to penetrate through the Gauts, as the passes in the mountains on both sides of the peninsula are called, into the Bednore, or Canara country, and particularly to gain possession of the capital; which, along with a strong fort on a small mountain that joins the city, were the great depositaries of Hyder's treasures, as well as the grand magazines of his arms and military stores. That commander accordingly, after the taking of Onore, proceeded farther down the coast, which was still pursuing the line of conduct proposed, where he took the town of Cundapore, with little loss or difficulty.

That easy success did not, however, seem to reconcile him to the enterprize against the Bednore country; for immediately after the taking of Cundapore, he represented in very strong terms to the government of Bombay the difficulty, if not the impracticability of that design; stating the total insufficiency of his army for the purpose, and the necessary fatal consequences of a failure, which he seemed to think inevitable.

This despondency of their commander, in the actual course of success, when the most sanguine hopes were already formed, and no enemy appeared within reach, nor no untoward accident intervened to prevent their completion,

excited great dissatisfaction at Bombay. That government had built much of their design in the invasion of the Bednore country upon the supposed disaffection of Hyder's subjects, and the disorders which his death, in such a disposition of the people, would occasion in every part of his dominions; nothing less than revolutions in whole kingdoms were expected, and even reported, as facts, to have happened; and as that temper was particularly attributed to the kingdom of Canara, it was not to be imagined, under that opinion, that any extraordinary force would be necessary to induce the inhabitants to the accomplishment of their own wishes, in throwing off or rejecting the government of Tippoo Saib.

But however dissatisfied the president and council were, in being obliged to relinquish their favourite object, they did not think it by any means fitting or prudent to persevere in exacting a strict compliance with their former orders, when so decided an opinion had been given against the design, by the very officer who was entrusted with carrying it into execution. They accordingly, tho' with great reluctance, relaxed their former orders, in the new instructions which they dispatched to Gen. Mathews; giving him a discretionary power, with respect to deferring, or to proceeding on the designed expedition; but, at the same time, strongly recommending to him, that he would, in balancing the difficulties against the advantages, give due weight in the latter scale, to the consequences which were naturally or probably to be expected from Hyder's death.

But

But that commander had already taken his measures without waiting for any instructions; and it would indeed seem that they had been determined upon, at the very time that he remonstrated so strongly to his employers upon their impracticability. His conduct at and after this time was so extraordinary, that it not only became mysterious, but in many instances totally unintelligible. He seemed to forget the government by which he was employed, and that he was under the controul of any. All correspondence with Bombay was at an end; and thro' the whole course of the subsequent splendid successes, no military detail of the proceedings of the army under his command was ever transmitted by him to that or to any other government. It is with pain we recount, that as slaughter, cruelty, rapine, and avarice, had disgraced this expedition in its commencement at Onore, so the same detestable maxims and vices continued to stain its whole progress, until they were, at its fatal conclusion, most cruelly requited; when the innocent became, indiscriminately with the guilty, victims to the rage of an exasperated and merciless enemy.

Under one of the circumstances which we have already stated, and others which will appear in the course of the narration, it will be easily seen, that we are left much in the dark as to the detail of the ensuing military operations. A few leading facts serve to form an authenticated general outline; the intervening matter must be considered either as a deduction necessarily proceeding from these, or as resting upon the authority of

those private letters which have appeared from some of the officers engaged in the expedition to their friends; but even of this kind of information, the calamity, which finally involved the destruction of the whole army, has occasioned an unusual paucity. Indeed one officer has since declared, that at that unhappy instant, he tore to pieces, in the face of the enemy, a regular detail which he had written of the whole course of military operations throughout the expedition.

It may be judged from some of these accounts, that the idea entertained at Bombay, of conciliating the good-will of the natives, and thereby of encouraging the disposition of the people to a revolt against the government of Tippoo Saib, were either not at all understood, or, at least, were by no means adopted by the army; for the surprizing and surrounding of a few hundreds of the unmilitary poligars at their posts, and without remorse or pity consigning them to the bayonet, are represented lightly, without the observation or reflection which such matters seem to demand.

The officer, indeed, who gives an account of the massacre at the fortress of Annampore, which was taken by storm, under some preceding circumstances of aggravation on the side of the governor, and from whence only one horseman, desperately wounded, had the fortune to escape the general slaughter, seems to feel no small compunction and horror, in describing the spectacle which was there exhibited, of four hundred beautiful women, all bleeding with wounds of the bayonet, and either  
already



already dead, or expiring in each others arms; while the common soldiers, casting off all obedience to their officers, were stripping off their jewels, and committing every outrage on their bodies. He says, that others of the women (without taking notice whether their lives were offered or not) rather than to be torn from their relations, threw themselves into large tanks, and were drowned. He, however, observes, that the troops were afterwards severely reprimanded for this action.

Such enormities undoubtedly deserved a severe vengeance! Whether in the degree it was soon inflicted, may be another consideration.

A fortunate ignorance of the difficulty and danger of forcing a passage through the Gauts, seemed to be the only apology that could be made for the attempt, at least in the manner that it was conducted; and the success served to justify the rashness of the undertaking. The only account we have of this transaction, is from an officer who was one of the party engaged in the attack; and he acknowledges that the post would have been impregnable in any other lands than those of the *motley crew*, as he calls them, who were appointed to its defence. He describes the pass as being about eight feet wide, three miles in length, and strongly fortified. The party sent on so desperate and important a service, consisted only of the Bombay light company of Europeans, and between three and four hundred sepoys. He says they took the first barrier with little opposition; but that when they were arrived at the second, they were

alarmed at the prodigious number and strong position of the enemy; but that as it would be then no less dangerous to retreat than to advance, they attacked them with such vigour, that they soon fled, leaving about 500 of their killed and wounded behind. Being flushed by this success, they then made their way with the bayonet, notwithstanding a heavy cannonade, until they had gained the summit of the Gaut, by which the work was completed. He likewise informs us, that having then dispatched an account of their success to the general, he expressed his astonishment no less than his satisfaction at the event.

The mountains being thus scaled, their passes secured, and a free communication established with the sea-coasts, the rich, and ever yet unspoiled Canara kingdom, with its capital, Hyder's royal favourite palace, and, as it was supposed, his treasures, together with many of those things on which he had most set his heart, now lay open and defenceless to the hands of the invaders.

The city of Bednore, the residence through many unknown ages of the antient and sequestered Kings of Canara, had of late changed its name to Hyder Nagar, or the Royal city of Hyder; a name which the English did not at this time admit, and which they hoped entirely to annihilate. This capital was to be ranked among the largest and finest cities in India; its extent being so considerable, that some of its streets run nearly in a right line two leagues in length: while its greatness was forgotten in the consideration of its beauty. But its population was



was not proportioned to its extent ; for being the favourite residence of the nobility, their spacious palaces and extensive gardens, enclosing vast basins or reservoirs of water, (one of the favourite and most pleasing luxuries of the East) took up much, and probably, the greater part of the ground. The Christian religion had been early propagated (undoubtedly by the Portuguese) and still flourished so exceedingly in this city, that a majority of its inhabitants, estimated at 30,000, were of that profession.

The government and command of the city and country, were lodged in the hands of Hyat Saib, who seems to have most worthily discharged the trust reposed in him ; and to have acted with a very extraordinary degree of judgment and policy in those measures which he pursued for the preservation of both from that impending ruin, which all things considered, it is not probable that any others could at that time have averted.

This man, sensible of his total inability to oppose the enemy, and of the certain destruction which either that attempt or a flight would inevitably and immediately occasion, seems at once to have wisely directed his thoughts, to cast about the means, by which he might so judiciously apply a part or the whole of those treasures in his care, and which would otherwise become a spoil, as, that they might serve to preserve the country, and more particularly the capital from desolation and ruin, until his sovereign could arrive to their rescue, and might then perhaps recover the very

ransom which was the price of their salvation.

If it was upon this principle that Hyat Saib acted, and none other is apparent, that could at all accord with his conduct, he certainly displayed great art, address and knowledge of mankind in his management of the business. As soon as the English army had passed the Gauts, he dispatched agents to the camp, who entered into a private negotiation with the general, and some sort of a strange treaty was concluded, the particulars of which, so far as our information goes, are not yet perfectly known. It was however understood in the army, and accords pretty generally with the private accounts received by the government of Bombay, even after they had seen the principal officers of the king's forces who returned thither, that the capital, the country, the fortresses at Bednore, with the public treasures and property, were to be delivered up to the English ; that the persons and property of the inhabitants were to be fully secured from all molestation and injury ; and that Hyat Saib was to continue in the government, under the authority of the English, holding much the same powers that he had done under Hyder.

The army then advanced to the capital, which, as well as the fortresses, they were put in possession of, pretty early in the month of February. The government of Bombay were informed, that notwithstanding this treaty and capitulation, the general, immediately upon getting possession of Bednore, broke through them, by suddenly seizing and confining Hyat

Hyat Saib, to a close imprisonment; and that many bad consequences resulted from the alarm given, and the impression made by this violent proceeding. They say, that very great treasures were found in the durbar, amounting to fourteen lacks, and upwards, which were at first publicly shewn to the officers by the general, and declared to be the property of the army. That there was much other treasure, and jewels, which were not exposed. That the breach between the general and Hyat Saib was soon after made up; and that the army were astonished in a few days after to hear, that all that money, which evidently belonged to the government of the country, had been claimed by Hyat Saib as his private property, and was, upon that plea, actually restored to him by the general.

The effect of his conduct on the army need not be described; but it was increased upon this occasion, by a recollection of some former management tending to the same object, which had been practised at the sack of Onore, and by which they considered themselves as having been wronged of the greater part of the booty found at that place. Nor did the general's measure, of carrying some of the principal officers to Hyat Saib, and prevailing upon him to make a present of half a lack of pagodas, amounting to about 20,000l. to the army, serve in any degree to allay the discontents, or to remove the suspicions which so generally prevailed.

But as if all these things had not afforded sufficient grounds for dissatisfaction, and still more dan-

gerous effects in the army, the general had the misfortune to quarrel with the principal officers of the king's troops, upon the discussion of some points of rank between them and the company's forces; matters of dispute, which it will be easily supposed, might have been well and prudently evaded in such a season. They were however, so managed, that the Colonels Macleod and Humberstone, with Major Shaw, being the principal officers of the royal forces, and all gentlemen of distinguished character and honour, thought themselves to injuriously treated, that, in a few days after the taking of Bednore, they were under a necessity of quitting the army; and accordingly returned to Bombay, where they arrived towards the end of February. The loss of these officers, was in due time, and that at no great distance, most fatally experienced.

During this course of such important events; the passage of the Gauts; the treaty with Hyat Saib; the reduction, or possession of the Bednore, capital and country; besides several intervening military actions, and all the extraordinary affairs that afterwards sprung up; not a syllable of information, whether by letter or by message, had been received at Bombay from the general; and that government were under a necessity of applying to Colonel Macleod for a detail of the operations of the army, as well as for such information as he could give, respecting the nature of the treaty with Hyat Saib.

At length, on the 4th of March, being almost a week after the arrival of the royal officers at Bombay, the general found leisure to forward

forward his dispatches from Bednore to that government. It was found upon their being received, that instead of conveying any particular, or even general account of his operations, of the treaty with Hyat Saib, or other matters, the explanation of which were so much expected and desired, his letter contained a general accusation against his whole army; charging them indiscriminately, without the exception of a single officer or soldier, with acts of the highest criminality.

He stated, that after the surrender of Bednore, the flame of discontent had broke out among the officers, which rapidly spread, from those in the king's immediate service, to those in the company's; and that this flame being blown by a few zealots for plunder and booty, he was apt to think was the cause, which deprived him at that critical time, of the services of the Colonels Macleod and Humberstone. That the agents for the captors had been loud in their representations of the supposed right of the army; and that they and the officers had done every thing that was disrespectful and injurious to him; which circumstances, so contrary to good order and discipline, could not fail to increase the spirit of plunder in the soldiery, who, encouraged by the practice of the officers, were become as loose and unfeeling as the most licentious freebooters.—He called upon the government to take measures for preventing such dangerous proceedings; said, that the troops in Bednore were almost in a state of mutiny; that the enemy were collecting a force within 30 miles;

and that the prospect of resettling that city became every moment more distant, through the dejection of Hyat Saib; who, from the illiberal and indecent expressions of officers, was filled with apprehensions that made him utterly despond, and rendered him incapable of any exertion.

Nothing is mentioned of the treasure, which was the ground of dissatisfaction or dispute, nor whether any treasure whatever was found at Bednore; and the government of Bombay were by him left totally in the dark, as to the objects to which the rapacity attributed to the army was directed.

As the general had referred in his letter to the disputes between him and Colonel Macleod, relative not only to rank, but to the manner of supplying the king's forces on service, and to certain papers upon the subject, which he supposed had been already laid before the board, these were accordingly demanded and obtained from the colonel. That government likewise found themselves under a necessity of applying to him and to Colonel Humberstone, for all the verbal information, and for all the written details, relative to the proceedings and state of the army, during that period in which they had been kept totally in the dark upon the subject, between the time that the general wrote his letter from Cundapore on the 19th of January, and that of their departure from Bednore.

The result of all their information and enquiries were, a declaration that imputations of the most serious nature, and supported by strong testimony, appeared against the general; and that, feeling the strongest

conviction that the service could not prosper in his hands, they thought it their indispensable duty not to continue him any longer in the command of the army. They accordingly passed a resolution to remove him from the command of the army, as well as to suspend him from the company's service, until he had cleared up the charges which appeared against him. As Colonel Macleod was the first officer in rank upon the coast, besides his merit having been already eminently distinguished in the defeat of Tippoo Saib, he was appointed to the command of the army in the Bednore country; and Colonel Humberstone and Major Shaw were required to rejoin it along with him.

It was the latter end of March before these resolutions were passed, and this appointment made; and that unfortunate army was doomed never to experience the benefits which it might have derived from the abilities of those approved officers.

They were, however, permitted to bask in the glare of a short-lived success. That formidable hostile force which the general represented in his letter as collecting within 30 miles of him, must have been totally ideal, as the subsequent events fully shew that no enemy whatever appeared either then or long after in the country. He had indeed an enemy, and that enemy sufficiently dangerous; but he was far distant, and not yet even in motion. Hyat Saib had managed matters with so much address, that so far from suffering any appearances in the Bednore country, which could excite alarm or apprehension, he carried his

policy so far (if we may credit some of the private accounts) as to offer to raise a considerable body of forces to join and support the English army; and the general is even charged with despising his enemy too much, and with placing too great a confidence in his own force, for refusing this dangerous succour.

The upper country being thus apparently secure, the troops carried on their operations upon the coast with great success. On the upper part towards Goa, a Captain Carpenter invaded the Sundah, or Sounda country, (which Hyder had conquered or recovered from the Portuguese, as an appendage to his then new kingdom of Canara) where he carried every thing before him; reducing Carwar, and all the other principal forts.

But the great and principal expedition, was that against the important fortress and port of Mangalore, than which, none of all his acquisitions had been dearer to Hyder during life; as all his sanguine hopes of becoming a formidable naval power were there centered. Indeed his industry and perseverance in that respect, would, in any other person, be considered as amazing. And notwithstanding the heavy losses which he had repeatedly sustained at sea from the English, and notwithstanding the numberless cares and dangers in which he had been involved by the present war, yet his attention to this point was so unremitting, that the rudiments of a navy, it might be said in despite of fortune, were now rising into form at Mangalore; where three ships of the line, from 50 to 60 guns each

each, were in great forwardness, if not nearly finished, and several others, of different sizes, and in different states, upon the stocks.

Two battalions of sepoys were first ordered from the Bednore country to invest Mahgalore; which does not seem to have been much better garrisoned than other places lately subdued. The town was taken without much resistance; though the only account we have of it states, that a mine was sprung which blew up 80 sepoys; that they notwithstanding carried it sword in hand, though every street was mined and stockaded.

The killedar, or governor, with his *rabble*, as the account calls them, fled into the fort; and that being of some strength, they were obliged to wait the arrival of General Mathews, with artillery, and the greater part of his army, to carry on the siege. The fort made no long resistance; a breach nearly practicable being made in 36 hours after the batteries were opened, the governor surrendered upon conditions; the security of person, and of private property, being the principal. The English were now, nearly, if not entirely, in possession of all the strong holds on the Malabar coast; acquisitions which might have been of the greatest importance, if things had been in a happier train.

But Tippoo Saib, now called Tippoo Sultan, determined to relinquish all other objects and pursuits, for the recovery of those very valuable as well as favourite possessions, which he had lost in the Bednore country, and which

he could not but expect to be lost on the Malabar coast. He seems, however, to have hesitated much upon the question of relinquishing the Carnatic; for it was approaching to the middle of March before his troops began to file off from that country through the Changamah Pass; and he seemed unwillingly himself to evacuate Arcot and bring up the rear; so that it was evident, that nothing less than the absolute necessity which prevailed, could urge him to the adoption of that measure.

Thus, whatever faults or errors appeared in the conduct of this expedition, and however fatal its conclusion to the actors, the great object of the invasion on the Malabar side, which was to oblige the enemy to withdraw his forces from the Carnatic, was more fully and compleatly attained than it could even have been hoped for.

The conduct of the general upon this approaching danger, seems to have been so incomprehensible, as to be equalled only in that respect by his letters to Bombay, which now became frequent. Indeed it may well be supposed from the whole, that his mind was at this period in some strange state of disorder. His intelligence, if it may be called such, was not only so defective, but so incoherent and contradictory, that in the manner he states it, it carries more the appearance of a succession of dreams, than of any regular or rational chain of information. He was, however, consistent in all his letters in pressing for a reinforcement; but, he at the same time talked with as much confidence

dence and carelessness of meeting the enemy in the field with that handful of men he commanded, as if the armies had been something nearly upon an equality.

One of these letters is dated at Mangalore on the 20th of March, when he was, he said, to set out on the following day to Bednore to meet the enemy in the field, whom he represents as approaching to that place, and estimates at 25,000; and, if there is no error in the copy we have seen as to the number, he talks of collecting 12,000 sepoy, along with his Europeans, to encounter them; although the troops of all sorts then on the coast, or in the Bednore country, dispersed even as they were, could scarcely amount to half that number. He is, however, a week after at Cundapore, from whence he dates his next letter, the intelligence of the enemy being as vague as could be; excepting, that they are now represented as being within 35 miles of Bednore; and he concludes by observing that without a reinforcement, it will be next to a miracle if he can keep his footing. His last letter was dated at Bednore on the first of April. The enemy were then represented as being at 45 miles distance; but it was discovered that Tippoo Saib commanded them in person.

The line of conduct necessarily to be pursued by the general in this emergency seems so obvious, that nothing less than some strong infatuation on his side, together with the absence of the principal officers, could prevent its being adopted. He should undoubtedly, at the time that he dispatched his first letter from Man-

galore, or as much sooner as he had any certain intelligence of the enemy's approach, have withdrawn his troops and artillery entirely out of the open Bednore country; and posted them in the Gauts, which were already fortified, and deemed impregnable. He should have defended these passes into the Malabar country to the utmost; and if they had been at length found no longer tenable, he could have retired to the strong posts on the coast, which the enemy were in little condition for besieging; and where he would have been at all events, open to succour from the sea. By this means, even the dearly purchased treasures might have been saved; and all the subsequent calamities would have been evaded.

Tippoo Sultan appeared in sight, at the head of a prodigious army, in the beginning of April, and probably in three or four days after the writing of the general's letter from Bednore. His forces were so numerous, that they not only filled the plains near the city, but covered the hills to a greater distance than the eye could reach. The most moderate estimate states them at more than a hundred thousand men. General Mathews's European force consisted of detachments from the 98th, 100th, and 102d royal regiments, and of some Bombay infantry, amounting in the whole to something about 600 men; and he had with these some thin battalions of brave and excellent sepoy, amounting to about 1600.

If several accounts from the unfortunate survivors had not concurred in the relation, it would have been difficult to believe or to



to relate, that with this diminutive handful of men, the general marched out of Bednore, to encounter, in the open field, so prodigious a force. The enemy were led in the attack by a French detachment; and about five hundred of his men having fallen in a few minutes, he then retreated to the fortresses, abandoning the city altogether.

Tippoo Sultan instantly enclosed the fort, and the whole hill upon which it stood, in the strictest manner; and bringing up heavy artillery with the utmost expedition, surrounded the former on every side with batteries. In the mean time, to prevent all possibility of their rescue or escape. (though neither were in fact to be apprehended) he sent a detachment to attack the two Gauts; which, tho' they were not near so effectually garrisoned as their strength and great importance deserved, were yet shamefully lost, through the bad conduct of one or both of their commanders.— Thus all communication with the lower country and sea coast was cut off.

That ill fortune, which is the proper scourge of ill conduct, and which generally pursues it so closely at the heels, now began every where to appear. The fugitives that escaped from the Gauts, communicated their own confusion and terror so effectually to the garrison of Cundapore, that they were instantly seized with an equal panic; so that, without the appearance of an enemy, nothing but flight and escape were thought of. The precipitation and confusion under the impulse of this blind fear were so great,

that a number of men and horses were drowned in the flight. Large magazines of stores and provisions, which had been deposited in that place, were set on fire and consumed in this unaccountable disorder; and a large field of artillery was either disabled, or left to whatever enemy should arrive without being injured.

Cundapore, with its valuable provision for war, being thus shamefully abandoned or destroyed, a part of the fugitive garrison took refuge at Onore, where it required all the firmness and prudence of Captain Torriano to preserve the troops from being infected with their panic.— Having however succeeded in confirming his own garrison, and restoring the fugitives in some degree to their senses, he made a spirited exertion to recover the artillery, which they had abandoned at Cundapore. But the enemy, pursuing their success had by this time fallen into the low country, and were not only before-hand with him, but he hardly escaped paying an undeserved penalty for the attempt.

After seventeen days hopeless defence, the unfortunate garrison of the fortress of Bednore, being greatly reduced in strength, their sick and wounded exceeding 500, besides the great number slain, and the fire of the enemy greatly superior, they were reduced to the necessity of capitulating. After some difficulties, they were allowed the honours of war, but to pile their arms on the Glacis; they were to retain all private property, and to restore all public; and they were to be conducted to a specified port, and from thence

conveyed to Bombay, being properly supplied with provisions both on the road and in the passage. The general to be allowed a guard of one hundred of his own sepoys, with their arms, and 36 rounds of ammunition.

The lust of avarice seems still to have been predominant, even in this forlorn state of affairs, and under all the dangers to be apprehended from the resentments of a highly enraged victor, and at all times avowedly implacable enemy. For, in order to cover the public money in the fort from the captors, whose property of right, and by the conditions it was, the officers were desired to draw upon the paymaster general for whatever sums they chose, to be accounted for in their pay at Bombay, supposing that the money being divided in so many hands, would pass without observation. This opportunity of getting ready money without trouble or delay, was eagerly seized by the officers; and several, to their subsequent great loss, if not present misfortune, drew for large sums, from one to two thousand pagodas a-piece.

Through this management, not a single rupee was found by the captors in the fort; and this circumstance, along with the profuseness of the garrison in the purchases which they made at a market provided on their coming out, easily led to a suspicion of the fraud; which the money afterwards found in their possession abundantly confirmed; and thus, a small infraction of the treaty on the side of the weak, afforded (which is not entirely without example) a plea for the total over-

throw of all the conditions to the strong. It is not, however, certain, that Tippoo Sultan would have considered this plea or pretence as at all necessary to give a colour to the cruel vengeance which he took; whether he would not have founded it upon past enormities, or whether he would not have gratified his indignation and revenge, without regard to appearances or consequences, are questions still to be resolved.

The troops having April 28th. marched out of the fortress, and piled their 1783.

arms, were led about a mile from Bednore, where they encamped, being surrounded by some battalions of the nabob's armed sepoys.— On the following morning, the general was sent for to meet Tippoo Sultan without the town; but he, and those who accompanied him, after some unknown examination, were put into close confinement, and never returned. In two days after, the field and staff officers, with all the captains, the paymaster, and the commissary, were all sent for, and likewise detained. The buckshy, or paymaster, was then sent to the camp, when all the remaining officers were shamefully stripped and searched before him; and the money being found and taken, they were afterwards plundered of every thing; and no measures of humanity were longer observed with them or the troops.

It would be too painful to enter at all minutely into the subsequent sufferings of these ill-fated troops. It will suffice to say, that after suffering every degree of indignity and hardship in the first instance, they were compelled to march

march 16 days, under a burning sun, almost naked, but loaded with irons, and driven without mercy, like wild beasts, to a fort in the interior part of the country; where they underwent the most grievous and cruel imprisonment, that any equal number of Englishmen, in the most inhospitable and savage regions of the earth, had ever experienced.

Though it is known that the general suffered a violent death, the manner of it is not certain; some accounts stating that melted lead was poured down his throat; others that scalding oil was thrown over his body; and a third, which seems more probable, that he was compelled to swallow the poisonous milk or juice of a thrub, by which he died in great agonies.—Several of the principal officers are likewise said to have been barbarously murdered.

We are in the dark as to the amount and final disposition of the treasures found at Bednore. They were undoubtedly very great; and it seems probable that they were mostly, if not entirely, recovered by the conqueror. One private account, to which the officer's name is signed who wrote it, states, that the general got possession, exclusive of what Hyat Saib claimed, of thirty lacks of pagodas, (amounting at least to 1,200,000l.) besides a great quantity of diamonds and other precious stones; all which he says he secreted, and sent by his brother to Bombay. That his brother soon after fell into the hands of the nabob, who beheaded him; that the army was yet uninformed whether the treasure had arrived at Bombay; and

that, by calculation, it was a loss of 25,000 rupees to each subaltern officer.

The sum here stated seems, however, too vast, to have been secreted and conveyed in such a manner.

Another officer, who says he was secretary to the general, and had free access to the rooms at the palace in which the treasure was deposited, and was even appointed to count parts of it, describes it as immense; and, besides heaps of unvalued riches, such as jewels, and massy gold and silver furniture, estimates the money at 48 lacks of pagodas. He farther says, “A great part of this money belonged to the officers, and there was a great stir about it, but the general kept it secure a long time, and what became of it I know not. If we had justice done us, and the money divided out to us, it would have been about 3000l. a subaltern.” Both the letters were written since the release of the officers from the long and grievous imprisonment we have mentioned.

Such was the issue of this unfortunate expedition, and the fate of a most gallant body of troops, who seem to have been devoted, by a continued series of misconduct, to destruction. Though it be an anticipation in point of time, yet, as the occasion may not offer again, we should think it unpardonable not to give due praise to the unequalled fidelity, constancy, and resolution, with which the sepoys who were now taken endured all the calamities and dangers of their long, most grievous, and almost hopeless captivity;

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tivity; during which they were equally proof to all the allurements, and to all the errors held out by the victor; generously to the last refusing, tho' at the apparent peril of life, to sacrifice their faith and attachments by entering into his service. The affection and tenderness which they shewed to their European fellow soldiers, who were perishing under those common miseries, which they were better able to bear, dividing their miserable pittance of food with them, and endeavouring to lessen or to share in all their sufferings, are without example, in such circumstances, and among such a class of men, in any other part of the world. When they were at length permitted to rejoin their officers, who were still labouring under every degree of want and distress, they, with the most rapturous expressions and appearances of joy, offered to present them with such small sums of money, as had either escaped the general pillage or they had since saved by starving themselves. It may well be hoped, that no European who was a witness to those transactions, or who even hears them recounted, can ever be deficient in mercy or kindness to a Hindoo. Such actions, if any thing could, might serve to cure all local prejudices: and induce all the race of mankind, however different in colour, or remote in place, to consider each other as brethren.

Tippoo Sultan, immediately after the reduction of Bednore, appeared with his vast army before Mangalore; the recovery of which was the next great object of his wishes. The place was

well commanded and well garrisoned; but the defences were in no degree worthy of the defenders; so that it required all the abilities of Major Campbell, seconded by the well-tried valour of the 42d regiment, and supported by some brave battalions of sepoy, to supply the defects of the fortifications.

But notwithstanding the multitude of the enemy's troops, the handful of French auxiliaries alone gave energy to their attacks; for Hyder's numerous body of native artillery men, who had cost him so much time and pains in forming, seem by this time, as well as the rest of his best troops, to have been entirely exhausted. By their exertions the works were so much ruined, that it seemed as if the garrison would soon be reduced to fight upon equal terms with the besiegers, when an account of the peace between England and France was received in the month of July:—Tippoo Sultan was by no means pleased with the conduct of France in concluding a peace without his concurrence, or, at least, without including him in the treaty; but the positive refusal of the French commander and his troops to act in any manner against the English, or even to continue longer in the camp, was exceedingly ill taken by him, and he is said to have shewn, upon this occasion, much want of that command of temper, by which Hyder was eminently distinguished. Sensible of the insufficiency of his own troops to prosecute the siege with effect, and stung to the heart at missing the recovery of a place of so much importance, after having considered

dered it as little less than already in his hands, it is said, that when all means of persuasion failed, he then insisted that no treaty whatever, in which he was not a party, could release the French troops from their engagements with him, or at all warrant their departure from his army, until the enterprise, which they had undertaken in concert with his own forces, and in which they were now so far advanced, was completed.

We are not certain how far we can rely upon our authorities in this matter; but it is said, that Tippoo Sultan urged this point with such pertinacity, that it was for a time imagined he intended to retain the French troops, and to compel their services by force.-- And it is farther asserted, that though he did not venture to proceed to so violent an extremity, he however parted them with an exceeding ill grace, and that much dissatisfaction was evident on both sides.

The siege of Mangalore was then converted to a blockade. A cessation of arms afterwards took place; but the garrison were reduced to the utmost distress through the want of provisions; and it would seem, that though a peace was in agitation, Tippoo used his utmost endeavours to starve them into a surrender; but the arrival of General Macleod, with a strong force from Bombay, upon the coast obliged him, unwillingly, to consent to their receiving a supply. No military event of any consideration afterwards took place on the Malabar coast. Carwar, Onore, and some other forts, as well as Mangalore, still continued in the hands of the

English, until, by the peace concluded between the company and Tippoo Sultan, in the following year, a general restitution of the conquests on both sides took place, and the tranquillity of India was, for the present, fully restored.

We are now to take notice of the proceedings on the coast of Coromandel during these transactions on the opposite side of the Peninsula, which will close our account of these long, dangerous, and very extensive wars.

Sir Eyre Coote's ill state of health, which, we have seen, obliged him to quit the field, and to leave the command of the army in the hands of General Stuart, still continuing, and the season of action being likewise over, the hope of benefiting by the voyage and change of air, with the no less operative motive, of procuring such a supply of money as might enable him to prosecute the war with decisive effect in the ensuing campaign, induced that general to proceed in the Medea frigate from Madras to Bengal, just previous to the coming on of the monsoon season, and to that dreadful hurricane which delolated the coast in the preceding year.

If the proceedings of public bodies of men were to be at all measured or judged of, by the same lines of action or rules of conduct which prescribe or influence the transactions of individuals in private affairs, it would appear an extraordinary, if not a very reprehensible circumstance, that this season of the general's absence, and that upon business of the utmost importance to the state, should be seized, by a government which owed its exist-

ence to his military abilities and exertions, for the adoption of a measure so exceedingly ungrateful in its nature, as to carry all the appearance of an intended personal slight, if not of a direct and positive affront.

That admirable band of selected soldiers, consisting of several companies of the first regiment of Bengal European infantry, who had originally, in the season of distress and danger, accompanied the general by sea, to the rescue of the Carnatic, and whose unequalled valour and conduct had contributed so highly, not less in example than in act, to the un hoped-for turn of affairs, and the glorious successes of the war, were now, speedily after the general's departure, and without his consent or knowledge, remanded back, the same way by which they came, to their establishment at Calcutta.

The public address of thanks, which the commander in chief dedicated to those brave troops upon their arrival, is in some degree expressive of his sentiments and feelings upon the occasion.— This piece (which may be considered as his military testament, and which, along with his own, communicated the royal thanks, just received from England) does equal honour to the parties on both sides concerned; to the general who bestows, and to the troops who merit such signal praise. After such unbounded acknowledgments to both officers and soldiers, as nothing but the warmest gratitude, arising from a fresh sense of great and important service could inspire, and pointing them out, not only as reflect-

ing particular lustre on the corps to which they belonged, but as patterns of imitation to the army in general, he barely mentions, without any immediate comment on the proceeding, the circumstance of their being sent back by the government of Madras, but then indicates the vexation as well as disappointment to himself, by observing in a plaintive manner, that he had intended that that chosen band of veterans, who originally undertook the service in the Carnatic along with him, should still have remained there, until they had participated in the honour of gloriously closing a war, in which they had throughout held so active a share, and lamenting that he should now, upon his return, be deprived of their services on that field.

The commander in chief's health being to all appearance considerably restored, and the season for action approaching, he took his departure from Calcutta, bringing with him ten lacks of rupees, on board the Resolution armed ship, belonging to the company; and in a full confidence of bringing the war in the Carnatic to a speedy conclusion. It happened very unfortunately towards the close of the voyage, that they fell in with, and were so closely chased by two French ships of the line, that during the greater part, if not the whole, of two days and two nights, the escape of the Resolution seemed little less than impossible. The ruinous consequences of becoming himself a prisoner, and of the loss of the money, which must have included the total overthrow of all his designs and hopes, could not, in so critical



critical season of public affairs, but deeply affect the general's mind. His anxiety kept him almost constantly on deck during the whole time that the chase continued. It was scarcely then to be expected, that the heat, the fatigue, the night air, and above all, the agitation of mind inseparable from such a situation, should not have severely affected a constitution, and brought on a return of disorders rather palliated than cured, already so much weakened and impaired as his was. Such in reality was the event. The ship and the treasure got safe into Madras; but, to the irreparable loss of the East India company, as well as of his country, the general lived but two days after his arrival.

April 26th. 1783.

It would be unnecessary to dwell much upon the military character and abilities of this great commander. Independent of the former brilliant actions of his life, the two last years of it afford abundant matter to place both in the most exalted point of view. Whoever reflects upon the deplorable and fallen state of the British affairs on the coast of Coromandel, when Sir Eyre Coote arrived at Madras in the year 1780, and considers the very inferior force, consisting only of infantry, with which he maintained so successful and glorious a war, against the greatest commander, and the most formidable armies that ever India produced, will be satisfied that a recital of those acts is the highest eulogium that could be offered to his memory, and will not hesitate to acknowledge, that he should hold a con-

spicuous place among those generals, whose inherent abilities have most eminently supplied the deficiency of force in war.

Sir Edward Hughes, with the fleet from Bombay, arrived at Madras about the same time as the general. It may be an object not only of curious, but very necessary enquiry, to endeavour to discover the causes thro' which this fleet, that had left Bombay in excellent health and condition, was, in a very moderate space of time, reduced and weakened by sickness, particularly the scurvy, in a most extraordinary degree. The admiral put to sea from Madras to watch the motions of the enemy on the 2d of May; and upon discovering that their fleet was at Trincomale, it became his object to intercept them on their passage to Cuddalore; or at all events to prevent their junction with the Marquis de Bussy at that place, until the operations by land were decided. In this easy cruize, without any circumstance of bad weather, and frequently in sight of land, the scurvy made so rapid a progress, that by the 8th of June the sick on board the line of battle ships amounted to no less than 1125 men, of whom 605 were in the last stage of the disorder. And though the fleet was then cleared of all that number, who were dispatched to the hospital at Madras, yet in the small space of a fortnight, the healthiest ships had from 70 to 90 men a piece, and others double that number, incapable of duty; which, along with the long list of those that died through the whole time, must have reduced the crews in

in such a degree, as to render them little more than capable of working the ships.

An unfortunate accident at Madras had previously lessened their force, by the loss of ten officers, and 127 of the best seamen in the fleet, who had been all blown up in their endeavours to save the Duke of Athol Indiaman, which had taken fire in that road. It is observable, that the ships which had arrived in such remarkable good health from England under Commodore Bickerton, in the preceding year, suffered much more extremely than any others by this disorder; although it might be supposed that their crews had time since to become tolerably seasoned to the climate. A circumstance mentioned by the admiral, without any apparent allusion to this subject, might possibly have contributed to the disorder. He observes, that great delay and disappointment occurred in watering the ships at Madras, through the want of a sufficient number of shore boats, and the high surf on the beach; and that the water of many of the ships was by no means complete when he put to sea. It likewise appears, that he afterwards attempted, in vain, to procure a supply of water, both at Porto Novo and at Tranquebar; and that the scarcity became at length so great, as to affect his operations, and oblige him, at a very critical season, to return to Madras. The cause, however, (if we consider this as such) does not seem equal to the effect; and if it was, the scarcity or badness of water was not likely to affect

the ships last from England in a greater degree than any others.

The command of the army continued of course in the hands of General Stuart. The great object of the campaign was the expulsion of the French from the Carnatic; but though they were now left to fight the battle nearly alone, yet they were so strongly fortified in Cuddalore, so abundantly provided with artillery, ammunition, and every provision for war, and their force so considerable, both with respect to quality and number, that as their views for the present were merely defensive, it could not but be a task of great difficulty to dispossess them of that hold, which they had spent so much time and labour to render unassailable.

The Marquis de Bussy had lately arrived to take the command, and had brought with him the last division of the forces from the Mauritius. As France had no continental war to occupy her armies in Europe, she had sent some of her best troops and oldest regiments upon this service. We have no particular information as to the amount of their force at this period; and the vicissitudes in that respect are so great and sudden in that part of the world, that no well-founded conclusion can be drawn from any former statement of the actual number of troops fit for service at a subsequent given time. It however appears that their European force was very considerable; and was farther strengthened by a body of sepoy, which Tippoo Sultan had left behind to act with them as auxiliaries.

General

General Stuart, upon the retreat of that prince from the Carnatic, had detached a considerable division of the army, under the Colonels Lang and Fullarton, to carry the war into his own dominions, by invading them on the southern quarter. Though these officers had great success, took Dindigul and other considerable places, and that it could not but be highly embarrassing and distressing to the enemy to be so fearfully attacked in this distant part, while his hands were fully occupied on the Malabar coast; yet this detraction from the main strength, was afterwards so sensibly felt in the prosecution of the principal object, that as the difficulties and services on the side of Cuddalore multiplied, while the army, through the loss of men and the greatness of the duty and fatigue, became less equal to their support, the general found it at length necessary to recall Colonel Fullarton, although he had then nearly, if not entirely, subdued the whole Coimbatour country; and seemed in a train of extending his designs still farther.

The month of May was spent in providing and shipping provisions, stores, and most of the bulky articles necessary for the service, on board those vessels which were to attend the army in the course of the expedition. As we have seen no plan, nor particular description of Cuddalore, we can only form our ideas of the state of that place, and of the nature of the approaches and defences, from the circumstances which occur in the siege. It seems to be surrounded on two

sides, at least, by the sea; and the interval, or neck, as it is called, (though rather too open to the continent to be properly considered as an isthmus) is composed of very unequal and difficult ground; being incumbered with rocky hills, and interrupted by a large tank or pond. To the south, it is covered by a very thick and deep wood; than which nothing can be deemed a better natural defence in India; for as the hardness of the timber-trees renders the cutting of them in a great measure impracticable, so the innumerable bamboos which fill up the interstices are proof to fire through their extreme succulence. The French accordingly, relying upon that security, were satisfied to fortify those parts of the neck which lay open to the country; and there they covered with strong lines and redoubts well mounted with artillery.

It was then with June 7th. astonishment that they beheld General Stuart marching round through the open ground in the face of the works, and encamping on the south side under the cover of that wood, which they regarded as their own security, and as impenetrable, at least to the passage of artillery, and the regular approaches of an army. But though his operations were, by this manœuvre, out of view, they soon perceived that he was successfully directing them, to obviate the difficulties of the wood; and upon this discovery, they immediately applied themselves with extraordinary labour and industry, to supply the failure of that defence, by continuing the

the chain of works quite across the neck

The British general observing the wonderful facility, with which new and mighty works were rising fast into view, and seeing that the approaches would soon be covered in such a manner, as to render the body of the place unassailable, thought it were better, notwithstanding the great force of the enemy, to endeavour by a bold attack to prevent their completion, than to wait the tedious result of regular approaches for their future subversion.

Relying upon the goodness of his troops, he accordingly took his measures for this purpose. The greater part of the first line, under the conduct of General Bruce, were destined to the attack who took their ground silently on the preceding evening, about half a mile in front of the camp. They were composed of the *precious* remains, as the general repeatedly calls them, of the 73d. and of the 78th and 101st royal regiments; of detachments from the 15th and 16th Hanoverians, amounting to 600 men, under the conduct of Colonel Wangenheim, and Major Varrenius; of a handful of the Madras Europeans amounting only to about 80; and of some battalions both of Bengal and Madras sepoys. The European grenadiers, amounting with their officers to 360, formed a distinct corps, under Lieutenant Colonel Cathcart. The whole number of the Europeans was about 1600.

The attack was successfully commenced early in the morning on the left, by Lieutenant Colonel Kelly, who having carried

the enemy's works and batteries on the Baddipollum hills, continued to direct their own fire against them from thence, with great effect, through the course of the day. Colonel Cathcart with the grenadiers, supported by Colonel Stuart with the remains of the 73d, under Captain Lamont, and two battalions of sepoys, attempted, under cover of the guns just taken by Kelly, to turn the enemy's right, and particularly to take a strong redoubt, by which they were extremely galled in the advance; but the ground was so difficult, and the fire so heavy, that Colonel Stuart found it necessary to cover the troops in the best manner he could, until he could communicate their situation to the general; with a view that a diversion might be made, by attacks being directed from other quarters to that point at the same instant.

The reserve accordingly, under Colonel Gordon, consisting of the 101st, of the Hanoverians, and of five companies of sepoys, were ordered up to support Stuart's corps, while General Bruce made a movement from the right, in the direction of the redoubt. As this was the grand point of attack and defence, on which the fortune of the day entirely depended, and where the utmost exertions of valour were displayed on both sides, the troops being so admirably matched in point of goodness, that some advantage of ground or chance, seemed almost necessary to afford a superiority to either over the other, we shall be the more particular in our account of this exceedingly hard fought and bloody action.

As the fire of the artillery had not been able during the morning to produce any effect upon the enemies works, an attempt to carry them by storm became the last resort. As soon then as the advancing troops were able to close upon the enemy with their musquetry, the firing of the artillery ceased, and the guns were laid under cover. The reserve, with Stuart's corps and the grenadiers, endured in their approach, the heaviest fire of musquetry, round and grape shot, from the enemy, that, the general says, he had ever beheld. They notwithstanding advanced in the most admirable order to the works, where they forced their way into the entrenchments, and mingled in close and mortal combat with the enemy. But the French troops received them most valiantly, sustaining this fierce attack with wonderful firmness; and their strength and spirits being continually renewed by supplies of fresh men, after a long and bloody contest, in which a number of gallant officers fell on both sides, the assailants were repulsed; and the enemy, unable to restrain their ardour, sallied out of their works and pushed the reserve, still desperately fighting, down the declivity, towards the level ground. This success, and the change of position it occasioned, produced an effect, unthought of by the enemy in the eagerness of their pursuit; for the grenadiers, with the other troops of Stuart's division, had in the mean time turned the works, and gained possession of that strong post which had been the object of so much bloody contention; and not contented with this service, hav-

ing effectually secured the redoubts and works there, they pushed on incontinently to another strong post called Brickmyre's, considerably nearer the town, which they likewise carried, with its artillery, and were some time in possession of; but the great force of the enemy being there at hand, they poured in such a number of fresh troops upon them, that they were obliged to abandon Brickmyre's. In the mean time, the reserve having rallied, repulsed and pursued the enemy; who now perceiving the loss of their posts, were obliged to take a circuitous course to gain the fortress; upon which a spirited attempt was made by General Bruce to cut off their retreat; but some of the works enfiladed a hollow way thro' which the troops were passing, and poured such incessant showers of grape shot upon them, that the design, after some loss, was of necessity relinquished.

As the works on the Bandipollum Hills, and those now taken, commanded or enfiladed the whole extent of the Neck, and laid the way open for carrying on the approaches with effect directly to the fortress, the general thought it fitting to spare the effusion of blood, and to give some respite to the troops after so severe a service. But such was their ardour, that notwithstanding the heavy loss they had already sustained, they wanted to push on directly in the present heat, to the attack of the remaining works towards the town, though they were sensible of the heavy fire both of small arms and artillery, to which, without cover, they would be exposed in the approach. The general, however, restrained

restrained their eagerness, and relying upon his knowledge of the temper of the enemy, judged rightly, that when they had leisure to cool, and time for reflection, they would not retain the remaining outworks, at the hazard of another encounter. His opinion was soon verified, for on the very next morning, they abandoned all their posts without the fortress.

This brilliant and important success cannot be supposed, from the nature of the action, to have been cheaply purchased; the loss of men, in killed, wounded and missing, including the native troops, amounting to 962. The royal forces suffered extremely, ten of their officers being killed, thirty wounded, and between four and five hundred of the private men included in the different lists. This was said to be the greatest loss of Europeans, particularly of officers, in proportion to the whole number, that had been yet known in any action in India. Undoubtedly, there never had been one better fought on both sides than the present. The Hanoverians, the grenadiers, and the remains of the 73d, gained distinguished honour on this day; but it was a glory by no means slightly acquired, for their respective loss was severe indeed. Of the first four officers fell upon the spot, and twelve were wounded; and of their private men, 61 were killed, and 144 wounded; being more than a third of their whole number in the field. Their brave Major Varrenius fell, as he was gallantly leading up his men to the attack of the entrenchments, under that terrible fire which we

have before mentioned. Captain Lindsay, who commanded the grenadiers of the 73d, was mortally wounded; and refusing to admit the gallant mark of affection eagerly proposed by his men, of staying behind to protect, or to perish along with him, he was taken prisoner. The grenadiers under Colonel Cathcart, as well as their commander, excited general admiration; but their loss in killed and wounded, including 12 officers, was little short of half their number.

Nor was the loss of the French, making allowance for their cover, and the strength of their works, at all disproportioned to that of the English; 42 of their officers, and above 600 of their best troops, being that day killed or wounded.

On the day after this action, the French fleet arrived from Trincomale at the Danish settlement of Tranquebar; from whence a correspondence taking place between M. de Suffrein and the Marquis de Buffly, the latter found himself yet so strong, that he detached 1200 of his troops to reinforce the ships, in the expected encounter with Sir Edward Hughes. We have before observed the great reduction of strength that took place in the British fleet, through the extraordinary sickness of the seamen. They were, notwithstanding at this time cruising before Cuddalore, to cut off all supplies from the Marquis de Buffly; an object, however, to which the situation of the place, which the nature of the coast and winds, and some other circumstances, were by no means favourable. Upon the appearance of the enemy, two or three days were spent in manœuvres



res on both sides, the British admiral using his utmost efforts to gain the wind while the enemy were more successful in their exertions to preserve that advantage.

The enemy at length, on the fourth day, shewing a disposition to engage, the wind still entirely in their favour, the admiral immediately formed the line of battle a-head, and brought to to receive them. It was a little past four o'clock, in the afternoon, when the van ship of the enemy's line, having fired a single gun to try her distance, and although scarcely within point blank-shot reach, the whole fleet began instantly to fire; which they continued for about 20 minutes, before a single shot was returned by the British line. The distance being then considerably lessened, though still far too great for the kind of engagement wished by the English, a heavy cannonade took place, which was continued on both sides, without intermission until seven o'clock. At that hour the enemy hauled off, having preserved a guarded distance through the whole course of the engagement.

The enemy were out of sight in the morning. On the 22d Sir Edward Hughes discovered them at anchor in the Road of Pondicherry; where he braved them during the day, and anchored in the evening within their sight. But the want of water was now so extreme, and the number of the sick, now increased by the wounded, so great, that the admiral was under an absolute necessity of proceeding to Madras, in order to

land the one, and to procure a supply of the other.

The loss of men on the English side in this action, amounted to 99 killed, and to 431 wounded; a few brave officers were included in both lists; but the captains were for this time *Scotfree*. It seems not a little surprizing, as we cannot suppose that M de Suffrein could be ignorant of the sickly weakened condition of the English fleet, that he did not venture to come to close action and endeavour to render the engagement decisive. It is however, to be observed, that the English had, for the first time, a superiority of ships and guns in this action; their line of battle consisting of seventeen ships, and that of the French only fifteen. But this apparent superiority, it might be thought, would have been much more than counterbalanced by the weakness of the crews, when the ships came to be singly hard pressed in a close fight. It may at the same time be observed, with respect to the other side, that it indicated no small confidence in their own inherent virtue, that, as upon all former occasions, so, even in their present reduced state, they used every endeavour to bring their enemy to the closest possible action.

This was the fifth and last battle between Sir Edward Hughes and M. de Suffrein; and this concluded the severe course of naval warfare between the two nations in India. A war in which infinite valour was displayed on both sides; but in the course of which several appearances of national rancour and animosity which occurred

on that of the French admiral, will by no means serve to exalt his character as a philosopher or a man, however high his reputation may be deservedly held, as a bold and brave naval commander.

Upon the departure of the British squadron to Madras, M. de Suffren immediately proceeded to Cuddalore, where he not only returned the 1,200 land forces which had been lent by the Marquis de Bussy, but he landed 2,400 of his own men from the fleet, as a most powerful aid to the defence.

During these transactions, Gen. Stuart was carrying on his approaches to attack the body of the fortress; at the same time, that the number of posts he had to maintain, and the very considerable losses he had sustained through action and sickness, could not but greatly reduce his effective force against the town. But the departure of Sir Edward Hughes, and the arrival of the enemy's fleet at Cuddalore, multiplied all his difficulties in an extraordinary degree; the posts, and services of every kind, becoming more numerous, and the force of the enemy being greatly increased, at the very time that the army was reduced to its weakest state. The general accordingly, could not but impatiently expect, the arrival of reinforcements which he had ordered from Madras, as well as of Colonel Fullarton and his detachment from the Coimbatour country.

The enemy, who could not be ignorant of these circumstances, and were confident in their in-

crease of strength, considered this as a most favourable opportunity for deciding the fortune of the siege; or if a vigorous attack did not even produce all the effect that might be hoped, the destruction of the besiegers' works towards the town, they held as the smallest benefit that was to be expected. The conduct of the enterprize was committed to the Chevalier de Damas, a Knight of Malta, and colonel of the regiment of Aquitaine, who led some of the best troops of France in this sally; his detachment being composed, besides his own regiment, and other old entire bodies, of picked men, as volunteers, from all the different corps in the place; and to these were added two battalions of 1000 poys; so that his party was scarcely less considerable with respect to number and force, than to, the goodness of the troops.

With this force, the French commander advanced in the dark, and with great silence, to the attack of the trenches, about three o'clock in the morn- 25th. ing. Though it will not be supposed, considering the great strength of the enemy, and the nearness of their fleet administering continual room for apprehension, that the British troops were not in a constant state of preparation, and in expectancy of such an attempt; yet every attack of this nature, in the dark, and at a previously unknown hour, must, in the beginning, necessarily produce some of the effects of a surprize. So upon this occasion, a few of the foremost French, wrapt up in silence and darkness, got into the trenches, and in the blind scramble

ble which for a short time there took place, the falling of the officer who held them, threw the colours of the 24th regiment of Bengal sepoy into their hands, which they immediately sent off in triumph to the town; but that brave battalion convinced them before they parted, that they were well entitled to their colours, and that they must have been dearly purchased by those who had attempted to gain them in open day-light.

As soon as the troops had time to seize their arms, the assailants were opposed with the greatest resolution and firmness, and as the light opened, the troops in the trenches, not contented to maintain their defences, attacked the enemy in turn, and pushed them so hard on every side, that a complete rout took place. The Chevalier de Damas, with some other officers, and about 150 of his soldiers, were taken prisoners; and the whole loss of the French in every way, was said to amount to about 400 men. Nothing could exceed the admirable behaviour of the troops, both Europeans and sepoy, in this action. It was held as equally singular and extraordinary, that the 24th battalion of Bengal sepoy, with another belonging to Madras, fought some of the oldest and best troops of France with the bayonet, and foiled them at that favourite European weapon, which is supposed to be the most trying test of the firmness and excellency of soldiers. It will

probably then afford no small satisfaction to many who read this narrative, to be informed, that the general, in his address of thanks to the army, gave an assurance to those brave sepoy, that he would recommend their distinguished services so effectually to the governments of Bengal and Madras, that they, and their families, should be ever supported and rewarded according to their merit.

Colonel Gordon, Lieut. Col. Cathcart, and Major Cotgrove, were the three officers who commanded on that morning in the trenches. They all gained the greatest honour by the presence of mind and firmness with which they withstood the surprize, and the gallantry with which they avenged the insult. The brave major, who led the Madras sepoy, was killed at the close of the action. Colonel Cathcart, who had been so highly distinguished in the action of the 13th, seemed as if he had rested his military reputation entirely upon his conduct in the present. The loss was wonderfully small; and the little there was fell principally upon the sepoy.

In two or three days after this fall, the Medea frigate arrived under a flag from Madras at Cuddalore, bringing information from Lord Macartney and the admiral, of the conclusion of peace between the two nations; in consequence of which; a mutual cessation of hostilities, and restoration of prisoners, immediately took place.

## C H A P. V.

*Retrospective view of affairs in the West-Indies, North America, Africa, and Europe, previous to the conclusion of peace. Bahama islands taken by the Governor General of Cuba. Dutch settlements in Africa reduced by the English. French expedition to Hudson's Bay, where they take and destroy two of the Company's settlements. Various successes on the Musquito shore: Fort Dalling retaken: Don T. Julia, with the Spanish forces on Black River, surrendered prisoners of war to Colonel Despard. Calamities of the fleet and convoy from Jamaica. Ramillies, Centaur, Ville de Paris, Le Glorieux, and Le Hector, with many merchant ships lost. Sir Guy Carleton communicates to General Washington the resolutions of parliament for an accommodation with the Americans, and the instructions and authority he had received for that purpose from government; requiring at the same time a passport for Mr. Morgan, who he intended to dispatch upon the business to Congress. Washington refers the proposal to Congress, who forbid his granting the passport. Resolutions of several assemblies, against any separate negotiation, peace, or truce with Great Britain. Subsequent declaration to the same purpose by Congress; with strict injunctions, against the receiving of any proposals, or the admission of any emissaries from England. Measures pursued in Europe towards the attainment of a general peace. Empress of Russia, and the Emperor of Germany, mediators. State and condition of the contending parties. Mr. Grenville sent to Paris. Mr. Fitzherbert appointed plenipotentiary, to negotiate and conclude a treaty of peace, with the ministers of France, Spain, and Holland. Mr. Oswald appointed commissioner on the part of his Britannic majesty, to negotiate a treaty with John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens, the American commissioners. Provisional articles signed with America. Preliminary articles signed with America. Preliminary articles of peace between England, France, and Spain, signed at Versailles, by Alleyne Fitz-Herbert, Esq. the Count de Vergennes, and the Count D'Aranda. Sketch of the provisional and preliminary treaties.*

**H**AVING thus traced the war through all its stages in the far regions of the East, we are now to follow the course of those transactions which preceded, or led to its conclusion in the other quarters of the world. Europe, though the smaller division, yet being, through the extraordinary energy of the men it produces, at this time, as in remote periods, the arbiter of war and peace to much the greater part of the globe.

Great and happy as the effects of Lord Rodney's victory over the French fleet under the Count de Grasse were, they could not at once extend equally to all parts, nor every where restrain the enterprize of our combined enemies. Don Juan de Cagigal, governor general of the island of Cuba and the Havannah, fell, with a part of that great force which had been destined, in concert with France, to the conquest of Jamaica, upon the defence.

defenceless Bahama islands. Col. Maxwell, the governor of Providence, had only about 170 invalids, to oppose to an armament, amounting by sea and land to above 5,000 men; and the native strength of the islands were mostly dispersed at sea; the bold and adventurous part of the inhabitants pursuing their favourite occupation of privateering. In such circumstances a capitulation was all that could be hoped for, and every pretence or appearance of resistance, any farther than as it tended to that object, would seem futile and dangerous.

The governor, however, endeavoured to defer the evil as long as possible, hesitating for two days before he agreed to a surrender; perhaps resting upon the solitary hope, that the enemy not being strong at sea, some unforeseen chance or accident might bring a few British ships or frigates of war to his rescue. Though the Spanish commander's summons peremptorily required the capitulations to be signed within six hours, and that he was fully acquainted with the weakness of the garrison and defence, yet he bore this delay with great moderation and temper; and the conditions were,

May 8th, notwithstanding, as favourable, both to the  
1782. garrison and inhabitants,

as they could have been asked for or wished. Indeed it would seem as if the humanized and polished conduct of Don Galvez upon former occasions, (which we have heretofore had much satisfaction in acknowledging and applauding) had been considered by Don Juan de Cagigal as the model by which to regulate his own through the whole of this transaction, were it

not that similar minds will pursue similar lines of action without the aid of example.

The capture of these islands, whatever their value might be, was not to be estimated as a real loss, as, from their nature and situation, they could not be long retained from their former possessors.

The Dutch, who were destined to pay heavy and ruinous fines in every quarter of the world, for the ill-judged, and unnatural part which they took in this war, were about the same time stripped of most of their settlements on the coast of Africa, by Capt. Shirley, in the *Leander* of 50 guns; who, without any land forces, and the assistance only of the *Alligator* sloop of war, took *Acra*, with four other of their forts, mounting 124 pieces of cannon. And to complete their ruin on that coast, Lieut. Cartwright of the *Argo* frigate, having landed with a detachment of seamen, to support some land forces which were under the direction of the African company, he most gallantly attacked, and had a principal share in taking, the strong and well-garrisoned Dutch fort of *Commenda*; which, besides two mortars and as many howitzers, had 32 pieces of cannon mounted for its defence.

On the other side, as if it had been to vent some part of the ill-humour excited by the late defeat in the West-Indies, M. de Vaudreuil, some time before his departure with the remainder of the beaten fleet from Cape Francois to North America, concerted an expedition, purely predatory, against the remote possessions and property of the Hudson's Bay company, shut up as they were among the frozen regions of

the North, and approachable only through obscure straits and gulphs, which were little known, excepting to those peculiarly concerned in that trade, and only for a small part of the year navigable even by them.

M. de la Perouse, in the *Sceptre* of 74 guns, with two 36 gun frigates, was appointed to conduct this expedition; having on board about 300 soldiers and artillery men, with some mortars and cannon for the supposed sieges they were to undertake. This small squadron sailed from Cape Francois on the 31st of May, 1782, and did not arrive at the islands of Resolution, which mark the entrance of Hudson's straits, until the 17th of July. From thence they began to experience the difficulties and dangers of the voyage. Every thing was new to them; and they had no chart for their guidance, through the unknown perils they were to encounter. Notwithstanding the power of the sun at that season, they had scarcely proceeded 20 leagues up the straits, when the ships were so fast locked up in the ice, that the seamen went on foot from one to the other. They were detained in this state for several days, and severely felt, as they afterwards continued to do, the want of ice anchors. The ships suffered much damage, particularly the frigates, which were more than once in an alarming state of danger; and even the *Sceptre* was near losing her rudder.

Through these impediments, the month of July was elapsed before they got clear of the straits; and that season was fast approaching, which was not only likely to forbid the prosecution of their design, but might possibly shut them up

for the winter in those inhospitable regions. Having at length weathered Cape Walsingham, the western point of the straits, they not only had then some more perfect knowledge of their situation, but being got into the open bay, they hoped their difficulties were at an end. These hopes were soon overthrown; for on the 3d of August, being suddenly enveloped by a fog, they found themselves immediately surrounded by such large islands of ice, that they were under a necessity of bringing to; and upon the dispersion of the fog, they perceived that the three ships were fast wedged in a vast field of ice, which extended farther than the eye could reach. Things then appeared so hopeless, that M. de la Perouse had formed a determination, as soon as they got clear of the present difficulty, to send the *Sceptre*, with one of the frigates, back to the West-Indies, and of wintering himself, with the other frigate, and a part of the troops, in the bay; in order to be at hand to destroy the English settlements, as soon as the opening of the season in the ensuing year would admit of their operations. It happened fortunately for M. de la Perouse and his people, that so severe a trial of their constancy was prevented, by the appearance of a small opening in the ice two days after, through which, with a press of sail, and no small danger to the ships, they forced their way; and on the 8th of August were happy in discovering the English colours flying on the Fort Prince of Wales, upon the Churchill River, which was their first and principal object; hoping now to obtain some cessation of their toils and dangers.

The



The Company possess six of those buildings, which are called forts, in Hudson's Bay; being in reality factories, erected at the mouths of the principal rivers; the buildings being necessarily strong, as well to guard against the climate as against other dangers, and furnished with artillery to command respect with the various nations of savages, who come from the remotest parts to dispose of their furs and peltry; but they had not a single soldier in all these forts; and the whole number of storekeepers, clerks, and servants of every denomination, which they maintain at so many stations, does not exceed 120, at the utmost.

The French, incapable of imagining the defenceless state of these forts, took a wonderful deal of unnecessary trouble, in landing their troops and artillery at guarded distances, and proceeding with the utmost caution in their approaches, under a full persuasion of meeting with that formidable resistance, which was so well to be expected in an attack upon English fortresses and garrisons. When they had proceeded in this manner within cannon shot of Fort Prince of Wales, astonished at the silence and solitude which prevailed, not a single man appearing in any direction, they made a halt, and sent an officer to summon the fortresses to surrender; in answer to which the gates were immediately thrown open, and, M. de la Perouse gravely informs us, that the governor and garrison surrendered at discretion. The fort, he observes, was built of free stone, the artillery in excellent condition, and the magazines were covered with lead. They found here a great

quantity of different kinds of merchandize; but the season admitting of no delay, they were under a necessity of burning and destroying every thing, excepting some of the most valuable furs, which, with the garrison, they carried on board.

Having spent about two days at this place, they sailed on the 11th for York Fort, which lies farther down the bay, and on the same western shore with the former, being situated at the point of a long island, which, dividing a vast river into two great branches, that in the front of the fort is called Hayes's, and that on the back of the island Nelson River. In this part of the enterprize they encountered natural difficulties, which seemed pretty well to supply the place of human resistance. The coast was full of rocky shoals; the depth of water not above six or seven fathoms, at best; and the bottom every where foul and bad. In this dangerous navigation they were, as before, without any chart for their guidance, and the prisoners obstinately refused to give them the smallest information or direction whatever. Through these circumstances, besides great and continual danger to the ships, they spent nine days in a navigation of not many leagues; nor could they probably have at all succeeded, if it had not been for the useful assistance of some large, decked boats, which they had found at Fort Prince of Wales, and which, leading the way, under the direction of some of their most able officers and seamen, with great caution and difficulty traced out a passage through the numberless rocks and shoals with which they were environed.

Nor were the difficulties less when they arrived within sight of their object; for the rivers were full of sand-banks; the currents very violent; and the tides exceedingly rapid. As the enemy expected a great resistance here, and the more so, as they had received intelligence that a ship of 26 guns belonging to the Company was at anchor in Hayes' River, they anchored out of sight of land, while the boats spent two days in examining and surveying the shores and rivers. The result was, that the attack on the river Hayes' side being judged too dangerous, the descent should be made on the back of the island from the river Nelson. The fleet of boats, with the land forces, conducted by M. de la Perouse himself, gained the mouth of that river on the 21st of August, in the evening; when they found the debarkation so difficult that it could not be attempted during the night. The boats anchored in two fathoms and a half water; but to their astonishment found themselves left dry by the tide in the morning; and the troops, leaving their mortars and cannon behind, were obliged to wade, with their muskets on their shoulders, through a soft mud, for a quarter of a league, to reach the shore.

Nor were the impediments to their progress yet subdued; for though the distance to the other side did not exceed four leagues, that day was fruitlessly spent in endeavouring to find some road that might lead them through the very difficult woods and morasses which crossed their way; and they were at length obliged to trust to the guidance of the compass only for that purpose. In the mean

time the weather grew so tempestuous, that M. de la Perouse being greatly alarmed for his ships, run no small risque in his return to them; while the troops were left to their own fortune, and the sagacity of their proper commanders. After crossing a deep morass of two leagues, their labours were at length ended, and all those mighty dangers which they apprehended, at once vanished upon their arrival at York Fort, which opened its gates at the first summons, with no less facility than they had experienced at Fort Prince of Wales.

The elements were now become so terrible, and both ships and boats exposed to such continual damage and danger, that the utmost expedition was used in blowing up York Fort, and in burning and destroying every thing on shore as before. But as we have ever a particular pleasure in relating all acts of humanity in war, whether on the side of friend or of enemy, we shall do M. de la Perouse the justice to acknowledge, that he preserved one of the magazines, in which he deposited provisions, gunpowder, shot, small arms, and an assortment of European goods proper for exchanges with the savages, all which he left behind, for the use and subsistence, through the coming long winter, of those English who had retired to the woods; and who could not, during that time, have received any relief from home.

These services being hastily performed by the last of August, the French commanders, who were exceedingly apprehensive of the dangers of their situation, immediately set out on their return to Europe; bringing with them the nominal

minal governors and garrisons of the forts they had taken; whose names and number M. de la Perouse, however, abstains from specifying. It was almost singular, that two of the Company's ships, and a sloop, which were then in the bay, had the fortune of escaping the enemy, and of returning safe to Europe; this was more especially fortunate with respect to the ship King George, which being hemmed in at Hayes's River, by the enemy's ships on the one side, and by their land forces on the other, yet by cutting her cable, and putting out to sea at night, passed the former without discovery, and got clear off. The French estimate the damage done to the Hudson's Bay company in this expedition at about half a million sterling.

Some successes within the tropics, on the Musquito shore, were all that England had to counterbalance this loss in the northern extremity of America. We have heretofore seen, that the Spaniards had, ever since the commencement of the war, made repeated attempts, with various success, upon the English logwood cutters and settlers in the Bay of Honduras, and along the Musquito shore, as well as upon their old and faithful allies, the warlike Indians of the latter country; whose hereditary antipathy to the former, and friendship and affection for the latter, still continue, through a long series of years, in full force. But since the recovery of Omoa from the English, and since the fatal event of the unfortunate expedition from Jamaica to the River St. Juan on the Spanish main, in

which some thousands of the royal, as well as the native forces of that island, became victims to the poisonous air and water of a most destructive and mortal climate, the Spaniards, taking advantage of the ensuing weakness, and of the perilous state of things which so long prevailed by sea and land in the West-Indies, pressed much, and with great success, as well upon the British settlers, as upon the Indians themselves, in the bay, and on the Musquito shore. They had particularly, besides the Island of Rattan, gained possession of the old settlements upon Black River, (which had been so long, in seasons of trouble and danger, a secure refuge to the Bay-men from all quarters) where they fixed themselves in considerable strength; and they had besides gained Fort Dalling on Cape River, and possessed themselves of other posts and fastnesses in different parts of the country.

The Bay-men have at all times been a most hardy and intrepid race; they are easily disturbed and driven from their settlements, but their entire expulsion, or absolute reduction, have ever been found impracticable. The excellent treatment which their negroes experience from them, and the terms of kindness, and almost of equality, upon which they live together, has interested them so highly in the fortunes of their masters, that seeming to feel themselves, in some degree, in the character of citizens, they likewise consider themselves as acting in a common cause, and are accordingly upon all occasions ready, and with no less courage than themselves, to encounter

ter the greatest dangers in their behalf. Nor is it more extraordinary than praiseworthy in the history of this singular people, that living nearly without laws and without government through some generations, yet that they observed so exact a probity, and preserved so inviolable a faith in their transactions with the Indians during that period, as never once, upon any occasion, to have hazarded their friendship.

Preparatory to the execution of a scheme that had been formed for the entire expulsion of the Spaniards, a Captain Campbell, one of the settlers, had, at the head of 150 bold and able negroes, exceedingly harrassed and molested the enemy in their posts, through the course of the summer 1782. Continued success, in a number of skirmishes, still encouraging the leader and his black party to bolder attempts, he, with great dexterity and address, evading the enemy's surrounding posts, reached Fort Dalling in the night, which they gallantly carried, by a most furious and well-conducted assault, with the loss, on their side, of two men only. Such was the roughness and fury of this attack, that 65 Spaniards were laid dead upon the spot; a few wounded were taken prisoners; and the remainder of the garrison, amounting to about forty, had the good fortune to make their escape in the dark. Eight pieces of cannon, one cohorn, with the colours, some small arms, and a considerable quantity of ammunition, fell into the hands of the assailants; who, notwithstanding the danger of their situation, environed, as they were,

on all sides by the enemy, waited to destroy the works, and retired with safety to their own quarters.

These brisk actions so much weakened the enemy's force in the country, as greatly to facilitate the success of the main enterprize against the Spaniards on Black River. A little army was formed at Cape Gracias a Dios, composed of 80 American rangers, under a Major Campbell, of 500 shoremen, whites and negroes, and 600 Musquito Indians, led by their respective chiefs. It happening, that Lieutenant Colonel Despard arrived at this juncture, upon some private business from Jamaica, the different parties, of all colours and degrees, unanimously elected him to be their leader, and he immediately marched at their head to attack the enemy at Black River.

The Spanish forces in the works and posts at that place, consisting of 27 officers, and 715 rank and file, were principally composed of the regiment of Guatemala, and commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Don Thomas Julia. We have no knowledge of the strength or nature of their works; but their late experience was by no means encouraging to a bold defence; and still much less the apprehensions of falling into the hands of a rough enemy, exasperated by recent loss and injury, or of Indians, who ever regarded them with the most implacable animosity. The governor accordingly soon agreed to a capitulation, by which the garrison and he surrendered themselves prisoners of war, under the condition of being transmitted to Omoa, upon parole, until their exchange was effected, and even then,

then, not to serve against any part of the *Mosquito* shore during the war; the forts, and every thing in them, were delivered up to the conquerors. In these were found, besides the property of the inhabitants, now recovered, and the colours, 25 pieces of artillery, 1000 firelocks, and a competent quantity of ammunition.

In no equal period of our naval history had our fleets sustained greater losses, or suffered more grievous calamities, whether through mere mischance and disaster, or the irresistible violence and fury of the elements, than during the course of the present war. But its close was peculiarly marked with misfortune; and it is not a little to be lamented, that the gallant victors of the 12th of April, whose services to their country seemed to afford a fair claim to the greatest favours of fortune, should have been doomed, in the hopes for return to their native shore, to have nearly experienced all the vengeance that Nature in her angriest mood could inflict.

It needs scarcely to be observed, that the West-Indian seas and climate are exceedingly destructive to shipping, and inimical to the health of seamen. The urgent necessities of the war having obliged the contending fleets to continue longer on that station than was consistent with a due regard to these circumstances, at the same time that the ships were worn down by continual hard service, and battered and torn by their mutual hostility, it could not be supposed that the hasty repairs which they received under the immediate pressure of the occasion, added to a great paucity of means, as well as lack of time,

could be in any degree equal to the remedy of the damage which they sustained. They could only be patched up for present service; but their pristine soundness and firmness could in no degree be restored. Though these circumstances were common to both parties, and that the ships in general were in bad condition, it seems that the French prizes taken on the 12th of April were in a much worse state than those which had been originally English; and they were accordingly destined to bear more than a common share in the ensuing calamity. It must, however, be acknowledged, that no defect in the condition of the ships would be necessary to account for their sustaining much loss, under the almost unparalleled dreadfulness of the weather which they were doomed to encounter.

The unfortunate fleet and convoy, which took its departure for Europe from Blue Fields in Jamaica, on the 26th of July, 1782, consisted at first of nine ships of the line, the *Pallas* frigate of 36 guns, and about a hundred sail of merchantmen, being all under the conduct of Admiral Graves, in the *Ramillies*, of 74 guns. The ships of the line were, however, reduced in number before they got clear of the island to seven; the *Ardent*, of 64 guns, having (fortunately for those on board) sprung a leak at Blue Fields, was protected against by her officers, and left behind; and the *Jason*, of the same force, being detained through some other cause, proceeded on her voyage alone.

As a part of the convoy were bound to New York, the admiral was obliged, in order to see them out of danger, to shape his course to a

more

more northern direction than he otherwise would have done. Even before the bad weather commenced, *Le Hector*, a French prize of 74 guns, commanded by Captain Bourchier, not being above half manned, and her masts, sails, and rigging, in very bad condition, hung so far astern, that she lost, on the night of the 22d of August, company with the fleet, and was never after able to recover it.

On the 8th of September a heavy gale came on, in which *Le Caton*, another prize of 64 guns, sprung a leak, and was obliged to throw out a signal of distress; in consequence of which, the admiral ordered both her and the *Pallas* frigate, which was likewise leaky, on the following day to proceed in company to Halifax.

This was only a light prelude to what was coming on. For on the 16th of September in the afternoon, the fleet and convoy (which were still little short of 90 sail) being off the Banks of Newfoundland, in lat.  $42^{\circ} 15'$ , long.  $48^{\circ} 55'$ , with the wind at east-south-east, a violent gale came on, which continued to increase through the evening and night, until it had exceeded the state of the greatest storms before known in that quarter. The various sufferings and distresses of the ships through the night, were sufficiently grievous and calamitous; but about three o'clock in the morning the wind, without the smallest warning, instantaneously shifted, and was as suddenly succeeded by the most violent squall from the N.N.W. that the oldest seamen in the fleet had ever experienced; exceeding a degree whatever they had known in the tropical regions, to which such sudden shifts of wind, and hurricanes,

are deemed peculiar; but from which those northern latitudes were at all times hitherto supposed to be exempted.

From the immediate effect which this fatal shift and hurricane produced on the admiral's ship, the *Ramillies*, which, along with being excellently manned and officered, was otherwise neither bad in kind or condition, some idea may be formed of the ruin which it spread through the fleet in general. For this purpose, we shall give the following short extract from the journal of Mr. Nash, the first lieutenant of the *Ramillies*, and the officer of the watch at the time that it happened. Having stated the unaccountable change of the wind to the opposite side of the compass in an instant, he proceeds thus in professional language: — "The main-sail a-back; "all hands turned up; the main-clue "gaskets manned; the captain and "officers called up; before we could "let go the tack or sheet, the "main mast, mizen mast, fore top-mast, and fore yard, carried over "the ship's side, and the tiller broke, "from the strong sea in the rudder's "head; the water in the well 4 feet "4 inches, and still gaining on us, "all the chain pumps being choaked; "the greatest part of the crew being "turned to hatchways bailing; "Lieutenants Turnbull, Larcoln, "and Silly, had charge, and assisted "at this fatiguing duty; Captain "Moriarty and the other officers "employed in cutting away the "wreck, securing the rudder, and "shipping a new tiller in the ward "room. At day light, no sail to "keep the ship to; 5 feet 8 inches "water, and still increasing; the ship



"ship labouring in exceeding distress, and going at random."

To increase the miseries of the night, the hurricane was accompanied with so furious a rain, that at that instant when their utmost exertions were called for, to oppose fate even for a moment, it was not possible for the seamen to face the weather. The imagination could not conceive any thing more dreadfully grievous, or more distressing even to those who were in the least danger themselves, than the scene which the morning light disclosed. Signals of distress in every quarter; the men of war nearly stripped of every thing above deck; destruction, in its most hideous forms, spread all around; the sea covered with wrecks, and numbers of miserable wretches, of both sexes, struggling for life, either lashed or clinging to them; while their piteous efforts to attract attention, and to obtain a relief which was impossible to be given, rent every heart with grief, and spread universal horror and dismay through all the spectators.

At ten o'clock in the morning the *Ramillies* had six feet water in her hold, and to ease her, in the course of that day, several of her guns and other heavy articles were thrown over board. The weather still continuing very bad, though not equal in degree to the hurricane, it was only through the great and continual exertions of the officers and crew that she was kept above water until the 21st. On that day at noon she had ten feet water in her hold; but some hours before that extremity, the remaining merchant ships (amounting to about nineteen that were still able to keep in company) being summoned by signal, the admiral began to

shift the people on board them; which being finished by four o'clock, when she had 15 feet water in her hold, she was so effectually set on fire, that Captain Moriarty and the last boats had quitted her only a few minutes when she blew up.

The fate of the *Ramillies* was, however, to be considered as happy, when opposed to that of the other ships of war in company. The *Centaur*, Captain Inglefield, had already made much water in the night, and was under bare poles, and in every possible state of defence against the worst weather that could be supposed to happen, at the instant that the hurricane came on. But all preparation and defence were fruitless against that irresistible squall; which laid the ship at once in such a manner upon her beam ends, that the water burst through from the hold between decks, while she lay motionless, and seemed to be irrecoverably overset. She was, however, righted, but with the loss of all her masts and rudder, and with a shock of such extreme violence, as caused unspeakable mischief and confusion. The guns broke loose, the shot was thrown out of the lockers, and the water that came up from the hold swept every thing away between decks, as effectually as the waves and the wreck had from the upper. The officers, who had run up naked from their beds when the ship overset, had not an article of clothes to put on in the morning, nor had their friends any left to assist them with.

The unshaken fortitude of the ship's company, and their unwearied exertions, under every degree of distress, and with scarcely the possibility

possibility of a hope remaining, while it heightens the merit of the sufferers, only serves to render their fate the more grievous. By these means they kept the ship above water until the 23d; but the struggle was then at an end. In the midst of the wide Atlantic Ocean, without a possibility of any effectual succour, (for the accidental falling in with a ship, or even a few, could only have afforded a partial and very incompetent relief) at several hundred miles distance from the nearest land, they perceived, on that morning, that all their efforts were fruitless; that the ship was filling fast with water, and going gradually down; that her swimming in any manner could not outlast the day; while the terrible aspect of the sea sufficiently indicated, that neither boat nor raft could live many hours upon it. That last shadow of hope, faint as it was, in which the heart had till then fondly sought for refuge, being thus at once dissipated, the immediate effects, though various, were in every instance highly deplorable. Many brave seamen, who had hitherto persevered in their sufferings and labour without a murmur or a fear, seeing that all was over, and being suddenly struck with a melancholy and tender recollection of their country, and of every thing that was most dear to them, burst out openly into tears, and wept like children. Others, appearing perfectly resigned to their fate, as if disdaining to contend with impossibility, went to their hammocks, and called to their messmates to lash them in; a great number were lashing themselves to gratings and small rafts; but the putting

on of their best and cleanest cloathing was an idea generally prevalent. In the mean time, the water in the hold had blown up the orlop decks; the cables floated to the gun-deck; the people left off bailing; and the ship was left to her fate.

It would have seemed almost ridiculous at that time to imagine, that any memorial of such a situation could possibly have come to the knowledge of the world. Indeed the escape of Captain Inglefield, with ten of his people, may be considered among the most remarkable deliverances of which we have any record; and affords a most admirable encouragement to mankind, never to sink in their spirits, or fail in their exertions, under any weight of danger, or hopefulness of condition. Though that gentleman's most interesting narrative of their wonderful escape and unparalleled sufferings, must have been seen almost by every body, yet we cannot refrain from taking notice of a few of the most leading or singular circumstances.

It appears upon the face of the whole, that although the booms were prepared, rafts made, and the boats put over the ship's side, with a small guard to each to prevent disorder, yet, that almost all the officers, and a great majority of the crew, (including probably the most experienced seamen) felt such a conviction of the impossibility of saving themselves, in such a sea, and under such circumstances, that they deemed it more eligible to resign themselves quietly to their fate, than, for the chance of prolonging a wretched existence for a few hours, to expose themselves to  
new

new miseries, and to disturb and embitter their last moments by vain and fruitless exertions. That this was the general disposition, seems clearly established from the following circumstance, that when, at so late an hour as five o'clock in the evening, Capt. Inglefield (who had yet formed no determination with respect to himself) went upon deck, the five lieutenants, with all the other officers of so large a ship, excepting only the master, were then below. The five-oared yawl, which was the best boat, had been already staved; and upon the Captain's coming up he perceived, that a few of the people had forced their way into the pinnace, that others were preparing to follow, and a greater number looking wistfully over the ship's side at what was going forward. This appearance revived the love of life in the Captain, who instantly beckoning to the master, they both got into the boat; but had the greatest difficulty in getting her clear of the ship, for besides the violence of the waves, the whole crowd that were then in sight were precipitately endeavouring to follow their example. Mr. Baylis, a young gentleman of only fifteen years of age, throwing himself headlong into the sea, had the fortune to reach the boat, and was taken in.

They were now twelve in number in the boat, and we are to look to their condition for facing the dreadful encounter to which they were exposed; from whence a question will naturally arise, which every person will solve for himself, whether their situation was apparently preferable to that of their numerous friends who continued in the

ship? They were, at the approach of a dreadful night, in a leaky boat, with one of her gun-wales staved, nearly in the middle of the Western Ocean, without compass, without quadrant, without sail, a heavy gale of wind blowing, and a great sea driving. Their provision consisted of a bag of bread, a small ham, a single piece of pork, and a few French cordials; but of water, that most indispensable of all necessities, they had only two quart bottles. The weather, along with its other severities, being extremely cold, it was no small aggravation of their immediate distresses, that they were all very thinly cloathed, and not so much as a cloak or great coat amongst them; and in this condition, excepting those who were bailing, they were condemned to sit through the night, in the bottom of the boat, with the water generally up to the middle, as they could scarcely clear her of the relics of one great sea before the coming on of another; while they still expected to be swallowed by every succeeding wave.

It happened most fortunately, that a blanket had been thrown in, and was discovered before it grew dark, in the bottom of the boat; this they immediately bent to one of the stretchers, and used as a sail, under which they scudded through the night. Providence seemed disposed to favour their struggles; the weather became moderate on the following day; and what was of still greater importance, the wind (any considerable shift in which would have been fatal) continued to hang in the north-west quarter; for their only hope was to reach the Portuguese Western

Western Islands, which they estimated as lying about 260 leagues to the south east of the ship at the time they quitted her. On the 5th morning, they made the doleful discovery, that the salt water had spoiled almost the whole of their bread. From this time they were reduced to the necessity of the whole company living upon the miserable pittance of two biscuits for the twenty four hours; one being divided and distributed, without favour or respect of persons, in twelve equal portions, at each of their sorrowful meals. The want of water was still more distressing; the neck of a bottle, broken off with the cork in it, being the measure allotted to the support of each individual during the twenty-four hours.

A most fortunate accident, and which could only have originated from perturbation and disorder of mind during the confusion which prevailed in the ship, afforded the happy means, which could alone have preserved them from perishing for want of water. A pair of sheets were found in the boat, which somebody had thrown in without observation; and some rain coming on, they were enabled, by alternately spreading and wringing them, to catch and to save a few quarts of water. But this supply, happy as it was, could not prevent their being extremely enfeebled through the want of food; nor was the quantity of water taken sufficient to prevent their being again reduced to the greatest distress for that article. The Captain, rightly judging how destructive gloom and despair were to the animal faculties, successfully endeavoured to divert the atten-

tion of the people from their situation and distresses, by inducing them, during the heavy and penfive hours of the evenings, to amuse each other, by every one relating a story, or singing a song in turn; which was, undoubtedly, an admirable expedient in such circumstances.

On the 15th day after their departure from the ship, they had a melancholy instance, that good spirits were of much more avail than great bodily strength; for the quarter-master, who was by much the stoutest man in the boat, was the only one who sunk under the extremes of cold and hunger. They were on that evening reduced to the last day's bread, and to one bottle of water; and though they were in continual expectation of seeing land, yet despondency became so prevalent, that all Capt. Inglefield's endeavours could not procure a story or a song.

On the 16th day, after distributing the last biscuit and water, they had the unspeakable pleasure of descriing land; and after some still intervening difficulties, their miseries were on that night brought to a conclusion, by their happy arrival in the harbour of Fayal.

Such was the fate of the Centaur! Nor was that of others less deplorable; although the circumstances of their distress can never be so perfectly known. The Ville de Paris (the grand trophy of the war, and long the pride of the French navy) commanded by Captain Wilkinson, with Le Glorieux (one likewise of the prizes) of 74 guns, Captain Cadogan, were both equally destined to become victims to the rage of this merciless hurricane.

hurricane. They did not appear on the following day (particularly the *Ville de Paris*) to be in any thing near so bad a state as the *Centaur* had been observed to be in at the same time. They were afterwards fallen in with at different times, within a few of the first days, by some of the scattered vessels of the fleet; and it augured but badly with regard to their being able to withstand the bad weather and deep sea which still continued, that every later account of their condition described it as being much worse than the preceding had done. As they were, however, steering for the Western Islands, a course in which the weather was likely to become every day more favourable, and the distance being likewise moderate, no great apprehension was for a long time entertained as to their safety.

No intelligence being received of them, the anxiety and suspense became at length painful; and hope itself was nearly, if not entirely exhausted, when a certainty of their unhappy fate was obtained, through one of those extraordinary accidents of fortune, to which a seafaring life is so peculiarly liable. A Danish merchant ship returning from the West-Indies took up a man who was floating on a piece of wreck, and who seems to have been insensible when he was taken on board, as well as incapable of motion for some time after; he continued so infirm, that the Dane, putting in at Havre de Grace, sent him to the hospital, where he was treated with great humanity; and the circumstances of his story being, on his recovery, communicated to the king, he was transmitted in a Russian ship to the English

admiralty. This man, whose name was Wilton, had been a seaman in the *Ville de Paris*, and said, that when she was going to pieces, he had clung to a piece of the wreck; but he had been so overcome by terror, that he could remember nothing farther, and was in a state of total insensibility during the greatest part of the time that he lay in the water. He, however, perfectly recollected, that the *Glorieux* had foundered, and that he had seen her go down, on the day preceding that in which the *Ville de Paris* perished. Such was the singular fortune of this man; who, appearing to be exceedingly deficient, both of the exertion and courage so peculiar to seamen, yet was destined, unconsciously, to escape that destruction, which swallowed up two noble ships, with their brave and numerous companies.

The fate of *Le Hector*, of 74 guns, Captain Bouchier, though not attended with such entire destruction, was yet more tediously and grievously calamitous than that of either of the preceding. This ship had left Jamaica in much worse condition, in every respect, than any other of the squadron. Besides the defects and bad state of the ship, and having on that account only 52 guns mounted, she was scarcely more than a third part manned, and was incumbered with a number of French and American prisoners; nor could some of our own invalids, who were returning home in her, be considered as much otherwise than an incumbrance under circumstances of distress.

In this wretched state, it was the fortune of the *Hector* to fall in with

with the *Eagle* and *La Gloire*, two of the largest and finest frigates in the French service, on the night of the 5th of September. These frigates were fresh from France, mounted above 40 guns each, had about 600 seamen between them, and, besides being well commanded, manned, and appointed, had on board several of the most distinguished land officers, with some hundreds of the best troops in France, whom they were conveying to the Chesapeake.

The frigates, soon perceiving by her manner of working the weak state of the *Hector*, bore down upon, and furiously attacked her, one upon her beam, and the other upon her quarter; and being still encouraged by the slackness of her fire, and by the opportunity which the slowness of her movements afforded of continually raking her, they continued the action closely, and with great vigour, between three and four hours. The loss and damage sustained by the *Hector* during this time was prodigious. Her originally weak crew had been greatly reduced by sickness; 46 of the remainder were already killed or disabled; and the noblest exertions both of men and officers, seemed insufficient to supply the defect of strength and number, under the rapid decrease of both which was continually taking place. Captain Bouchier was desperately wounded; but Captain Drury of the navy, who was a passenger on board, bravely supplied his place, and fought the ship with no less intrepidity. He was most gallantly supported, to the last, by all the officers without exception, who animated the crew in such a degree, as rendered them

in a great measure insensible to their weakness. The frigates, confiding in the number of their men, and in the bravery of their land officers and troops, who were eager to signalize themselves in so new a scene of action, attempted to board the *Hector*; but failing in this attempt, (which could not otherwise but have been decisive in the event) and finding the resistance still to continue, far beyond what they could have expected, they, to the astonishment of the English, (who could scarcely hope to hold out much longer) abandoned their enterprize; and in full day-light, when they must have had a perfect view of the wretched condition of the *Hector*, they thought proper to sheer off.

In the account of this action published at Paris, it was pretended, that the appearance of several ships in the morning, which were supposed to be an English squadron, had obliged the frigates to relinquish their enterprize, and make the best of their way to escape the supposed danger. But, to the unspeakable misfortune and calamity of the *Hector*, no ships whatever, of any nation, came in sight; for pirates or Algerines would have been soon deemed good company by her, and their meeting most joyfully hailed. It would have been indeed the greatest happiness to the officers and company of that unfortunate ship that she had been then taken by the enemy; and it was surely a most grievous as well as singular circumstance, that their courage and constancy in her defence should have operated upon them in its effects as the highest punishment, and subjected them to undescribable calamities.

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The ship had suffered exceedingly, and in every part, in the engagement; masts, sails, and rigging, were nearly ruined, and the hull itself deeply wounded. Bad weather came on. Topmast followed topmast, and the masts followed the tops; until at length the hull was entirely stripped; rudder, and all, gone. Leaks opened in every part; and the least sail was drawn under the bottom, with fothering, in the hope of stopping, or of lessening the effect there. The hold filled with sea water, which soon spoiled the fresh, and the provisions. The men died apace; and a small quantity of spirits were nearly exhausted, which had for several days kept the remainder from perishing. The officers, with sword and pistol, kept them still to the pumps, where numbers dropped dead at the work. The decks were sinking fast; and some of the beams of the orlop deck had fallen into the hold.

In this last sad stage of the most deplorable distress, when the men, having been four days without water or spirits, were quite exhausted; when hope itself failed; and the only alleviation of the present misery seemed to be the shortness of the period to which it was of necessity limited; a sail was descried on the 3d of October, and to confirm the blessing, was bearing down directly on them. This proved to be the Hawke snow, a letter of marque, bound from Lisbon to St. John's in Newfoundland, and commanded by Captain John Hill of Dartmouth; a man whose name should long be remembered, and ever marked with distinction. This humane and generous commander, without re-

garding the great risque to which he was exposing himself, his people, and his vessel, leaving the future event to Providence, applied himself only to the immediate consideration of discharging in the amplest and kindest manner the duties of humanity. He accordingly lay by them during the night, and in the morning took on board Captain Bouchier, with the remainder of the perishing company of the Hector; who still amounting to, or exceeding, 200 in number, crowded his small vessel so much, that he was obliged to throw a considerable part of the cargo overboard to make room for them. To place the merit of captain Hill's conduct in its proper light, it is necessary to take notice, that although they had a fair and full wind to St. John's, yet the last cask of water had been broached on the day they discovered land; so that a common shift of bad weather would have involved the deliverers and delivered in a fate no less deplorable than that from which the latter had, in the first instance, been so generously extricated.

Such was the hard fortune to which the fleet from Jamaica was at this time doomed. Of the seven ships of the line which composed the squadron, the Canada and Le Caton only escaped. The Ramillies, Ville de Paris, Centaur, Le Glorieux, and Hector, all perished. We have seen no list of the merchant ships that were lost; but though their number was considerable, it fortunately bore no comparative proportion to that of the ships of war.

In consequence of the resolutions of the British parliament for an

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accommodation with the American colonies, and the powers granted to the crown for negotiating and concluding a general or particular peace or truce, with the whole, or with any part of that people, and for suspending and setting aside all former laws, whose operations were in contravention to that purpose, instructions had been dispatched to Sir Guy Carleton (who succeeded Sir Henry Clinton in the command of the army, and the government of New York) to use his endeavours for carrying these dispositions into effect.

Upon these advices, Sir Guy Carleton, pretty early in the month of May, 1782, dispatched a letter to General Washington, informing him of the proceedings of parliament, of the dispositions prevalent both in that body and the British government, and of his own consequent instructions; accompanied with such written or printed documents, as were necessary to illustrate and authenticate what he had stated; and requiring, at the same time, a passport for Mr. Morgan, his secretary, who he wanted to dispatch on the same subject to congress. Washington, as usual, evading to act from himself in the business, referred the matter of the passport to congress; and that body, on the 14th of the same month, issued a public resolution, forbidding the commander in chief to grant the passport.

This idea of opening separate negotiations with particular governments or bodies of men, or even of attempting to open a treaty with congress without the concurrence of its allies, caused no small alarm, and was much resented by the several states. They were per-

haps equally apprehensive of it, producing a schism among themselves, and of its exciting the jealousy of France. Resolutions from the general assemblies of Maryland, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, were accordingly speedily issued, in which they declared, that a proposition from the enemy, to all or any of the United States, for peace or truce, separated from their allies, was insidious and inadmissible. That a proposition for treating with any assembly or body of men in America, other than the congress, was insidious and inadmissible. That they (the respective assemblies) would not listen to any proposition, nor suffer any negotiation, inconsistent with their national faith and federal union. And, that they would exert the utmost power of their respective states to carry on the war with vigour and effect, until peace should be obtained in a manner consistent with their national faith and federal union.

The council of Pennsylvania went farther than the general assemblies in their zeal upon this occasion. They declared, that all men, or bodies of men, who should presume to enter into any separate or partial convention or agreement with Great Britain, ought to be considered and treated as open and avowed enemies of the United States of America. That any propositions which might be made by the court of Great Britain, tending, in any manner whatsoever, to violate the treaty between them and their illustrious ally, ought to be treated with every mark of indignity and contempt. They seemed even to entertain some jealousy with respect to the integrity of the general

general representative of the States, or at least to manifest a disposition to restrain its authority, by a resolution in which they declared, That the congress had no power, authority, or right, to do any act, matter, or thing, whatever, that might have a tendency to yield up, or abridge, the sovereignty and independence of that state, without its consent previously obtained.

The congress likewise passed a resolution, That the United States could not, with propriety, hold any conference or treaty with any commissioners on the part of Great Britain, unless they should, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or else, in positive and express terms, acknowledge the independence of the said States.

Resolutions to a similar amount were generally passed by the other States. In fact, the Americans were too young a people, and had too much depending upon the establishment of a favourable and equitable character with other nations, to venture, at the very threshold of their emancipation, and just entering into the rank and consideration of a sovereign state, upon any violation of their public faith; particularly, to abandon those who had just saved them from the subjugation, if not vengeance, of the parent country, would have been a degree of perfidy too flagrant, to be admitted under any laxity of moral ties, or almost justified by any change of political situation.

It was probably some jealousy on this subject, expressed or apprehended on the side of France, that occasioned congress, so long after as the month of October, to issue a public declaration, in which, af-

ter reciting that France and they were equally bound by the conditions of their alliance, that neither should conclude either peace or truce with Great Britain, without the consent of the other; and observing, that their ministers in Europe were vested with full power and authority, in their behalf, and in concert with their allies, to negotiate and conclude a general peace; they then proceed to declare in the strongest terms (in order, as they say, to extinguish ill-founded hopes, to frustrate insidious attempts, and to manifest to the whole world the purity of their intentions) their fixed and unalterable determination, inviolably to adhere to the treaty of alliance with his Most Christian Majesty, and to conclude neither a separate peace nor truce with Great Britain; nor, that they would not enter into the discussion of any overtures for pacification, but in confidence and in concert with his Most Christian Majesty.

The concluding article of this document sufficiently shews the apprehensions they entertained of a schism among themselves upon the subject of peace; that is, that some one or more of the states might be so lured, by the advantages to be derived from an early and separate accommodation, that neither the bonds of federal union, nor of their foreign alliance, would be able to withstand the strong temptations of self-interest that might be held out to them. It was undoubtedly upon this principle, and perhaps, likewise, under an apprehension of popular commotions, if the people were to become fully acquainted with the extent of the advantages that might be offered, that they

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strongly

strongly urged the respective states (in order, as they said, to guard against the secret artifices and machinations of the enemy) to be vigilant and active in detecting and seizing all British emissaries and spies, that they might be brought to condign punishment: that the officers of all departments, who might be charged with persons coming from the enemy under the protection of flags of truce, should be enjoined to take especial care, that such persons might not abuse their privileges, but be restrained from all intercourse with the country and inhabitants, which was not necessary for transacting the public business on which they might be sent: and, that no subject of his Britannic Majesty, coming directly or indirectly from any part of the British dominions, should be admitted into any of the United States during the war.

While the Americans were thus ostentatiously displaying their public fidelity, and endeavouring even to cut off the possibility of temptation, by shutting out every overture towards a separate accommodation, we are to look to the measures that were pursuing in Europe, for the attainment of a general peace between all the parties concerned in the war.

Two of the first powers in Europe, the Empress of Russia and the Emperor of Germany, were the mediators in this great business; the difficulties of which seemed in no small degree to be done away, by the disposition of granting independence to America which prevailed in England. With respect to France, indeed, as the attainment of that point was her only avowed object in the war, its be-

ing granted seemed at once to remove the very ground of contention; and to leave no farther obstacles in the way of an accommodation; than those which arose merely from the circumstances of the war itself; nor did the adjustment of these seem exceedingly difficult; for though her acquisitions in the West-Indies were undoubtedly considerable and valuable, yet her losses in the East left the means of a reasonable equivalent in the hands of England; without even considering the island of St. Lucia, upon the spot, which was a possession of such importance, with respect to its size, strength, harbours, situation, and capability of unbounded improvement, as could not but weigh heavily in every political scale of estimation.

As to Spain, if her conduct and motives could at all be clearly comprehended, she entered into the war, rather as an auxiliary, and in consequence of the family compact, than as a principal, or as acting at all upon national principles. The establishment of an independent empire in America was to her the most alarming measure in point of precedent, and the most dangerous in its probable and natural consequences, that could possibly have happened, the emancipation of Mexico and Peru from her own government only excepted. It seems probable, that she did not apprehend (though the design was avowed) that this event would have taken place, at the time she was led into the war; unless indeed it is supposed, that she was so dazzled by the splendid objects of Jamaica and Gibraltar, as to be blind to all others. The acquisition of these, as well as of Minorca,

Minorca, however unlikely at that time to be attained, was artfully held out by France, not only as a lure to the ambition of the king, but as imposing an opinion on the people that they had a national interest in view, and that they were not plunged madly into a war, which was not only entirely *Bourbon*, but highly dangerous and destructive in its principle and design to themselves. The ill fortune of England in the war, or, perhaps, it may be said, the defect of wisdom and ability in the direction and application of the immense powers and the exhaustless stock of valour which she possessed, enabled Spain to recover Minorca, and to subdue West Florida. As the war afforded no equivalent on the other side to propose for these, it was reasonably to be expected that they should continue in the hands of Spain, affording in one instance a distant frontier against the enterprize of that future enemy, which she had herself taken so much pains in creating, and in the other, a considerable sacrifice to royal and national vanity. But neither the embarrassed state of her finances, the repeated failure of all her designs upon Jamaica; her late signal defeat at Gibraltar, nor any other circumstances of her present condition, seemed to afford any solid ground to Spain, upon which she could reasonably attempt to establish further claims. We have laid no stress in this statement upon the Bahama islands, (though they were estimated at a high rate in the negotiation) as they could not have been retained by Spain, and they were in fact most honourably and gallantly recovered by a hand-

ful of private adventurers, before any thing of the peace was known.

The republic of Holland, unfortunately fallen and degraded in a degree which she had never before experienced, from the first general acknowledgment of her independency to the present æra, was, of course and of necessity, reduced to depend entirely upon the favour, generosity and protection of France, as well in the conclusion of a peace, as she had through the progress of the war.

With respect to the general circumstances of the contending parties, the most successful members of the alliance, great and formidable as it was, scarcely stood much less in need of peace than England, notwithstanding all her losses, and exposed as she had so long been, as a common but, to withstand singly all their attacks in every quarter. For it is probable that France had never been engaged, for the time of its continuance, in a more expensive war than the present. Her extraordinary exertions at sea, the opposite extremes of the globe in which they were made, the great and frequent losses sustained in the supply, the immense current charges to which it was subjected, by the greatness of the distance, along with the constant two-fold drain, by loan and otherwise, of her treasure by America, may well be supposed all together, in point of expence, abundantly to supply the place of those vast armies which she had heretofore usually supported, and even of the subsidies which she had been in the habit of paying, in the course of her continental wars. It is to be allowed, that her commerce

merce had flourished to a degree, in the present war, which she had never before experienced in any contest with England; but neither the advantages arising from this circumstance, nor from the admirable financial regulations and reforms adopted during the present reign, were equivalent to the supply of the continual demands, and of the numberless deficiencies produced by the war. Succeeding events have shewn, that even a peace was not sufficient to prevent that nation from suffering no small derangement of her monied and financial concerns, and which was accordingly attended with its usual effect upon public credit.

Under these general circumstances of the contending powers, the independence of America being granted, there did not seem to be any mighty impediment remaining in the way to the restoration of the public tranquillity.

The new administration in England speedily adopted this business upon their coming into power; and Mr. Grenville had been for some time in Paris, in order to settle the necessary preliminaries, and to smooth the way for opening a negotiation in due form. These matters being settled, Mr. Fitz-Herbert, the minister at Brussels, proceeded to Paris, he being appointed, on the part of England, as plenipotentiary, to negotiate and conclude a treaty of peace with the ministers of France, Spain, and Holland. Mr. Oswald, a merchant, was likewise dispatched to the same place, as commissioner from his Britannic majesty, for treating of peace with John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and

Henry Laurens, four of the commissioners appointed for the same purpose on the part of the United States of America.

The differences with America were much sooner settled (so far at least as their dependence on the main treaty could at present admit) than those with the European powers. On the 30th of November, 1782, provisional articles were signed on both sides, which were to be inserted in, and to constitute a future treaty of peace, to be finally concluded between the parties, when that between Great Britain and France took place.

By this provisional treaty, the freedom, sovereignty, and independence, of the Thirteen United States was, individually by name, and in the fullest and most express terms, acknowledged, and all claims to their government, propriety and territorial rights, for ever relinquished by the crown of Great Britain. To prevent all future disputes about boundaries, several imaginary lines were drawn, which intersecting immense countries, lakes, and rivers, threw vast tracts of land and water into the hands of the Americans to which they had no prior claim. Besides the fertile and extensive countries on the Ohio and Mississippi, which came within this description, these limits trenched deeply on the boundaries both of Canada and Nova Scotia: and the fur trade was said to be in a great measure relinquished, by the forts, passes, carrying places, and waters, which were now to be surrendered. It was likewise said, that four or five-and-twenty Indian nations were by this arrangement given up to America;



America; among whom, besides the Cherokees, were the celebrated Five Nations, who, through so long a course of years, had held so strict an alliance with England.

On the sea coasts, as the British forces were to be withdrawn from all the territories of the United States, New York, Long Island, Staten Island, Charlestown, in South Carolina, and Penobscot, in the borders of New England and Nova Scotia, with their dependencies, were of course to be given up. Savannah in Georgia, had already been evacuated by the British troops. An unlimited right of fishery on the Banks of Newfoundland, in the gulph of St. Lawrence, and all other places where both nations had heretofore been accustomed to fish, was likewise granted or confirmed to the Americans. We omit the articles with respect to the loyalists, as they will appear in the parliamentary discussions on that subject.

The preliminary articles of peace between England and France were signed at Versailles, on the 20th of January, 1798, by Mr. Alleyne Fitz-Herbert on the part of the one, and by the Count de Vergennes, on that of the other; as the preliminary articles between England and Spain were, on the same day, by the first of these gentlemen, and by the Count D'Aranda, on the part of the Catholic king. The preliminary articles with Holland were not yet settled.

By the preliminary treaty with France, in the place of the narrow limits to which the latter had been restrained by the last peace, England now extends her rights of fishery at Newfoundland to a long extent of coast, reaching from Cape

St. John, in about 50 degrees of north latitude, on the eastern side of the island, round by the north, to Cape Raye, on the western coast, in 47 degrees and 50 minutes latitude.—England likewise ceded the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon in full right to France, and consequently without any restriction in point of fortification.

In the West Indies, England restored to France the island of St. Lucia, and ceded and guaranteed to her the island of Tobago.—On the other hand, France restores to Great Britain the islands of Grenada, and the Grenadines, with those of St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat.

In Africa, England cedes and guarantees, in full right to France, the river of Senegal, and its dependencies, with the forts of St. Louis Podor, Galam, Arguin, and Portendie; and likewise restores the island of Goree.—And, on the other hand, France guarantees to Great Britain the possession of Fort James, and of the river Gambia. Certain new regulations with respect to the gum trade were likewise to take place in this part of the world.

In the East, England restored every thing to France with considerable additions, and without the possibility of an equivalent in that quarter, which she had lost during the war. All her establishments in Bengal, and on the coast of Orissa, were to be restored, and liberty given for surrounding Chandanagor with a ditch for draining the waters. Pondicherry and Karical were likewise to be restored and guaranteed to France; and his Britannic majesty was bound to procure,

eure; from the princes whose property they were, certain specified neighbouring districts round these places, which were to be annexed to them as dependencies. And to sum up the account under this head, France was to regain possession of Mahé, and of the Comptoir at Surat. For the conditions in favour of her commerce in India, and what relates to the allies on both sides in that quarter, we must refer to the treaty.

In Europe, as if it were to complete in its parts this unequalled scene of cession, concession, and humiliation on the side of England, she consented to the abrogation and

suppression of all the articles relative to Dunkirk, from the treaty of peace concluded at Utrecht in 1713, inclusively to the present time.

By the preliminary treaty with Spain, besides relinquishing all right and claim to Minorca and West Florida, England ceded to his Catholic majesty the province of East Florida; while the Bahama islands were the only restitution or equivalent on the other side. The affairs of the logwood-cutters, which had been shamefully neglected in former treaties, were now left in a state of greater uncertainty and insecurity than ever.

#### C H A P. VI.

*Various conjectures concerning the state and views of the different political parties previous to, and at the meeting of parliament—Letters from the secretary of state to the lord mayor of London respecting the peace.—King's speech.—Debates in both houses, on the address. Reasons assigned by Mr. Fox for the resignation of his office.—Second debates, on expressions in the speech respecting the treaty with America.—Question put to the first commissioner of the treasury in the House of Peers on the same subject.—Motion for the provisional treaty to be laid before the House of Commons rejected.—Bill brought in for preventing doubts that might arise respecting the legislative and judicial rights of the parliament and courts of justice of Ireland.—Cause of the introduction of the bill, and objection made to it.*

THE short space of time that intervened between the death of the Marquis of Rockingham and the prorogation of parliament, afforded no opportunity of discovering in what manner the House of Commons stood affected towards the changes that had taken place in the administration of public affairs, in consequence of the former event. The weight of the new minister in that assembly, either from political connection, from private friendships, or public favour, was

known to be very inconsiderable; and the support which he might otherwise have derived from the power of the crown, was likely to be much reduced by the operation of the bill of reform, and by the steady attachment of most of those members who either owed their seats to the influence of government, or were led by a sort of principle to give a general support to administration, under the auspices of a noble lord, one of his predecessors in office. The recess

of parliament was therefore considered as a circumstance highly favourable to the minister, and was doubtless employed in endeavouring to form such alliances amongst the parties out of power as might ensure some degree of strength and permanence to his administration.

A reunion of the whigs was the favourite expectation of the public, and anxiously looked for by those who equally dreaded the revival of the old system, and the mischiefs of a weak and unsettled government. It does not, however, appear that any advances were made towards effecting such an accommodation; to which there appear, indeed, to have been insuperable difficulties, from the industry with which the friends of each party laboured to throw the blame both of the schism and failure on the other.

On the part of those who had retired from the service of government, it was urged, that as the appointment of the noble earl to the highest office in administration was one of the principal causes of the division that ensued, so it continued to be the chief obstacle to a reunion. It was indeed absurd to expect, that his complaisance to his enemies should carry him so far as to enter into a treaty, of which he was himself to be the first sacrifice: and it was not more reasonable, they said, to suppose, that those who continued to act with him, how much soever they might disapprove of his principles, or censure the measures he was carrying on, (a conduct which some of them did not scruple to pursue) would be willing to descend from situations in which, by the removal of their former friends, they

stood as principals, in order to act subordinate parts again in conjunction with them.

These insinuations were combated, on the other side, by studiously representing the cause of dissension to have been a mere personal contest for power; and by charging their opponents with holding opinions of a dangerous nature, trenching on the most undoubted prerogative of the crown, that of choosing its own ministers, and consequently having a direct tendency to subvert the constitution.

But whatever weight may be allowed to these charges or surmises, it was generally agreed, that, though the parties themselves had been ever so well disposed towards an accommodation, yet, the countenance and approbation of the court would hardly have been lent to a measure so diametrically opposite in its principle to that favourite system of politics, which had the disunion of all party connections for its basis. In opposition to this system, after a long and arduous struggle, by no mean exertion of abilities, and by the concurrence of many important events, the late administration had arrived at a kind of adverse possession of power, which being submitted to from necessity, it could not be expected would be suffered to remain, whenever the means of destroying it could be found. These, by an unfortunate event, soon after offered themselves. The appointment of the Earl of Shelburne to succeed the Marquis of Rockingham, it was easily foreseen, would disgust those individuals of the party, whose principles were the most inflexible and obnoxious; and the probability of gaining over many

many others, who might wish to make themselves some amends for the long proscription they had undergone, by the advantages of a more accommodating line of conduct, was reckoned on with a confidence that proved not ill-founded. Add to this, that the firmness of the party had hitherto stood the trial of defeats and mortifications only; that power and emolument will sometimes be retained on terms and by means through which they would not have been sought; and lastly, that many of the members, wearied and grown old in opposition, would naturally feel disinclined, from the diminution both of their vigour and prospects, to embark in a fresh contest with the court.

The design appears to have been planned with great political sagacity, and the success went beyond even what the most sanguine hopes could have expected. Not only a change of ministers was effected, and a cabinet formed more agreeable to the views of the court; but several of those whose former conduct had been marked by extraordinary violence were gained over; and these, not satisfied to embrace their new principles with all the zeal and eagerness of converts, seemed to regard with an unusual degree of malignity that inflexibility of their old colleagues, which appeared no less than a tacit reproach to their own conduct. Thus a decisive blow was given to the very existence of the party; and which seemed even to preclude all future attempts to form a systematic opposition.

Such were the obstacles, which, from every quarter, appear to have rendered a reunion of the whigs, under the auspices of the new mi-

nister, totally impracticable. A coalition with the noble lord who had formerly been at the head of his majesty's government, seemed more feasible, and was certainly free from the most material objections that lay to the former measure. Overtures accordingly are said to have been made by the minister, and various terms offered him: but whether from a confidence in his own strength, and the hope of rising again, on the divisions of his adversaries, to the possession of undivided power; or from resentment of former indignities: or from some change in his political sentiments, and a conviction of the impossibility of serving the public with fidelity on the terms proposed, the business fell to the ground.

In the mean time the negotiations for a general peace were advancing towards a conclusion. On the 23d of November letters were sent by the secretary of state to the lord mayor of London and the governors of the Bank, acquainting them "for the information of the public, and to prevent the mischiefs arising from speculations in the funds, that the negotiations carrying on at Paris were brought so far to a point, as to promise a decisive conclusion, either for peace or war, before the meeting of parliament, which on that account was to be prorogued to the 5th of December."

On that day the session was opened by a speech from the throne of a very unusual length, and comprehending almost every possible topic of political disquisition. It set out with assuring both houses, that since  
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the close of the last session, his majesty's whole time had been employed in the care and attention, which the important and critical conjuncture of affairs required.

It next stated, that no time had been lost in putting an end to the prosecution of offensive war in North America; and after informing them that he had offered to declare those colonies free and independent states, and that provisional articles were actually agreed upon, to take effect whenever terms of peace should be finally concluded with the court of France, it was made to proceed as follows—"In thus admitting their separation from the crown of these kingdoms, I have sacrificed every consideration of my own to the wishes and opinion of my people. I make it my humble and earnest prayer to Almighty God, that Great Britain may not feel the evils, which might result from so great a dismemberment of the empire; and that America may be free from those calamities which have formerly proved, in the mother country, how essential monarchy is to the enjoyment of constitutional liberty."

The defence and relief of Gibraltar, and the subsequent conduct of the fleet, were next mentioned in terms of the highest panegyric, as were also the proofs of public spirit that had been given by the city of London and private individuals.

The negotiations for a general peace were announced to be considerably advanced, and likely to be brought, in a very short time, to an honourable conclusion. At the

same time a perfect confidence was expressed, that if these expectations should be frustrated, the most vigorous efforts would be used in the further prosecution of the war.

The members of the House of Commons were next assured of the endeavours that had been used to diminish the burthens of the people; of the better œconomy that was to be introduced into the expenditure of the army; of the reductions made in the civil list expences, as directed by an act of the last session; and of further reforms in other departments. By these means his establishments were said to be so regulated, that the expence should not in future exceed the income. The payment of the debt still remaining on the civil list, and the relief of the American sufferers, were recommended to their consideration.

Their attention was also called to the regulations that had been adopted in the incidental expences, fees, and other emoluments of office; to the landed revenue of the crown, and the management of its woods and forests; to the department of the mint; to the general state of the public receipts and expenditure, and of the public debt; and to such a mode of conducting future loans as to promote the means of its gradual redemption. The practice of payment by navy, ordnance, and victualling bills, was strongly reprobated; and a more correct method of making up the estimates for the service of the year was promised.

The high price of corn was next adverted to; the frequency of theft and robbery were mentioned; and the

the prevention of those crimes, by correcting the prevailing vices of the times, earnestly recommended.

The liberality with which the rights and commerce of Ireland had been established was highly extolled; a revision of our whole trading system upon the same comprehensive principles was recommended; and, lastly, some fundamental regulation of our Asiatic territories was earnestly called for.

A general profession of regard to the constitution, and a promise on all occasions to advance and reward merit in every profession, were held forth at the conclusion; at the same time, temper, wisdom, and disinterestedness in parliament, collectively and individually, were represented as necessary, to ensure the full advantage of a government conducted on such principles. It ended with telling both houses, that the people expected these qualifications of them, and that his Majesty called for them.

An address in the usual style was moved in both houses of parliament, and carried, nemine contradicente, after a long and desultory conversation. It was remarked, that the friends of administration begun thus early to lay the groundwork for the defence of the peace, the merits of which would necessarily become the subject of parliamentary discussion, by expatiating on the miseries and vicissitudes of war, by lamenting the hazardous state of public credit, and by depreciating the importance of the late successes. These, it was said, though brilliant, were not likely to be followed by any solid advantage that could either compensate the calamities of war, or

balance the enormous expence that must necessarily attend the further prosecution of it.

In the House of Commons a young member, supposed on this occasion to be in the confidence of administration, made some pointed allusions to the cession of Gibraltar, with a view, as was imagined, of discovering in what manner such a measure would be received by the house. The alarm and dissatisfaction which this intimation spread was very considerable; and as it was generally believed that the minister was at this time treating with the court of Spain for the exchange of that important fortress, it is probable that he was deterred from his purpose by the declaration of several members of great weight in the house, that they considered it as a possession almost invaluable to this country.

But though the addresses were voted without a dissentient voice, and even without any amendment being proposed, yet the speech did not escape a most severe examination. The three first paragraphs were objected to, as conveying a false and injurious imputation on the members of the late cabinet, that orders for putting an end to offensive war in North America had not been issued till after the recess of parliament. Mr. Fox took this occasion to enter into a minute explanation of the cause of his retiring from the cabinet. Some time before his resignation, he said that he had written, by the king's orders, to Mr. Grenville, then at Paris, to authorize him to offer to the American agents, "*to recognize the independence of the United States in the first instance,* and



*"and not to reserve it as a condition of peace."* At the same time an official letter, for the same purpose; was sent by the Earl of Shelburne to Sir Guy Carlton in America. Mr. Fox suspecting that this measure, though consented to in the cabinet, had not the entire approbation of some of his colleagues, had, in order to prevent any misconception, purposely chosen the most forcible expressions that the English language could supply; and he confessed that his joy was so great, on finding that the Earl of Shelburne, in the letter to Sir Guy Carlton, had repeated his very words, that he carried it immediately to the Marquis of Rockingham, and told him that their distrust and suspicions of that noble lord's intentions had been groundless, and were now done away—"Judge then," said he, "of my grief and astonishment, when, during the illness of my noble friend, another language was heard in the cabinet, and the noble earl and his friends began to consider the above letters as containing offers only of a conditional nature, to be recalled, if not accepted as the price of peace. Finding myself thus ensnared and betrayed, and all confidence destroyed, I quitted a situation in which I found I could not remain either with honour or safety."

The next paragraph of the speech was condemned with great severity, as an insidious and unmanly attempt to throw all the blame of the dismemberment of the empire on parliament. The calamities of the war, it was said, were not taken into the account; the circumstances of the country, and the impos-

sibility of acting otherwise, were all overlooked, in order to charge it upon that house alone. It was, in fact, to make his majesty say, that he did it against wisdom, against good sense, against policy, against necessity, in constrained obedience to the advice of an ill-judging House of Commons. It was asked, what ministers meant by making the king say, that he had considerations of his own, separate from the wishes and opinion of his people? Such language, it was said, was as new, as it was improper and unconstitutional. The prayer which follows was equally condemned, as a piece of unseasonable, unmeaning, and hypocritical cant, played off at the expence of parliament. Much surprise was also expressed, at finding benevolences praised in a speech, the production of a cabinet, in which sat a \* learned lord, who, when a commoner, had in that very house moved a resolution that such benevolences were illegal.

The call for wisdom, in the concluding paragraph, was ridiculed with infinite humour: and the call for disinterestedness represented as an audacious insult on parliament. The folly and dangerous tendency of these and other parts of the speech were exposed with uncommon ability by a right honourable gentleman †, whose speeches in this debate were greatly distinguished by a happy mixture of the most brilliant wit and pointed argument. He concluded with declaring, that he considered the whole as a compound of hypocrisy, self-commendation, duplicity, and absurdity; abounded with principles of a dangerous and uncon-

\* Lord Ashburton.

† Mr. Burke.

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stitutional nature, which, if unanimity was not so absolutely necessary at the present crisis, parliament would have been bound to have reprobated in the most exemplary manner.

In the upper house, the conversation principally turned on that part of the speech which related to America. The *irrevocable and unconditional* recognition of the independence of the United States, was condemned in the severest terms by a noble viscount, who had held a high office in a former administration\*. It was well known, he said, that the French themselves had at different times declared, that they did not think it possible to wrest all the thirteen provinces from Great Britain; and yet an unqualified surrender was made of the whole, without obtaining a truce, or even a cessation of hostilities, as the price of so lavish a concession. In the most abject and unfortunate reign that Spain ever knew (that of Philip III.) the negotiators of that prince retained ten out of seventeen of the revolted provinces, and detached the rest from their alliance with France. An act of indemnity and oblivion in favour of its partizans, was at least what the conceding party was bound by faith and justice to procure. But here no stipulations whatever had been made, so far as could be collected from the king's speech, in favour of those wretched men who had hazarded their lives and sacrificed their fortunes to their attachment to the mother country.

The legality of the recognition of American independance, was

also questioned; and it was absolutely denied, that the sense either of parliament or of the people had been collected on that subject.

In reply to this attack, the first lord of the treasury denied, that the offer of independance was irrevocable; the words of the speech, he said, 'clearly' proved it was conditional; and if fair and equal terms could not be obtained from France, the ally of America, the offer might be withdrawn, and would cease and determine.

On the following day, Dec. 6th. when the report from the committee of the House of Commons appointed to draw up the address was read, several members got up to express their uneasiness at the explication given in the other house by the minister, of that paragraph of the speech which announced the provisional treaty with America; the unanimity, they said, with which the motion for an address had been suffered to pass, arose from a persuasion that the independence of the colonies was recognized irrevocably; so that though the treaty negotiating with the court of France should not terminate in a peace, yet the provisional treaty would remain in full force, to take place whenever the former event should happen. His majesty's servants were therefore called upon to clear up these doubts, and satisfy the minds of such as were of opinion that the unconditional recognition of independence, by making it the interest of America to put an end to the war as speedily as possible, would tend essentially to accelerate a general peace. In consequence of this ap-

\* Lord Stormont.

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peal, the secretary of state, the chancellor of the exchequer, and the commander in chief, severally rose, and declared, that the articles were only so far provisional, that they depended upon the single contingency of peace being concluded with France; but whenever that event took place, the independence of America stood recognized without any reserved condition whatever.

Dec. 13th. This contrariety of opinion amongst the members of the cabinet, occasioned a second debate on the same subject in the House of Lords. On the 13th, the Earl Fitzwilliam remarked, that these contradictions, being public and notorious, might lead to consequences of the utmost importance, and therefore demanded an immediate explanation. During the progress of negotiations with artful and jealous enemies, every appearance of duplicity, or even ambiguity in our councils, ought most anxiously to be avoided. In order therefore to rescue government from the suspicions under which it lay; in order to satisfy the country that the subjugation of America could not, under any possible circumstances, be again attempted; in order to secure confidence to administration both at home and abroad, he begged leave to propose the following question to the noble earl at the head of his majesty's treasury.

"Is it to be understood that the independence of America is never again to become a subject of doubt, discussion, or bargain; but is to take effect absolutely at any period, near or remote, whenever a treaty of peace is concluded with the court of

France, though the present treaty should entirely break off? Or, on the contrary, is the independence of America merely contingent; so that if the particular treaty now negotiating with that court should not terminate in a peace, the offer is to be considered as revoked, and the independence left to be determined by circumstances, and the events of war."

To the question, thus put, the minister positively refused to give any answer, and was supported by the Dukes of Richmond and Chandos. It was urged in vain, that he had already, on the first day of the session, avowed his sentiments in a full and explicit manner; that the present question was only put on account of doubts that had arisen from the contradictory assertions of others of his majesty's servants; that it was the language of ministers, and not the secrets of the treaty, of which an explanation was desired; that the fact must necessarily be known to all the parties concerned in the subsisting negotiations; that it was a secret to the British parliament alone; and that no possible mischief could arise from his giving the satisfaction required. The noble earl persisted in his refusal; declaring that the whole house should not force an answer from him, which he conceived he could not give without violation of his oath as a privy counsellor. Declaring war and making peace, were, he said, the undoubted prerogative of the crown, and ought to be guarded from all incroachment with the most particular care. If the popular parts of the constitution thought themselves better adapted for carrying on negotiations

negotiations of this sort, he would advise them to go the king at once, and tell him that they were tired of the monarchical establishment, that they meant to do the business of the crown themselves, and had no farther occasion for his services. No man, he added, could be more anxious than himself to have the world know what he had done, and to receive the judgment of parliament and of the people of England upon his proceedings; and that for this purpose, so soon as prudence and policy should warrant, he would not lose a moment in laying the treaty before them. With respect to the assertion that had so frequently been made, that no mischief would arise from giving the answer required, he said it was a little extraordinary that those who knew not what the treaty was, should be so positive in declaring there could be no secrets in it, whilst those who did know its contents as positively asserted there were.

Dec. 16th. On the 16th Mr. Fox gave notice of his intention to move, on the first convenient day, for the provisional treaty to be laid before the house, or such parts of it as related to the recognition of American independence. At the same time, as a proof that he had no design to embarrass government, or throw any impediment in the way of the minister's negotiations, he declared that if the secretary of state would pledge himself to the house, that the treaty in question contained particulars, which, if discovered earlier than the moment ministers might choose for laying it before parliament, would be attended with mischievous consequences, and

materially affect the negotiations then carrying on, he would desist from his purpose altogether. The minister refusing to pledge himself in the manner proposed, Mr. Fox made the following motion on the 18th.

18th. "That an humble address be presented to his majesty that he will be graciously pleased to give directions that there be laid before this house copies of such parts of the provisional articles as relate to the independence of America."

The motion was opposed by the ministers and their friends, as both unseasonable and unnecessary. The moment of negotiation was said to be of all others that in which parliament ought to place confidence in ministers, and to abstain from interfering by its advice in measures, with the delicate situation of which it must necessarily be unacquainted. Whatever construction the treaty might bear, whatever contrariety of opinions might be entertained respecting it, it was signed, and could not be altered; and, what was most material, had given perfect satisfaction to the party that had accepted it. The mischiefs that might arise from discussing subjects of this nature in the house were strongly insisted on; and the ministers were advised to keep a total silence with respect to the matter in debate.

These objections were supported by Lord North in a speech full of irony and sarcastic observation. He said he entirely approved of the advice that had been given to ministers to keep silent, but wished the injunction had been laid upon them a little earlier; much trouble would then have been saved, much unseasonable

unseasonable discussion of characters stopped; and, if the new doctrine of a privy counsellor's oath were solid, something very like perjury prevented.

The motion before the house he understood was made for the purpose, either of satisfying them that the American treaty was irrevocable, or of declaring it to be so if it should appear doubtful. Now, as he neither wished nor believed it to be of that nature, he certainly could not vote with the right honourable mover.

It had been pleasantly remarked, that he should vote that day with the ministers, not because he agreed with them, but because they disagreed with each other. This, he said, was in some measure true; but it was a matter not of choice but of necessity; and as he wished to strengthen their government, he should be very happy if he could be instructed how he could support them collectively.

Differences, he admitted, undoubtedly existed, and of a very essential nature, in the cabinet; and those differences might certainly have an effect with foreign powers, but they were not likely to be reconciled within those walls. The cabinet consisted of eleven persons of great genius, long experience, and invariable constancy; they had employed almost an equal number of commissioners at Paris in this important business; and if all these personages had not been able to fix a precise meaning to a treaty that was declared to be concluded, could it be expected that an unanimous explanation of it should be given in that house?

He then proceeded to state the grounds of the meaning he had af-

fixed to the treaty. It was a maxim, he said, with casuists, that the support of one grave doctor was enough to make an opinion probable;—now he had the opinion of two grave doctors, two cabinet ministers, that the treaty was not irrevocable. He next examined the contradictory explanations that had been given; and after commenting on them for some time, argued that if, from so many contradictions, any thing certain could be deduced, it must be, that the provisional articles meant nothing fixed. In this opinion he was confirmed by the speech from the throne. To this edition of the treaty, printed on royal paper, he should certainly give the preference over the many that had since been published, and enriched *cum notis variorum*. In that it was said, in the first place, that independence had been *offered*; secondly, that this article was dependent on another treaty, in which it was *to be inserted*; and, thirdly, it is there styled only a *provisional* treaty, which clearly implied that it was conditional, and therefore revocable.

Having stated the grounds of his opinion, he added, that it could not be expected he should concur in a motion, the design of which was to affix a meaning on the treaty of which he could not approve. If, says he, the right honourable gentleman should succeed in that attempt, would not the ministers of France argue thus with our negociator, “You have told us, that the English nation would submit with great unwillingness to the recognition of American independence, and you demand some sacrifice from us as an equivalent for that concession. You see now that

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parliament has none of the difficulties you made account of; we therefore must alter our terms, there being no reason why we should now make the sacrifice you require."

In support of the motion it was urged, that the production of a treaty, pending the negotiation, was perfectly parliamentary, and not unprecedented; and that none of his Majesty's servants would venture to assert, that, in the present instance, it would be dangerous or unsafe. The difficulties under which our negotiators must unavoidably labour, so soon as the contradictory language of ministers at home was known abroad, and the necessity of relieving them from this embarrassment, was strongly insisted on. It was not from any absurd idea of reconciling the contradictions of ministers that the present motion was brought forward, but that parliament might put such a clear, distinct, and definitive construction on the treaty, as might satisfy both foreign powers and the people at home of its true meaning and purpose. Ministers could then no longer fluctuate in their explanations of it; and might recover that confidence abroad which at present it was ridiculous for them to expect. They had themselves confessed, that the insinuations that had been propagated respecting the insincerity of the noble earl at the head of the treasury had materially impeded their negotiations; and was it likely that these suspicions would be removed by what had passed in parliament since the first day of the session?

It was not denied that the design of the motion was to induce parliament to come to an explicit and

unconditional acknowledgment of the independence of America; and this, it was argued, was the best policy we could adopt. To grant it as the price of peace, at the requisition of France, would be base and degrading. Should the French minister insult us with an offer, he should be told, "We will not sell the independence of America to you at any price; we will freely present her with that which you shall not procure her, offer what bargain you please."

The motion was, at length rejected on previous questions, by a majority of 219 to 46; and both houses adjourned on the 23d to the 21st of the following month.

On the day of meeting after the recess, Jan. 21st.  
1783. a motion was made in the

House of Commons, for leave to bring in a bill, "for removing and preventing all doubts which had arisen, or might arise, concerning the exclusive right of the parliament and courts of Ireland in matters of legislation and judicature; and for preventing any writ of error or appeal from any of his majesty's courts in that kingdom from being received, heard, and adjudged, in any of his majesty's courts in the kingdom of Great Britain."

The cause of this bill, which after going through the usual forms passed into a law, was as follows:

When the matter of establishing the legislative and judicial independence of the kingdom of Ireland was under the consideration of the late ministry, two ways of doing it had occurred. The one, by a renunciation of what this country held to be a right, but which



which it was ready to give up. This mode, however, it was foreseen, might give offence to the people of Ireland, who contended, that England never had any such right. The other mode was by declaring that England, though it had exercised, had never been legally possessed of, such a right: but to this mode of renunciation it was justly apprehended that the parliament of Great Britain would not be brought to consent. The measure of a simple repeal of the declaratory act of the 6th of Geo. I. was therefore adopted, as most consistent with the spirit of the people there, and the dignity of government here: and though some zealous patriots in Ireland seemed to think that an absolute renunciation was necessary; yet, as we have before related\*, an address was carried there through both houses, with only two or three dissentient voices, expressing their perfect satisfaction, and declaring that no constitutional question between the two countries would any longer exist. After this the parliament of Ireland proceeded in the exercise of their legislative capacity, to enact laws for regulating their judicial proceedings, and for confining the decisions of property to their own courts of law, with power of appeal to the House of Lords of that country only. Things were going on in this amicable manner, when a cause that had been removed by writ of error from Ireland to the court of King's Bench, long before the repeal had been in agitation, and which the judge, by the rules of the court, was bound to determine, was brought to a decision. This unlucky accident was

eagerly laid hold on by the clamorous in that country; and the jealousy they attempted to spread was not unwillingly improved by the ministers into an opportunity of shewing, that the measures of their predecessors had failed of giving that complete satisfaction which had been boasted, and of courting the applause of Ireland by the additional security which the present bill was supposed to afford to their rights.

The bill passed without any formal opposition: it was however remarked, that as the parliament of Ireland had declared that no constitutional question did any longer exist between the two countries, it was not consulting the dignity of the legislature of Great Britain, nor paying any compliment to the discernment of that of Ireland, to declare that doubts might still arise; and to pass an act to prevent them, that was unasked, and grounded on mere surmises. The parliament of Ireland, by the repeal of the 6th of Geo. I. were virtually invested with full powers to regulate every domestic inconvenience according to their own discretion; and this in the present instance they had actually done, a bill for the purpose having received the royal assent. The officious interference now of Great Britain, so far from encreasing the confidence which Ireland was inclined to repose in us, was more likely, it was said, to produce the contrary effect, by authorizing groundless jealousy and distrust. Confidence was in its nature voluntary; a profusion of professions never had, nor ever would, either produce or confirm it. It was madness to suppose that spe-

\* See Vol. XXV. p. 179.

culating politicians in Ireland, like all other people in similar circumstances, would not find matter to cavil at. It was therefore necessary, for the peace of both countries, and to the dignity of parliament, that the business should have

an end somewhere; and ministers were advised to come to a resolution of making a stand, where the best and wisest men of that country had already fixed the landmarks of the constitution.

## CHAP. VII.

*Preliminary articles of peace signed at Versailles—laid before both houses of parliament.—Address of thanks moved by Mr. Thomas Pitt.—Amendment proposed by Lord John Cavendish.—Second amendment proposed by Lord North—List of the principal speakers for and against the original address.—The peace defended on three grounds.—1st. From the deplorable state of the finances—of the navy—of the army.—2dly. On the merits of the articles of the several treaties.—Defence of the French treaty—of the cession of part of the Newfoundland fishery, and of the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon—of the restoration of St. Lucia, and of the cession of Tobago—of the cession of Senegal, and the restoration of Gorée—of the restoration of the French continental settlements in the East-Indies—of the abrogation of the articles relative to Dunkirk—Defence of the Spanish treaty—of the cession of East and West Florida and Minorca.—Defence of the provisional treaty with the Americans—of the line of boundaries—of the settlement of the fisheries—of the terms procured for the loyalists.—3dly. On the factions and interested motives of those who pretended to disapprove of it.—Arguments urged by the opposite side in support of the amendments.—Arguments used in defence of the peace replied to in the same order.—Both amendments carried in the House of Commons, by a majority of 16.—Amendment to the address in the House of Lords moved by Lord Carlisle, and negatived by a majority of 13.—List of the speakers in the debate.—Resolution of censure on the peace moved in the House of Commons by Lord John Cavendish, and carried by a majority of 17.*

**T**HE preliminary articles of peace between Great Britain and France, and between Great Britain and Spain, were signed at Versailles on the 20th of January; and on the 27th copies of the same, and of the provisional treaty with the United States of America, were laid before both houses of parliament, and after a short debate, ordered to be printed. Monday the 17th of February was appointed for taking them into consideration;

and in the intermediate time several motions were made for such papers and documents as might assist the house in deciding on their merits.

On the day appointed upwards of four hundred and fifty members were assembled. After the papers were read, a motion was made by Mr. Thomas Pitt, and seconded by Mr. Wilberforce, "that an address of thanks should be presented to the King for his gracious condescension in ordering  
" the

" the preliminary and provisional  
 " articles of the several treaties  
 " which his Majesty had concluded,  
 " to be laid before them; and  
 " to assure his Majesty that they  
 " had considered them with that  
 " attention that so important a  
 " subject required. To express  
 " their satisfaction that his Ma-  
 " jesty had, in consequence of the  
 " powers entrusted to him, laid the  
 " foundation, by the provisional  
 " articles with the States of North  
 " America, for a treaty of peace,  
 " which they trusted would ensure  
 " perfect reconciliation and friend-  
 " ship between both countries.  
 " And that, in this confidence,  
 " they presumed to express their  
 " just expectations, that the se-  
 " veral States of North America  
 " would carry into effectual and  
 " satisfactory execution those mea-  
 " sures which the congress was so  
 " solemnly bound by the treaty  
 " to recommend, in favour of such  
 " persons as had suffered for the  
 " part they had taken in the war;  
 " and that they should consider  
 " this circumstance as the surest  
 " indication of returning friend-  
 " ship.

" To acknowledge their due  
 " sense of that wise and paternal  
 " regard for the happiness of his  
 " subjects, which induced his Ma-  
 " jesty to relieve them from a bur-  
 " thensome and expensive war;  
 " and to assure his Majesty they  
 " would encourage every exertion  
 " of his subjects of Great Britain  
 " and Ireland, in the improvement  
 " of those resources which must  
 " tend to the augmentation of the  
 " public strength, and the prospe-  
 " rity of his dominions."

Of this address an amendment  
 was moved by Lord John Caven-

dish, to leave out all that part af-  
 ter the words, "*to assure his Ma-*  
 "*esty,*" and to insert instead there-  
 of the following—"His faithful  
 " commons will proceed to con-  
 " sider the same with that serious  
 " and full attention which a sub-  
 " ject of such importance to the  
 " present and future interests of  
 " his Majesty's dominions deserves.  
 " That in the mean time they en-  
 " tertain the fullest confidence of  
 " his Majesty's paternal care, that  
 " he will concert with his parlia-  
 " ment such measures as may be  
 " expedient for extending the  
 " commerce of his subjects.

" That whatever may be the  
 " sentiments of his faithful com-  
 " mons on the investigation of the  
 " terms of pacification, they beg  
 " leave to assure his Majesty of  
 " their firm and unalterable reso-  
 " lution to adhere inviolably to  
 " the several articles for which  
 " the public faith is pledged, and  
 " to maintain the blessings of  
 " peace, so necessary to his Ma-  
 " jesty's subjects and the general  
 " happiness of mankind."

A second amendment was after-  
 wards moved by Lord North, to  
 insert after the words, "*commerce*  
 "*of his subjects,*" the following—  
 " And his Majesty's faithful com-  
 " mons feel that it would be su-  
 " perfluous to express to his Ma-  
 " jesty the regards due from the na-  
 " tion to every description of men,  
 " who, with the risque of their  
 " lives and the sacrifice of their  
 " properties, have distinguished  
 " their loyalty and fidelity during  
 " a long and calamitous war."

In the following account of the  
 important debate which these mo-  
 tions gave rise to, we have thought  
 it more advisable, for the sake of

distinctness and precision, to follow the arrangement of the arguments used on both sides the question, than the order of speakers. With respect to the latter therefore it may suffice to mention, that the original address was supported by the secretary of state, the chancellor of the exchequer, the treasurer of the navy, the solicitor-general, and by Mr. Powis, Mr. Banks, and some other country gentlemen; the amendments by Lord North, Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, Governor Johnstone, Lord Mulgrave, Sir Henry Fletcher, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Adam, and also by several of the country gentlemen.

The defence of the peace was undertaken on three grounds; first, on the weak and impoverished state of this country; secondly, on the merits of the articles themselves; and lastly, on an attempt to disarm the arguments and objections on the other side of their force and effect, by throwing on the opposite party the odium of acting entirely, on this occasion, from interested motives; and of having entered into an unnatural coalition, merely for the purpose of displacing his Majesty's ministers by inducing parliament to censure the peace.

On the first of these heads, Mr. Thomas Pitt entered into a circumstantial detail of the deplorable state of the *finances* of this country, taken from the report of a committee appointed to enquire into the state of the funds, of which he had been chairman. By this he made it appear, that the national debt, funded and unfunded, amounted to upwards of 250 millions. That the annual interest

on it would fall little short of nine millions and a half. That this enormous interest, being added to the civil list, and to a moderately calculated peace establishment, our annual expences, in seasons of profound peace, would (according to his detailed calculations) amount at least to 14,793,137*l*. That the amount of the enormous load of taxes under which the landed interest was sinking, did not exceed all together 12,500,000*l*. So that there remained an annual sum of near 2,300,000*l*. to be raised by fresh burthens.—From these facts it was demanded, whether the continuance of the war could end in any thing less than certain ruin?

This state of our finances, it was said, ought to be kept constantly in view in discussing the merits of the peace; and whenever it was argued that concessions had been improvidently made, or that greater advantages might have been obtained, members should fairly ask themselves, whether such an object, under such circumstances, was worth the expence and hazard of another campaign?

It would doubtless be urged that the other belligerent powers felt an equal degree of distress; but to what a consequence would such a mode of reasoning lead the house? What man was so desperate as to advise the continuance of a war, which might end in the bankruptcy of public faith, a bankruptcy which would almost dissolve the bands of government, and this merely on a surmise, that probably one of the adverse powers might experience an equal distress.

The *navy*, the second great engine of war, was represented to be in a condition scarcely adequate to

to the purposes of defence, and (in a competition of strength) greatly inferior to that of the enemy. From the papers on the table it appeared that the whole British force, fit for service, scarcely amounted to one hundred sail of the line. Of these many were undermanned, several unclean and in a mouldering state, and the greatest part had been long and actively employed on foreign stations. Our magazines were in an exhausted condition; and with the most diligent exertions not more than six sail could have been added to this catalogue in March. The force of France and Spain amounted to one hundred and forty sail of the line. Thirteen new ships would have been added to the fleet of France in the course of the ensuing spring. The Dutch fleet would have amounted to twenty-five sail of the line, and it was uncertain what accession the Spanish force would have received at the same time.

With so glaring an inferiority, what hopes of success could we derive, either from the experience of the last campaign, or from any new distribution of our force in that which would have followed? In the West-Indies we could not have had more than forty-six sail to oppose to forty, which on the day that the peace was signed lay in the harbour of Cadiz with 16,000 troops on board, ready to sail for that quarter of the world, where they would have been joined by twelve ships of the line from the Havannah, and by ten from St. Domingo, with 25,000 men on board. A defensive war, it was universally acknowledged, must terminate in certain ruin; and it

was asked, whether Admiral Pigot, with such an inferiority could have undertaken any offensive operations against the islands of the enemy; those islands on which Lord Rodney flushed with victory, could not attempt to make an impression? Could Admiral Pigot have regained by arms what the ministers had recovered by treaty? Could he, in the sight of a superior fleet, have captured Grenada, Dominique, St. Kitt's, Nevis, and Montserrat? Or might we not too reasonably apprehend, that the campaign in the West Indies would have closed with the loss of Jamaica itself, the avowed object of this immense armament?

In the East our prospects were not brighter. A mere defensive resistance had entitled Sir Edward Hughes to the thanks of parliament; but his success, if it might be termed a victory, had not prevented the enemy from landing a greater European force than we actually possess in that country, and which, in conjunction with Hyder Ally, was at that instant, subduing or desolating the Carnatic. In the ensuing campaign, after the junction with Commodore Bickerton, the French fleet would at least be equal to our ours.

If we looked forward to the probable operations in the channel, and in the northern seas, in a future campaign, it was said to be clear, from the papers laid before the house, that the combined fleets of the house of Bourbon and of Holland, would at least have doubled our force in our own seas.

With respect to the *army*, it was asserted, that we were in want of thirty thousand men to complete its establishments, and that levies

could scarcely be torn, on any terms, from a depopulated country. That after the most careful investigation, it had appeared, that only three thousand men could have been spared with safety to this country, for any offensive duty. The foreign troops in garrison at New-York we had no power to embark on any other than American service; besides, if a new treaty had been entered into with the German princes, no transports could have been assembled for an early embarkation; and, even when embarked, where could they have directed their course, in the face of an enemy's fleet cruizing with undisputed superiority in every part of the western world?

From this view of our total inability to engage in another campaign, with any prospect of bringing it to a more favourable conclusion than the last, it was argued, that peace on any terms, by breaking the powerful confederacy that was against us, and giving us time to recruit our walled strength, was preferable to a continuance of the war. But it was asserted, in the second place, that the peace did not stand in need of such a defence, and that the terms obtained were fair and honourable, and adequate to the just expectations of the nation.

By the 3d and 4th articles of the treaty with the court of France, we had ceded the exclusive right of fishery on a certain part of the coast of *Newfoundland*. But at the same time we have also established an exclusive right to the most valuable banks. The concurrent fishery formerly exercised was a source of endless strife. The French were now confined to a certain

spot: it was almost nothing; when compared to the extent we possess, and besides is situated in the least productive part of the coast. In proof of these facts, the opinions of Admiral Edwards, of Captain Leveson Gower, and of Lieutenant Lane, who took an accurate survey of the whole, were confidently appealed to.

By the 5th article the islands of *St. Pierre* and *Miquelon* were ceded to the French. These islands had formerly belonged to that crown, but were retained, in the pride of our superiority, at the treaty of Paris, in 1762; and surely there could be no just ground of complaint now, if France, in her ascendancy, should require the restitution of them. If it should be alledged, that these places might be fortified so as to annoy us in a future war, and even endanger our fisheries, the answer was at hand;—the most skilful engineers had certified, that neither island would admit the construction of a fortress which would stand the attack of the smallest of our frigates.

In the *West-Indies*, by the 7th article, the island of *St. Lucia* was restored, and *Tobago* ceded to the French; but in return, by the 8th, his Most Christian Majesty had restored to Great Britain the islands of *Grenada* and the *Grenadines*, of *St. Vincent*, *Dominica*, *St. Christopher*, *Nevis*, and *Montserrat*. It was asserted, that the island of *Dominica*, considered as a place of observation and strength, was as valuable to this country, if not more so, than *St. Lucia*. The importance of the latter island, it was said, might fairly be estimated by the value set upon it at the last peace. It was then ours by conquest;



quest; and if it had been thought of such inestimable consequence, as was now pretended, why was it not then retained? The island of Tobago had also been extorted from France at the peace of Paris, and there fore might now be equitably re-demanded. Its importance to our cotton manufactory had been greatly exaggerated. If this manufacture had risen to a flourishing state before we ever possessed that island, why might it not remain so now? The fact was, that cotton, whether in the hands of friend or foe, would always find its way to our door, in preference to that of those who cannot meet it with such a purse.

In *Africa*, by the 9th article, the King of Great Britain cedes the river of Senegal, with its dependencies and forts, and restores the Island of Goree. On the other side, Fort James and the river Gambia is guaranteed to Great Britain, by the 10th; and by the 11th and 12th, the gum trade is put on the same footing as in the year 1755. By these articles, it was said, we secure (as much as we ever had secured) a share in the gum trade; and were freed from the necessity of making that coast a grave for our fellow-subjects, thousands of whom were annually sent there to watch an article of trade which we in vain endeavoured to monopolize.

The four following articles relate to the *East Indies*. By these, Pondicherry and Karikal, with suitable dependencies, the possession of Mahé, and the Comptoir of Surat, are restored, and guaranteed to France, together with all the establishments which belonged to that kingdom at the commence-

ment of the war, on the coast of Orixá, and in Bengal, with liberty to surround Chandernagor with a ditch for draining the waters. These concessions were allowed to, be very considerable, and they were defended by the advocates for the peace on two very different and opposite grounds. Some of them asserted, that the Company's affairs were in every respect in so deplorable a state, that the continuance of the war there must have brought on their irretrievable destruction; whilst others, in order to remove any apprehension that might be entertained from the re-establishment of the French power in India, contended, that their affairs were in so prosperous a train, as would speedily put them out of the reach of injury from any rival whatever.

The abrogation of all the articles relative to Dunkirk, which had been inserted in any former treaty of peace, formed the 17th article of the present. During all the administrations which have passed away since the demolition of that harbour was first stipulated, those articles had never been enforced. This negligence, it was said, was a sufficient proof of the little account in which that matter was held; and the fact was, that all the art and cost that France could bestow on the basin of Dunkirk, could not render it in any degree formidable to Great Britain. France wished for the suppression of those articles, merely as a point of honour; and surely no sober man would continue the war to thwart a fancy so little detrimental to us. At former periods England had dictated the terms of peace to submissive nations;

tions, but the visions of her power and pre-eminence were passed away, and she was under the mortifying necessity of employing a language that corresponds with her true condition.

To the King of Spain, the possession of Minorca and West Florida was guaranteed, and East Florida ceded. With respect to the first-mentioned place, it was urged, that it was kept at an immense and useless expence in peace, and was never tenable in war; and as to the Floridas, that the possession of them was by no means so important as might be imagined, and that we had gained an equal advantage by the restoration of Providence and the Bahama islands. The imports of both the Floridas did not exceed 70,000*l.* and the exports amount to about 120,000*l.* It certainly was not desirable to take so much from the commerce of the nation; but it was a favourite object with Spain, and amidst the millions of our trade, it surely was not worth contending for at the hazard of continuing the war.

The treaty with the United States of America, as far as regarded their independence, had in some measure been previously formed by parliament; the only points therefore that remained for discussion were the fixing of the boundaries, the settlement of the fisheries, and the terms stipulated for the loyalists.

By the line of boundaries, all the back settlements, and the whole country between the Allegany Mountains and the Mississippi were ceded to the United States. To have retained the large tract behind them, for the purpose of planting it with persons of differ-

ent political principles, would have been little better than laying the foundation of new war and new disturbances. The free navigation of the Mississippi was however reserved.

To the northward, the line of division was carried through the centre of the lakes, and by that means a participation of the fur trade was secured to both countries, with a small advantage in favour of Great Britain; as it was well known to all men conversant in the nature of that trade, that its best resources lay to the northward. But supposing the entire fur trade was sunk in the sea, what was the detriment to this country? Let this and every other part of the treaties be examined by the fair value of the district ceded, drawn from the amount of the exports and imports, by which alone we could judge of its importance. The exports of this country to Canada, then, were only 140,000*l.* and the imports not more than 50,000*l.* Was this an object for Great Britain to continue a war, of which the people of England had declared their abhorrence? Surely it was not: and much less would it appear so, when it was recollected that the preservation of this annual importation of 50,000*l.* has cost the country for several years past, on an average, 800,000*l.* a year. A few interested Canadian merchants might complain; for merchants would always love monopoly, without considering that monopoly, by destroying rivalry, which was the very essence of the well-being of trade, was in fact detrimental to it.

The cession of Penobscot had been objected to, as depriving us of

of a supply of masts, which that place is said to furnish in wonderful abundance. But in opposition to this assertion, it was proved, they said, by the certificate of Captain Twiss, one of the ablest surveyors in the service, that there was not a tree there capable of being made a mast.

By the 3d article of the provisional treaty, the freedom of fishing on all the banks of Newfoundland, and also on all the coasts of our dominions in America, was given to the subjects of the United States. And why?—Because in the first place, they could, from their locality, have exercised a fishery in that quarter, in the first season (for there are two) without our consent, and in spite of all our efforts to repel them. The first season commences in February, and that is entirely at their discretion: for our people have never, and can never take their station there so soon. With regard to the other season, the principle on which the fur trade had been regulated was again reverted to; though we had not a monopoly, we possessed such superior advantages in the article of curing our fish for market, from the exclusive command of the contiguous shores, that a rivalry would only whet our industry, to make the most of those benefits which our situation put within our power. It might be asked, why we had not stipulated for a reciprocity of fishing in the American harbours and creeks? The answer was obvious—because we had abundant employment in our own.

The last article objected to, was the terms procured for the loyalists. On this point but one alternative offered itself; either to accept from

Congress their recommendation to the provincial states in favour of those unhappy people, or to continue the war: and who was bold enough to step forward, and say that we ought on that account to have broken off the treaty? But the fact was, that they could do no more than recommend. It was necessary to be cautious in wording the treaty, lest they should give offence to the new States. In all their measures, since their first constitution, for providing either money or men, they have used the word *recommendation* to the provincial assemblies; and it had always been paid respect to. But to suppose the worst, that after all, this estimable set of men could not be received into the bosom of their own country; was England so lost to gratitude and honour, as not to afford them an asylum? Without one drop of blood spilt, with one fifth of the expence of one campaign, happiness and ease might be given to the loyalists in as ample a manner as those blessings were ever in their enjoyment.

Such were the arguments urged in favour of the articles of the several treaties of peace: an indirect defence of it was also attempted, by endeavouring to throw odium on the characters of those who, it was said, pretended to disapprove of it, and were desirous, from interested motives, of inducing parliament to pass a censure upon it. A coincidence in opinion between a noble lord who had formerly been at the head of administration, and the persons who moved and supported the amendment to the address, was the ground of this accusation. So unnatural an alliance, between the lofty assertors of regal pre-

prerogative, and the humble worshippers of the majesty of the people; the determined advocate of the influence of the crown, and the great purifiers of the constitution; could not, it was said, originate from any but the most base and sordid views. It was not the peace, which, it was asserted, was unimpeachable, but the offices of the ministers, that was the object of their pursuit. On this occasion every art was used to inflame the minds of the public, and to incite their own friends to revolt against what was represented as a most barefaced attempt to abuse their confidence: all the most virulent expressions of enmity and abuse, which during their long and violent contests had fallen from either party in the heat of debate were industriously brought forward: their junction was urged as a proof of a total dereliction of principle, and as an atrocious attempt to overbear the just prerogative of the crown, and to seize on the administration of public affairs by force.

On these grounds was the defence of the peace undertaken: it now remains that we state those arguments which induced the majority of the house to adopt the amendments, already recited, and on a following day to vote, "that the concessions granted by the peace to the enemies of Great Britain were greater than they were entitled to, either from the actual situation of their respective possessions, or from their comparative strength."

On the first head, viz. the inability of the country, from the situation of public credit, and the state of its finances, to continue the war, it was said, that speculative poli-

ticians had in all times been fond of circumscribing the bounds of public credit, and drawing a line, beyond which they imagined it could not be stretched; but that repeated experience had shewn that such ideas were for the most part imaginary and chimerical. But in whatever degree we may suppose the resources of this country to be exhausted, we were well assured that those of the enemy were equally so, and that their burthens were less cheerfully supported; witness the several spirited memorials from the States of Brittany, and other places, against the war; the loud murmurs of the whole Spanish nation; and the refusal of most of the provincial states in America to pay the last tax ordered to be levied by congress. If the apprehension of bankruptcy made peace desirable, or even necessary to Great Britain, it made it equally so to the other belligerent powers; and where the reasons for desiring peace were equal, no argument could be adduced why the terms should not be equal and reciprocal. It was urged, besides, that this argument, if allowed, would prove too much. The state of our finances, from their public nature, being as well known to our enemies as to ourselves, it might fairly be asked, how they came to grant us, knowing we were not able to prosecute the war, even those terms that had been procured? Was it owing to the magnanimity of France that we are allowed to retain our possessions in the East and West Indies? Had the court of Spain at once forgot those objects, on account of which it had engaged in the war, the restoration of Gibraltar and Jamaica? Was it from the remains

of a filial regard in the United States, that Canada and Nova Scotia were not claimed, in addition to the rest of our territories surrendered in America?—No; it arose from their knowledge that this nation, however distressed, would not bear the imposition of such conditions. They saw they had a ministry to deal with that was conscious of their own tottering situation. Tho' equally desirous of peace, they perceived it was the happy moment for their demands, and our concession; but at the same time their policy would not let them go farther than they have now ventured.

With respect to the navy, it was affirmed to be in a flourishing and vigorous state, and that we had the happiest prospects before us for the next campaign. The noble viscount\*, who had lately retired from his high and responsible office at the head of the admiralty, because, as he declared, he would not subscribe to the terms of the peace, had asserted in the other house that the British fleet consisted of 109 line of battle ships, and that the united force of the house of Bourbon did not exceed 125. With respect to their condition, he declared, that, from the best information he could procure, ours was greatly superior. During the course of last year, when our inferiority was infinitely more apparent, our navy had increased (and principally by captures) seventeen in its number, while that of France alone had suffered a diminution of thirteen ships of the line. It was likewise affirmed, that Admiral Pigot would, at the time of action, have

had 54 sail of the line in the West Indies; a force abundantly sufficient for every offensive or defensive purpose, and which our enemies could not have met with any prospect of advantage. It was declared by the noble viscount alluded to above, that he most earnestly wished the fleet that was collected at Cadiz had sailed, as he had not the smallest doubt that a decisive blow would have been given in the ensuing campaign in the West Indies to the marine of the House of Bourbon.

In the East Indies, it had been allowed, on the other side, that our force in point of number of guns was equal to that of the enemy; but in other respects, it was now asserted to be much superior; and that the possession of Trincomale gave us a decided advantage in all our naval operations in that quarter.

For the channel service there remained thirty-four sail of the line. This force, though allowed to be inferior to that of the enemy, yet was asserted to be sufficient for the security of our trade, and adequate to all the purposes of home-defence.

An appeal had been made to the experience of the late campaign.—On this point it was demanded, whether the navy had been inadequate to any service on which it was dispatched? And, whether there had been any one offensive or defensive measure declined, in consequence of its being incompetent to the duty?—On the proof of either of these propositions, Mr. Fox offered to rest the fate of the question before the house.

\* Lord Viscount Keppel.

With

With respect to the army, it was said, that the argument drawn from the depopulated state of the country, did not deserve a serious answer. It was asserted that transports might easily have been procured for carrying the German troops to the West Indies; and above all, it was contended, that the American war, the mill-stone that hung about our necks, being at an end, the nation would have soon emerged from its dejection, and recovered its usual high tone of thinking and acting.

It had been said, that peace on *any terms*, by breaking the alliance confederated against us, and giving us time to breathe, was preferable to the continuance of the war under our present circumstances. In answer to that it was observed, that improvident concessions could never tend to the security of peace; but by weakening the power that made them, rendered it more liable to future insults. It was further urged, that if any inability to prosecute the war really existed, it was not likely we should reap much benefit from the breathing time, which had been procured at so great and certain a loss. It was not probable that the national debt would be speedily reduced; and it was a doubt whether we could build ships faster in time of peace than the courts of France and Spain. On the other hand, a variety of obvious circumstances, and more especially the brilliant successes of the late campaign, served to prove, that the present was the moment for pushing our fortune, if peace could not be obtained on equal and honourable terms. That such terms have not been obtained, was the next

point that was undertaken to be proved.

In every negotiation for peace, it is obvious that some point must be fixed for the basis of the treaty. Two principles are usually resorted to for this purpose—either that of leaving each party in the actual state of their possessions at the time of the treaty, which is commonly called that of *uti possidetis*; or that of reciprocal and general restitution. The latter principle directs a negotiation, when the belligerent powers have equal desire and reason for concluding the war. It is then they find it their interest to reinstate each other reciprocally in the possessions they have lost. The *uti possidetis* is the principle of negotiation, when either of the belligerent powers has obtained a superiority in the war over the other. It is then the party worsted is obliged to submit to the loss of its possessions; for, not having the power of enforcing, it assumes not the pretence of demanding restitution.

Allowing we were in a situation to treat on the principle of mutual restitution, to which, from the actual state of our possessions, and our comparative strength, it was contended we had fair pretensions, the articles of restoration on our part could not have exceeded those contained in the present treaty, the settlement on the river Gambia alone excepted, for which we had ceded and given up to France the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, and the right of fishery on an extensive part of the coast of Newfoundland, the island of Tobago, the river Senegal, with its dependencies and forts, and the abrogation of all former articles relative

to



to Dunkirk : To Spain, the island of Minorca, and the provinces of East and West Florida.

If it should be thought that the scale of fortune had turned in favour of our enemies, and that we were not entitled to insist on a general restitution, yet still, on the most unfavourable ground (that of *uti possidetis*) we should have lost, to France, only the islands of Grenada, St. Vincent, Tobago, Dominica, St. Christopher, Nevis, and Montserrat, the two latter of little importance, either in point of extent or quality ; while, on the other hand, we should have retained the very valuable island of St. Lucia, in the West Indies, all their continental settlements in the East, together with their forts and trade, as well as our own, on the coast of Africa.

With these possessions, it was maintained that we might have stood on the ground of *uti possidetis*, without any material, or probably any disadvantage. The island of St. Lucia, in how little estimation soever it might have been held at the peace of Paris, was now found by experience, and universally acknowledged to be, of the utmost importance ; and, together with the other settlements mentioned, might be considered as a fair and full equivalent for the West India islands restored to Great Britain.

In the treaty with Spain, supposing it likewise to have been conducted on the principle of *uti possidetis*, the province of East Florida had been exchanged for the island of Providence and the Bahamas. With respect to the merits of this exchange, it was said that the value of East Florida, whether in point of situation, or

of commercial produce, had been either little understood, or had been designedly under-rated. It possessed one of the finest harbours in the world, called the *Bay of Tampa*, or *Espiritu Santo*, situated in a healthy climate, and where ships were safe from the annoyance of worms. Besides, the coast of that province was covered with small islands, from whence privateers might run to sea, and attack our Jamaica trade ; as it passed the gulf of Florida. And this was the more to be feared in a future, than it would have been in any preceding war, from the loss of Georgia, whose harbours formerly served both to protect our trade and to shelter it from tempests.—As a further proof of the rashness and improvidence of this exchange, an address lately presented by the provincial assembly of that country was read, in which, after setting forth their thriving situation, and expressing their abhorrence both of the rebellion in America, and of the Spanish government, they conclude “ with professions of the strongest attachment to the House of Brunswick, under whose protection they remained, convinced that their civil and religious rights would be secure to the latest posterity.”

But granting that these exchanges had been equitably and prudently made, there still remained to be accounted for the important concessions made to the court of France, of which no defence had been attempted, excepting that the house of Bourbon had a right to expect some compensation for the humiliating terms imposed upon her by the peace of 1762.

The first of these was an exclusive

five right of fishery on a considerable part of the coast of Newfoundland. It had been said, that in return we had established an exclusive right on the remaining and more advantageous parts. In answer to this, it was observed, that the proposal having evidently originated from France, it was absurd to suppose that she had chosen for herself the worst stations — The contrary was asserted to be the fact; and that the concession was of a new and important nature, the consequences of which it was not perhaps easy at present to foresee.

The cession of St. Pierre and Miquelon followed, together with the right of fortifying them. Heretofore, as soon as ever hostilities commenced between Great Britain and France, we were enabled, as had been the case in the preceding war, to seize upon her fisheries and her seamen, because they were unprotected. Hereafter this important advantage would no longer exist; for, by fortifying the two ceded islands, France would be as capable of carrying on the fishery in time of war, as in time of peace, and at the same time would have it in her power to annoy and distress us exceedingly. This article therefore materially affected the whole of the Newfoundland fishery, and rendered the stipulations in that particular infinitely more important and more advantageous to France, than they had ever been by former treaties. It was farther observed, that these islands, if once fortified, would command the entrance of the river St. Lawrence.

The value and importance of the island of Tobago, the cession

that followed next in order, was strongly insisted on; and, in answer to the arguments used on the other side, the mischievous consequences were stated, of leaving an article so essential to our manufactures as cotton, in the hands of a rival power, to be taxed or prohibited at its pleasure.

The cession of Senegal and Goree, it was said, was not less mischievous and improvident. If ministers had referred to the negotiation for the last peace, they would have seen that France explicitly states, that without one of these places the gum trade could not exist; and on this principle, admitted by us, they were then divided. Now that they are united, our trade is held at the pleasure of France. It had been urged, that the trade was an object of trifling importance; but the want of it would destroy two great branches of our manufacture, that of printed linens, and that of silks and gauzes. If a war should break out, we might be deprived of it entirely, and in peace we should buy it at the French price.

The last concession made to France, was the abrogation of all former articles relative to Dunkirk. It was allowed, that much difference of opinion existed with respect to the importance of this harbour; but what it wanted in other respects was abundantly made up by the peculiar advantages of its situation. The basin, when opened and repaired, would be capable of containing twenty or thirty ships of a considerable size and burthen — These, issuing out at all seasons, would annoy our trade in its very centre, and counterbalance, in some measure, the advantages of our

our local situation for commerce.— At the same time, it would be of no use to the French, but in a war with England; so that it was of all others the greatest temptation that could be thrown in their way for commencing fresh hostilities.

To these great and extraordinary concessions, ought to be added the restoration of their settlements, and other important advantages secured to the French in the East Indies. The addition of territory to Pondicherry and Karical, might be treated as a trifling matter; but it was not thought so in the negotiations for the treaty of Paris.— Great art was employed, and pressing solicitations made, to carry that point; but the ministers then were well informed of the value M. du Pleix put upon that territory; and that he held it to be a firm foundation for the re-establishment of the power of France, and for an effectual opposition to the English influence on the coast of Coromandel.

The grant of a free and undefined trade, such as the French East India Company enjoyed, without specifying at what period, might not only raise a contest about duties, but, taken in its full extent, would make Chandernagore a place of arms. It was well known, that the French East India Company, prior to our acquisitions in Bengal, was encouraged to carry arms into that country; but, during the last peace, their vessels had been visited, and no arms had been permitted to be brought in.— Would France now submit to such examinations? And if that restraint was intended to be given up, Chandernagore would soon be a most

powerful post in the centre of our government.

On the whole of the treaty with the court of France, it was contended, that at a time when we had the command of the East Indies; when we had excluded France from the coasts of India, of Africa, and the banks of Newfoundland; when we were relieved from the pressure of the American war, and had nothing to apprehend in Europe, after having captured so many sail of their line, and without the disgrace of having a single ship of our line in the possession of the enemy; we had restored her to all her power, and given her a controul and check upon us in every quarter of the globe.

The American treaty, to which the principles already laid down were not strictly applicable, was reserved for a separate discussion.— The necessity or the policy of acknowledging the independence of the United States being admitted, it followed of course that they were to be considered merely in the same view as any other power at war with Great Britain. The first thing therefore to be looked at, in estimating the terms of peace, was the known situation of each at the time of the treaty.

At this time Great Britain possessed the strongest posts on the coast of North America; all the back country, and the river St. Lawrence; the fur trade and fisheries were entirely hers; a great party in the country were uneasy at the continuance of the war, and dissatisfied with the new government; and many were zealously attached to our interests. Under these favourable circumstances, it was demanded, whether we were under the necessity of accepting

accepting such conditions as the enemy chose to offer? or, whether we had not a right to insist on fair and honourable terms?

By the provisional articles we had given up Charlestown, New York, Long Island, Penobscot, and all the back settlements. Twenty-five nations of Indians, who had entered into offensive alliances with us against the States, were given up, without any conditions being stipulated for their security. A transaction of itself sufficient to stigmatize the framers of the treaty on our part with indelible disgrace.

By the line of boundaries to the northward, all our settlements, carrying places, and forts on the lakes, including the principal forts of Niagara, Michilimackinac, and Detroit, the erection of which had cost this country immense sums of money, were gratuitously transferred to the Americans, without even assuming the merit of making so important a cession.

Together with our settlements on the lakes, a considerable part of the peltry trade, perhaps indeed the whole of it, was for ever transferred to the subjects of the United States. An attempt had been made to defend this cession by an absurd invective against monopoly, and by a long encomium upon open and free trade. How this applied to the point in question, it was not easy to conceive. We had a monopoly of the fur trade, in the same manner that every country has a monopoly of its own produce. The fur trade was ours, because we held the country that supplies it. How was the trade laid open by transferring that country to the Americans.

The Canadian merchants had been at an enormous expence in

erecting forts and storehouses on the banks of the lakes. They too are accused of being anxious for their own interests, and not understanding the benefit of sharing, or rather of having their profits transferred to others; and a new æra of trade on new principles is announced. It was well known to what height the pursuit of the old and plain maxims of trade had raised this country; but it was not so easy to comprehend the benefits that would result from the new system, so magnificently described.

The argument drawn from the amount of exports and imports, would better conclude for the entire cession of Canada. And, indeed, without the interior trade of the country, it was a mockery to keep the two forts of Montreal and Quebec, to be supported from this kingdom with much expence, and a sufficient subject for future war. But the balance had been unfairly stated; for the charge was in a great degree to be placed to the account of the war; and the profit would have been very great in peace, had we not given away the most valuable part of the province.

By the 3d article, the fishery on the shores retained by Great Britain is, again, not ceded, but recognized as a right inherent in the Americans, which they are to continue to enjoy unmolested; whilst, on the other hand, no right is reserved to British subjects to approach their shores, tho' the treaty professes in its preamble to proceed on principles of mutual advantage and reciprocity.

Again, in the 7th article, all the American artillery we had in our garrisons and fortified places on

on that continent were to be left behind us; whereas no such stipulation was to be found in this reciprocal treaty for restoring any British artillery possessed by the Americans.

Even in the article for the cessation of hostilities, the period, which in every other treaty that had ever yet been made was always reciprocal, commenced on our part immediately; on the part of the Americans, confiscation, proscription, imprisonment, and captures at sea, were not to determine till after the ratification in America of the definitive treaty.

After such extraordinary and boundless concessions on one part, it was natural, in a treaty designed to exclude "partial advantages," and to be formed on the basis of "liberal equity and reciprocity," to look for the equivalent benefits granted by the other. Two articles of this description presented themselves: that by which free navigation of the Mississippi for ever was stipulated; and that by which congress was bound to recommend the case of the loyalists to the several provincial states.

With respect to the free navigation, it was thus circumstanced:—The northern boundary excluded us from all access to the course of it by that way. The east side of the river was possessed by the Americans. To the west all the country had been ceded by the peace of Paris to the French, and since by them to Spain; and now each shore

of the mouth of it, by the present peace, came into the possession of the Spaniards; so that in what manner we were to avail ourselves of this free navigation, remained yet to be explained.

The article respecting the loyalists met with a more severe, and with almost a general reprobation. Those whom it pretends to favour, could receive, it was said, no benefit from it; for since the recent resolutions of some of the provincial assemblies\*, what was the purport of a recommendation? But to those the most entitled to our regard, the brave and unhappy men, who, bound by their oaths of allegiance, called on by the British parliament, encouraged by the proclamations of our generals, and invited under every national assurance of security, had not only given up their property, but risked their lives in our cause, the distinction admitted to their prejudice was cruel in the extremest degree.

In defence of this article, it was said, that the commissioners, or even congress, had no power to undertake further. Why, then, treat without fuller powers. The first question Mr. Oswald should have put to the American commissioners, ought to have been, Are you empowered to treat upon and conclude a general amnesty and restitution of goods to all loyalists, without exception?

But, admitting the necessity of treating with persons not fully empowered, were no means left to secure just and honourable terms?—

\* The province of Virginia, a short time before the peace, had come to an unanimous resolution, "that all demands or requests of the British court for the restoration of property confiscated by that state, were wholly inadmissible; and that their delegates should be instructed to move congress that they should direct the deputies for adjusting a peace, not to agree to any such restitution."

Could not all the surrenders we were to make; the surrender of Charlestown, of New York, of Long Island, Staten Island, Penobscot, and Savannah, purchase security for those meritorious persons? or why were they not retained as pledges, till such security was ratified? The inhabitants of those very places were armed with us in defence of their own estates; these estates by recent act had been confiscated; and when we evacuate those places, we shall give up the houses, goods, and even the persons of our friends, to the resentment of their enemies.

Was it possible to suppose that the States of America, unable to raise a farthing to carry on the war which was in the heart of their country, were so determined not to allow of any stipulation in favour of those unhappy men, that they would rather have continued the war, even with the possibility of being in this instance deserted by their allies? If we had implored the aid of France and Spain, there could be no doubt but the generosity of two great and respectable states would have interposed in favour of the men we have deserted. The fidelity of the loyalists to their king and country, however obnoxious to their hostile pursuits in America while the war lasted, could never have been felt by any honest mind as a crime that excluded them from any conditions of peace.

But it was said, that there was even a horrible refinement in the cruelty of this article. They are told that one year is allowed them to solicit from the lenity of their persecutors that mercy, which their friends neglected to secure; to beg their bread of those by whom they

had been stripped of their all; to obtain, if they can, leave to repurchase what it was known they had no money to pay for.

The conduct of other states in similar circumstance was contrasted with that of the ministers of Great Britain. At the peace of Munster, a general act of indemnity was passed, without exception of place or person; and the adherents of the Spanish monarch, whose effects and estates had been confiscated, had them either restored, or were paid interest for them at the rate of  $6\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. on the purchase money. When the Catalonians revolted from Spain, and at one time put themselves under the protection of France, and again when they put themselves under the protection of England; in both cases, at the peace of the Pyrenees, and at the peace of Utrecht, not only their lives and properties, but even their privileges, were preserved. No war was ever more marked by personal animosities and party hatred than that carried on in Ireland, after the abdication of James II.; yet in the articles of Limerick, there was no difficulty of admitting the most favourable terms for the catholics engaged against king William. In short, it was said, that in ancient or modern history no instance could be found of so shameful a desertion of men, who had sacrificed all to their duty, and to their reliance upon our faith. No circumstances of distress, no degree of necessity, could be conceived sufficient to oblige a state to subscribe to an article, which, unless marked by the just indignation of parliament, would blast for ever the honour of this country.

After



After so many demonstrative proofs of the weak, rash, and ignorant, of the ruinous and disgraceful conduct of the framers of the peace, it was asked whether a coincidence of opinion amongst members, however distinguished by different party connections, in their judgment upon it, deserved the name of an unnatural alliance? and whether it was not more to be wondered, how there could possibly exist two opinions in the House concerning it? Was it from the character of the noble lord, who had taken the lead in this business, that the nation was to be taught to consider it as a mere contest for power?—a character, which if it had any blemish to foil its eminent virtues, it was that of receding from those places where his abilities and integrity might essentially promote the interests of his country. Was it not necessary, in order to preserve the reputation and character of the nation from eternal disgrace, that parliament should express their utter disapprobation of a treaty, which rather deserved the name of an ignominious capitulation of the glory and essential interests of a powerful country?—Was it not their duty to lay before the throne their humble sense of the misconduct of ministers, who had so shamefully abused his Majesty's confidence? Was it not also their duty to shew those very ministers that they had forfeited the confidence of parliament by a criminal abuse of the trust reposed in them?

It was not denied that this coincidence of opinion might possibly lead to some future permanent connection. If, as it was reasonable to expect, the dismissal of his

Majesty's present ministers should be the consequence of the censure of that House, it was asked where another administration could be formed, sufficiently possessed of the confidence of the people, and of parliament, to undertake the direction of the affairs of the empire at so arduous a conjuncture with vigour and effect, without a coalition of parties? Had not the nation already suffered enough of evil from the weakness and impotence of government? and was it not a flagitious attempt, to endeavour to rouse the prejudices, and inflame the minds of the people against a measure, so necessary to heal its divisions, and to ensure the advantages of firm and permanent counsels?

Those who were at all conversant in the history of this island, must know, that such coalitions had frequently become necessary; and that, from the very nature of our constitution, which giving rise to various political parties, they sometimes became so equally balanced, as to preclude the possibility of a permanent administration, except by their union. Such had been the case in the year 1757, when the country was as much distracted by violent parties as it had ever been before or since. What was done then? Men of all parties saw the necessity of uniting. The several factions forgot their animosities, and out of different sets of men an administration was formed that carried this nation to an unrivalled pitch of glory.

Such coalitions did not imply any inconsistency of conduct or desertion of principle. Persons differing in opinion on speculative political subjects, might yet be honestly

and firmly united in the executive conduct of government? Private friendship and conformity of sentiment was undoubtedly the best basis of political connection. But where the nature of the case required a deviation from this rule, public characters, so far from being culpable, deserved the highest praise for sacrificing private resentments and personal animosities at the altar of public safety.

That the very persons who had so invidiously brought forward these objections, did not give them any credit, was clear, because they themselves had formed a junction in every respect equally liable to the same exceptions. The only difference was, that the coalition now censured consisted of the first and principal characters in both parties, and therefore was the most likely to answer the purpose of commanding the confidence of the nation, and putting an end to our divisions, by forming a firm and effective administration; whereas the other, being made out of the shreds and fragments of all parties, had proved destitute of every requisite that could entitle it to support.

Such were the arguments urged on both sides the House in support of their respective motions. The debate lasted till near eight o'clock in the morning, when on a division there appeared for the amendments 224, against them 208; so that the ministers lost the question in the House of Commons by a majority of sixteen.

In the House of Lords, the following address was moved by the Earl of Carlisle, in lieu of that which had been originally proposed

by the Earl of Pembroke.—“ To  
“ return our thanks to his Majesty  
“ for the communication of the  
“ preliminary articles of peace, and  
“ for having put a stop to the calamities of war by a peace, which  
“ being concluded, we must consider as binding, and not to be infringed without a violation of the  
“ national faith.

“ To assure his Majesty, that we  
“ feel in the strongest manner the  
“ obligation of affording every relief that can alleviate the distresses of those deserving subjects  
“ who have exposed their lives  
“ and fortunes for the support of  
“ Great Britain; and at the same  
“ time, that we cannot help lamenting the necessity which bids  
“ us subscribe to articles, which,  
“ considering the relative situation  
“ of the belligerent powers, we  
“ must regard as inadequate to our  
“ just expectations, and derogatory  
“ to the honour and dignity of  
“ Great Britain.”

The original address was supported by the Marquis of Carmarthen, Lord Hawke, the Dukes of Chandos and Grafton, Lord Grantham, Lord Howe, the Earl of Shelburne, and the lord chancellor. The speakers on the other side were the lords Walsingham, Dudley, Townshend, Keppel, King, Stormont, Sackville, and Loughborough, the last of whom distinguished himself by a most brilliant display of eloquence. The arguments were nearly the same with those made use of in the lower House, and, on the division, the amendment was negatived by 72 against 59.

On the 21st, the day fixed for taking into  
Feb. 21st.  
further

further consideration the articles of peace, Lord John Cavendish moved the four following resolutions :

1st. " To assure his Majesty that his faithful Commons, in consideration of the public faith solemnly pledged, would inviolably sustain and preserve the peace agreed upon by the provisional articles and preliminary treaties."

2dly. " That the House, deeply affected by his Majesty's paternal care, at all times displayed to his people, would use their utmost endeavours to improve the blessings of peace."

3dly. " That his Majesty's acknowledgment of the independence of America was in perfect compliance with the necessity of the times, and in conformity with the sense of parliament."

4thly. " That the concessions granted to the adversaries of Great Britain were greater than they were entitled to, either from the actual state of their respective possessions, or from their comparative strength."

The two first resolutions were agreed to without any opposition.— On the third a short debate took place, occasioned by doubts having arisen in the minds of several members, respecting the nature of the power vested in the King, by which he had acknowledged the independence of the United States. It was demanded, whether it was done by virtue of his royal prerogative, or by powers granted by statute ; and, if the latter, by what statute ?

In answer to these questions, the gentlemen of the long robe were unanimously of opinion, that the statute passed last year, to enable the King to make a peace or truce

with the colonies in North America, *any law, statute, matter, or thing to the contrary notwithstanding*, gave him full power to recognize their independence ; tho' such words had not been inserted in the act, for reasons sufficiently obvious. Other members, who agreed with them in opinion as far as it respected the acknowledgment of independence, did not think the statute in question granted him any authority to cede to them any part of the province of Canada and Nova Scotia.

With respect to the powers of the prerogative, Mr. Wallace and Mr. Lee maintained that the King could not abdicate a part of his sovereignty, or declare any number of his subjects free from obedience to the laws in being. The contrary was asserted by the attorney general ; and each party pledged himself, if the matter should come regularly into discussion, to make good his opinion. A challenge to the same effect had passed in the House of Peers between Lord Loughborough and the Lord Chancellor.

At length it was proposed to alter the resolution into the following form : " That his Majesty, in acknowledging the independence of the United States of America, *by virtue of the powers vested in him by an act of the last session of parliament, entitled, An act to enable his Majesty to conclude a peace or truce, &c. has acted, &c.*" when it passed without a division.

The fourth resolution occasioned a long and vehement debate, in which the same ground was gone over as on the 17th, and on a division it was carried by a majority of 207 to 190.

*Lord Shelburne's resignation, and chancellor of exchequer's declaration on what account he continued to hold his office—Ministerial interregnum—mischiefs resulting therefrom—conjectures on the causes.—Address to his Majesty for the same restrictions to be observed, previous to the 5th of April, respecting granting pensions, as are directed by an act of last session, subsequent to that time.—Debate thereon.—Account of pensions granted.—Animadversions on them.—Mr. Coke's notice of his intention to move an address on the unsettled state of the ministry—its effects—unsuccessful.—Makes his motion—received with approbation.—Ministers attempt to exculpate themselves—answered.—Coalition abused; and an addition, to its disadvantage, proposed to the address.—This attack repelled, with great dexterity, by Mr. Fox.—Allusions having been made, in the debate, to secret advisers of the crown, a gentleman alluded to avows and justifies his conduct.—Reply.—Address presented.—Answer.—Mr. Pitt resigns—questioned respecting any new arrangement being made—his answer—not satisfactory.—Earl of Surrey's motion on the occasion—objections to it—withdrawn.—He proposes another, which is better approved; it is, however, postponed.—Report to the disadvantage of the coalition party—disclaimed by Lord North.—Fresh invectives against the coalition.—Heads of justification insisted on by that party.—Negotiation again opened to form an administration—succeeds.—List of the new ministry.—Its first objects.—Difficulties obstructing a commercial intercourse with the States of America.—Steps taken to remove them.—Loan of twelve millions brought forward—objected to—justified.—Mr. Pitt's motion for a reform of the parliamentary representation—debate thereon—division—lost by a majority of 144.—Earl Shelburne condemns the loan.—Resolutions proposed for the conduct of future loans.—The loan justified, and former ministry blamed.—Proposed resolutions discussed and rejected.—Duke of Richmond's motion respecting danger to be apprehended from putting the great seal in commission to the judges—heads of his speech, which embraces further objects.—Motion objected to—withdrawn.—Another proposed—debated—negatived.—Animadversions on the original motion.—Message recommending a separate establishment for the Prince of Wales—50,000*l.* settled on him—and 60,000*l.* voted as a temporary aid.—Heads of the bill for regulating certain offices in the exchequer.—Clause offered to exempt Lord Thurlow from its operation—debated—agreed to—rejected on the report by a majority of 8.—Close of the session.—Speech.—East India affairs left unsettled.*

**I**N consequence of the censure passed on, the peace by the resolutions of the House of Commons on the 21st of February, the Earl of Shelburne quitted his office of first commissioner of the treasury, and the chancellor of the exchequer declared publicly in the House, that he only held his place till a successor should be appointed to fill it. A ministerial interregnum ensued, which lasted till the beginning of April; during which time the kingdom remained in a state of great disorder; without any responsible government at home, the

the finances neglected, the military establishments unreduced, and the negotiations with foreign powers, which the critical conjuncture of affairs rendered peculiarly important, entirely at a stand.

Various causes were assigned for the extraordinary delay in the appointment of a new administration. Those who wished to shift all blame from the court, alledged, that the chief obstacle arose from the mutual jealousy which still subsisted between the newly-allied parties, and the difficulties they found in adjusting their several pretensions. Others have supposed, that the interval was employed in private intrigues with the individuals of different parties, and in an attempt to form an administration independent of the great leading connections.—Others again did not hesitate to assert, that on the failure of this attempt, the influence possessed by the lord high chancellor, whose dismissal was a point insisted on by the coalition, was the principal cause that retarded the new arrangement. Whether any, or which of these causes, really operated, we cannot venture to pronounce. We give them as topics of public conversation at the time, and as matters frequently alluded to in the debates in parliament.

On the 6th of March, an address was ordered to be presented to his Majesty, to beseech his Majesty, "that the same restrictions might be observed in respect to any pension he might be advised to grant antecedent to the fifth day of April following, as, by an act of the last session, are thenceforth strictly and absolutely prescribed."

In the conversation that took place on this motion, it was fire-

nuously urged on one side, that though, for reasons which were deemed sufficient at the time, the operation of the act had been postponed till the 5th April 1783; yet it was generally understood, that the spirit of the act was binding on the King's ministers from the day on which it was brought into the house; and that the noble marquis, under whose administration it passed, had declared this to have been his opinion. The chancellor of the exchequer was therefore called on to inform the House whether there was any foundation for the rumour which prevailed, and on which the motion had been grounded, that a great variety of pensions had been lately granted to a very considerable amount.

In answer to this question, the minister first observed, that he could not subscribe to the doctrine he had just heard; that the spirit of the act was binding on him before the time fixed by the express letter of the law. The object of the act was to take away a power, which the crown had otherwise an undoubted legal right to exercise; but by limiting its restrictive operation to a future fixed period, the spirit of the law rather tended to sanction the intermediate exercise of that power. He then entered into a detail and vindication of the different pensions that had been lately, or were then in the course of being granted.

The first, he said, was a pension of 3000*l.* to the lord chancellor, to whom a grant in reversion had also been given of a tellership of the exchequer, in consequence of a former promise given him by the King. The propriety of making a permanent provision for this great law officer had been at all times so univer-

universally acknowledged, that he did not think it necessary to trouble the House with a particular justification of this pension.

The second was a pension of 2000l. a year to Lord Grantham. This, he said, had been granted at the particular instance of his Majesty, and was to cease whenever he was in possession of any place of greater or equal emolument. That noble lord, at the end of an eight years embassy, had refused to receive the emoluments usually continued to those offices; and when called to take on him the post of a secretary of state, his Majesty had been pleased to promise him a pension of 2000l. whenever he should quit that situation.

The third was another pension of 2000l. to Sir Joseph Yorke, granted him as a reward for thirty years services in foreign embassy. Both these pensions, he said, were strictly within the spirit as well as letter of the act.

The fourth was a pension of 700l. and the fifth, another of 500l. a year, granted to two clerks of the treasury, whom, for the sake of some official arrangements, they had found it necessary to superannuate.

The sixth was a pension of 200l. a year, granted to a gentleman on his leaving the tax-office, to undertake the office of one of the secretaries to the treasury; as a compensation, in case, by a change of ministry, he should be thrown out of employment.

The last was a pension of 350l. a year promised by the last administration to the secretary of Sir Guy Carleton.

Though no attempt was made to disturb the progress of these pensions, yet the manner in which some of them were vindicated, ap-

peared to give great offence to the House. The frequent use of his Majesty's name was severely reprobated, as tending to taking away the responsibility of ministers, and rendering it a very difficult and delicate task for members of that house to do their duty to the public.

With respect to the provision made for the lord chancellor, no one, it was said, could reasonably object to it; but it was wished that it had not been made to rest on any promise made by his Majesty. The putting it on that ground barred all comment and discussion, since whatever promises the royal Personage chose to make, ought to be held sacred, and fulfilled at all hazards. But it was protested against as an unfair argument for ministers to use in that House, when a public act of government was under discussion.

The pension granted to Lord Grantham was also allowed to be unobjectionable in itself; but the time and manner of granting it were said to be such as might justly cause a very serious alarm. For what had the minister told the House, but that the King had induced the noble lord to accept the office of secretary of state by a promise of a pension of 2000l. a year? If such a practice obtained, it might lead to the most dangerous exercise of the influence of the crown. If the crown was enabled to bribe persons by pensions to take on them responsible offices, which they had no inclination to accept, it might always obtain an administration without the smallest regard to the sense of parliament, or the confidence of the people.

On the 19th of March, Mr. Coke, member for the county of Norfolk, gave notice to the House, that



that if an administration should not be formed on or before the Friday following, he would on that day move an address to his Majesty on the subject. This notice was supposed to have produced the desired effect; and it being generally understood the day following, that the King had commanded the Duke of Portland and Lord North to lay an arrangement for a new administration before him, Mr. Coke, on the day fixed, declined making his intended motion.

On Monday the 24th, the same gentleman brought the subject again before the House; and after premising that the negotiation, which had lately been carrying on, was understood to have been broken off abruptly, without coming to any effective conclusion, he moved, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to take into his serious consideration the very distracted and unsettled state of the empire after a long and exhausting war. And that his Majesty would therefore condescend to a compliance with the wishes of the House, by forming an administration entitled to the confidence of his people, and such as may have a tendency to put an end to the unfortunate divisions and distractions of the country."

The disgraceful state in which the government of the country had so long been suffered to remain, and the mischievous consequences that were daily arising from it, seemed to have excited a general indignation in the House; so that the motion was received with an almost universal approbation. An

attempt, indeed, was made to shift the blame on those who were the candidates for power, by insinuating that the delay had been occasioned by private differences amongst themselves in the distribution of offices and emoluments. But this charge was immediately met; and the principal persons of the party alluded to declared upon their honour, in their places, that though some difficulties had occurred (as might naturally be expected in settling an entirely new arrangement) yet that they were soon amicably settled, and that no obstacle remained with them, when the negotiation was put an end to, which could have delayed the formation of a ministry a single day.

Much abuse was also thrown out against the coalition, and a member, whose speeches seldom fail of exciting the laughter of the House, mentioned a design he had of proposing the following addition to the address, "And that his Majesty would be graciously pleased not to nominate or appoint any person or persons to fill up the vacant departments,\* *who by their mismanagement of public affairs and want of foresight and abilities, when they were in office, had lost the confidence of the people.*"

This attack was returned with great dexterity by Mr. Fox, who said, that if the honourable baronet had carried his intended amendment, he should also have proposed to have added the following to it, "and also that he would be graciously pleased not to employ, as ministers, any of those whom that House had declared † *to have made a peace, in which the concessions to the enemies of Great Britain*

\* Words taken from a motion made by Mr. Fox, in March 1782.

† Words taken from the resolution of censure on the peace, February 1783.

"were

*"were greater than they were entitled to."* If the House had adopted both the amendments (and the latter stood at least as fair for their approbation as the former) his Majesty would indeed have found no small difficulty how to act. But he said it would have been a matter of great pride to him, to find that the only set of men to whom no objections could be made was that small party with whom he had the honour to be, in a more particular manner connected. This very circumstance, however, was a sufficient and convincing proof how necessary it was, for the safety of the country, that parties should forget their ancient animosities, and join in cordial endeavours to rescue it out of a state which led directly to anarchy and confusion.

Amongst the remarkable circumstances of this day's debate, it must not be omitted, that some pointed allusions having been made to the secret advisers of the crown, a gentleman on whom public suspicion had long rested, thought proper to come forward and avow himself in that character. That he had been with his Majesty within the course of the past five weeks more than once was, he said, undoubtedly true, but he could assure the House, that he had never gone, but when the King had sent for him. As a privy counsellor, he was bound to give advice to his sovereign when called upon; but he had never obtruded his advice, and had merely given an answer to such questions as his Majesty had put to him. On the other side it was strongly contended, that though any privy counsellor was bound, when called on, to give his advice to the King,

yet that it was contrary to the spirit of the constitution, subversive of good government, and a just ground of jealousy and suspicion, when such advice was given in secret, and not in open council, and in concert with the responsible ministers of the crown.

The address was ordered to be presented by such members as were of his Majesty's privy council. and on Wednesday the comptroller of the household reported his Majesty's answer, "That it was his earnest desire to do every thing in his power to comply with the wishes of his faithful commons."

On the Monday March 31st. following, Mr. Pitt acquainted the House, that he had that day resigned his office of chancellor of his Majesty's exchequer; and being asked, whether he understood that any new arrangement was likely soon to take place? he said, he knew of none; but that he concluded, from his Majesty's most gracious message, that such a measure would not unnecessarily be delayed.

This answer did not appear to give any satisfaction to the House; and especially as it now appeared that the care of the public money was left without any responsible minister whatever. Much difference of opinion prevailed as to the steps it might be proper for the House to take in so alarming a conjuncture. The Earl of Surrey proposed, as the groundwork of their future proceedings, that they should come to the following resolution:—  
 "That a considerable time having now elapsed without an administration responsible for the conduct of public affairs, the interposition of this House on the present  
 "sent

"sent alarming crisis is become necessary."

Several objections were made to this proposition. It was said to be worded in a manner much stronger than the occasion justified; and that, to declare their *interposition necessary* in a case, acknowledged on all hands to belong constitutionally to the crown, was little short of declaring that the government of the country was at an end. It was further objected, that such a proceeding was not consonant to the practice and forms of the House; and lastly, it was objected to, as implying, that for some time past there had been no responsible ministers, whereas every minister was responsible for every part of his conduct till the day he resigned.

This motion being withdrawn, the noble earl proposed the following: "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty to express the dutiful and grateful sense this House entertains of the gracious intentions expressed in his message of the 26th instant.

"To assure his Majesty it is with a perfect reliance on his paternal goodness, and with an entire deference to his royal wisdom, that this house again submits to his consideration the urgency, as well as the importance, of the affairs, which require the immediate appointment of such an administration as his Majesty, in compliance with the wishes of his faithful Commons, has given them reason to expect: To assure his Majesty that all delays in a matter of this moment have an inevitable tendency to weaken the authority of his govern-

ment, to which this House is not more bound by duty than led by inclination to give an effectual and constitutional support.

"To represent to his Majesty, that the confidence of foreign powers may be weakened by a failure of the ordinary means of a constant communication with them.—That the final execution of treaties, with the important and decisive arrangements of a commercial and political nature in consequence of a late revolution;—that a provision for the heavy expences and the important services voted;—that the orderly reduction of the forces, and the expences of a new establishment;—that the settlement of national credit, seriously affected by the critical state of the East India Company;—that *these*, with other important concerns, do severally, and much more collectively, require an efficient and responsible administration, formed upon principles of strength and stability, suited to the state of his Majesty's affairs both at home and abroad.

"And that this House most humbly repeats its application to his Majesty, that he will take such measures towards this object, as may become his most gracious disposition, and quiet the anxiety and apprehensions of his faithful subjects."

The decency and propriety of this address were very generally acknowledged, but some doubts were expressed whether sufficient time had been allowed since the answer that had been returned to the

the former; and this idea prevailing, it was at length agreed to postpone it for three days longer.

In the course of the debate, the negotiation that had broken off eight days before was again adverted to. After the satisfactory answer given in a former debate, that no obstacle or impediment had arisen from any disagreement amongst the persons with whom that negotiation was carried on, a report had been industriously circulated, that it had been broken off on account of the harsh and unreasonable demands of that party—and that these demands went to the absolute disposition of all the private and domestic servants of the crown. On the ground of this report, a respectable country gentleman having called on Lord North to avow its truth or falshood, his lordship solemnly protested, that no such cause either did or could have existed—That the noble duke and himself had never, even in conversation, descended to the mention of any arrangements so minute as to reach the offices alluded to. That he believed there was no set of men in the country, who could be so indecent and so reprehensible as to presume to dictate so harsh a measure. He did not scruple, he said, to declare that so disgraceful an attempt would justly have called for the abhorrence and detestation of that House; but that he was convinced his noble and honourable friends would be as much hurt, as he confessed he was at that moment, to have insinuated that such a proof of unworthiness to fill any office whatever themselves had been given by them.

Much invective was also thrown out during these debates against

the coalition: and the absurdity of expecting that a stable and permanent administration could be formed by persons so opposite in their principles and opinions, was insisted on with unceasing virulence. On the other hand, the present state of the country was adduced as a complete justification of that measure; and it was asked, where, or from what description of men, without the coalition of some parties or other, an efficient cabinet could be formed. It was asked, whether there were four persons of any distinguished note on the political stage, who had not widely differed on great and important points. If the violence, with which their former opposition to each other had, perhaps sometimes, been even indecently carried on, was the principal objection brought against their present union, surely they deserved the more merit for consenting to forget those animosities, which long and violent contests must naturally have excited.—To argue, that it was impossible for men who differed in opinion upon certain points, to act together cordially for the public good, was to argue against experience. For it was asked whether the parties in the present coalition disagreed in their political opinions more than the present lord chancellor differed from his colleague in the cabinet, the Duke of Richmond—than the secretary of state for the home and the secretary for the foreign department—than the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and his able and learned friend the Lord Advocate for Scotland?—If such an union was condemned as dishonourable, the disgrace would equally cover both parties; for that, to say the least,

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least, a coalition, which included the most distinguished persons of each party; could not be more disgraceful than a coalition made of the shreds and remnants of both.

The day after this debate, a negotiation was again opened with the Duke of Portland, and on the 2d of April a new administration was announced, of which the following persons formed the cabinet council: The Duke of Portland, first commissioner of the treasury; Lord North, secretary of state for the home department; Mr. Fox, secretary for the foreign; Lord J. Cavendish, chancellor of the exchequer; Lord Viscount Keppel, first commissioner of the admiralty; Lord Viscount Stormont, president of the council; the earl of Carlisle, privy seal; the great seal was put into commission; the Earl of Hertford was appointed chamberlain, and the Earl of Dartmouth steward, of the household; Lord Viscount Townshend was made master-general of the ordnance; Mr. Burke, pay-master-general; Mr. Charles Townshend, treasurer of the navy; Mr. Fitzpatrick, secretary at war; Mr. Wallace and Mr. Lee had the offices of attorney and solicitor general; and the Earl of Northington was appointed to the lord lieutenancy of Ireland. The rest of the new arrangements will be found in the list of promotions.

The first object of importance that engaged the attention of parliament after the change of administration was the opening a commercial intercourse with the States of North America. By the prohibitory acts which had passed during the rebellion, all communication with that country, in the way of trade, had been entirely cut off; and though it was the prevailing

opinion in parliament, that those acts were virtually repealed by the acknowledgment of the independence of the United States, yet in their new character they became subject to other restrictions, which it was necessary to relax and modify; a bill for this purpose had been brought into the House of Commons by the late ministry; but during the great variety of discussions which it underwent, difficulties of so complicated and important a nature had arisen that it never got through the committee.

In the mean time, no regulations whatever having been stipulated by the treaty of peace, the commercial interests of the country were suffering very materially; for not only a number of vessels, richly freighted for America, were detained in harbour, but there was great danger of having the market pre-occupied by our rivals. In this emergency the new ministers thought it most advisable to drop the old bill for the present, and to pass two short bills, one to repeal all the prohibitory acts; the other to remove the necessity of requiring manifests or other documents, and to lodge in the King and council, for a limited time, a power to make such other regulations as might be expedient.

On the 16th, the April 16th. chancellor of the exchequer brought forward the loan for the services of the current year. The sum borrowed amounted to twelve millions. Eleven bankers, with whom the terms of the loan were allotted, had 700,000l. each; the remainder was divided amongst the rest of the bankers, the great trading companies, and the clerks of the public offices. The premium, according to the value



value of the stocks on the day on which the bargain was concluded, was 31. 10s. per cent. but rising considerably within a few days after, much blame was imputed to the minister for having made so disadvantageous a bargain for the public. In vindication of himself, he allowed that the premium was certainly much greater than ought to have been given in time of peace, but he begged the House to recollect the circumstances under which he had been obliged to negotiate the loan. He had only been ten days in office: the late ministers had left the treasury without a shilling; and the public service admitted of no delay. These circumstances were well known to the money lenders, and they had doubtless taken advantage of it. And as the necessity of coming to a conclusion on any terms would by every day's delay have been the more urgent, they would certainly have been raised upon him, the nearer that period approached.

On the seventh of May, the day after the call of the House, Mr. William Pitt made his promised motion respecting the reform of parliamentary representation. As the mode of proceeding by a committee, proposed last year, had formed one of the principal objections against the reform itself, he thought it more adviseable to bring forward some specific propositions: these were,

1. "That it was the opinion of the House, that measures were highly necessary to be taken for the future prevention of bribery and expence at elections."

2. "That for the future when the majority of votes for any borough shall be convicted of gross

and notorious corruption before a select committee of that House, appointed to try the merits of any election, such borough should be disfranchised, and the minority of voters, not so convicted, should be entitled to vote for the county in which such borough should be situated."

3. "That an addition of knights of the shire, and of representatives of the metropolis, should be added to the state of the representation." He left the number for future discussion, but said he should propose one hundred.

The debate continued till near two o'clock, without any novelty of reasoning or diversification of argument. The number of petitioners this year had decreased. Only fourteen counties appeared, and most of the petitions had a very inconsiderable number of names subscribed. The whole amount was said not to reach 20,000. Amongst the converts to the question, appeared Mr. Thomas Pitt and the lord advocate of Scotland. The former of these gentlemen made the House an offer of the voluntary surrender of his borough of Old Sarum. The House divided on the order of the day, ayes 293—noes 149.

Previous to the third reading of the loan bill in the House of Lords, the Earl of Shelburne, after condemning in the strongest manner the terms on which it had been concluded, brought forward two resolutions, which he wished the House to adopt as principles for the conduct of every future loan. He asserted that they possessed an undoubted right of intermeddling in, controuling, and directing the management of the public purse; and if,



if, through inattention or timidity, their privileges had been shaken or encroached on, he called on them, as they tendered the existence of the constitution, to re-establish them on the firmest foundation. The resolutions were as follow :

1. " That it is the opinion of this House, that all future loans should be conducted in a manner which may best conduce to the reduction of the national debt; or which may at least not obstruct such a reduction, but rather manifest the intention of government to proceed in due time to such a measure."

" 2. That it is the opinion of this House, that whenever it shall be thought expedient, in negotiating a public loan, to deal with individuals, and not on the foot of an open subscription, the whole sum to be raised shall be borrowed of, or taken from such individuals, without reserve of any part for the disposal of any minister."

The loan was defended on the same ground as in the lower house; and the late ministers were charged with gross and criminal neglect of duty in not making the loan, as soon as the preliminary articles were signed, when the 3 per cent. stock was up at 70l.—The first resolution was objected to as unnecessary, and as obscure, if not absurd in the mode of expression; the second was opposed as designed to cast a reflection on the negotiators of the present loan.—They were both rejected without a division.

On the third of June, the Duke of Richmond called the attention of the lords to an object, which he conceived might materially affect the administration of public justice;

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namely, the custody of the great seal, and particularly the practice of committing it to the custody of judges, of which an instance was at that time before them.

The motion was as follows, " That putting the seals in commission *durante bene placito*, and appointing judges commissioners, with large salaries and perquisites, to be received by them during the existence of a commission originating in, and solely dependent on, the will and pleasure of the crown, tended to invalidate the act of the 13th Will. III. for securing the independency of the judges."

After declaring, that he meant nothing personal to the present commissioners, he entered at large into the nature of the independency of the judges. In order to secure this great object, two things, he said, were absolutely necessary, first, that the tenure of their offices should be independent of the will of the crown; and secondly, that their salaries should be ascertained. By the former their fears were effectually removed, and by the latter all temptation from hope could only be done away. The act of the 13th William III. he contended, was designed to secure both these objects; and consequently, that to give three judges, selected by favour, the great emoluments accruing to the holders of the great seal, in addition to their salaries as judges, was in direct opposition to the spirit of that act, placed them immediately within the influence of the crown, and consequently tended to diminish their independence.

But the mischief, he said, had not stopped here: another inconvenience of the same sort had arisen

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out

out of it: he meant the commission by which the chief justice of the King's Bench sat as Speaker of the House of Lords. He knew that this commission was not a new one, but of long date; but still it appeared to him to be a mode of reward dependent on the will and pleasure of the crown, and therefore in opposition to the design of having the salaries of judges fixed and ascertained.

As he was on this subject, he begged leave to mention another matter, which, though not immediately connected with the motion he should then propose, would at some other opportunity well deserve their consideration: he meant the impropriety of judges sitting at all in that House. He did not wish that the highest honours of the kingdom should not be open to that profession, but that whilst peers sat on the bench as judges, they should abstain from exercising their privileges of voting in that house. So long as they sat there they were necessarily legislators, and almost unavoidably became politicians; characters, which, in the opinion of the best writers on civil government, were utterly inconsistent with that of a judge.

Another reason why he thought the lord chancellor, lords commissioners, and lords chief justices, ought not to vote in that House, was, that by this means, they were obliged to sit on their judgments and decrees, and as it were to try themselves. He said, he had often heard it boasted, that Lord Hardwicke never had one of his decrees reversed, whilst he sat on the woolsack. This he had always considered as no compliment to that learned peer, and as a fact that

proved too much. Did their lordships think Lord Hardwicke so infallible, that during the great length of time he presided in the Court of Chancery he had never given an erroneous judgment? Or must they not rather concur in opinion with him, that the true reason why none of his decrees were reversed was, the great influence a lord chancellor of Lord Hardwicke's abilities must always possess in that house?

In support of this opinion he desired their lordships to remember, that when Mr. Henley sat there as lord keeper, he had the misfortune to have several of his decrees reversed; but when he became Lord Northampton, and was created a peer, having an opportunity of talking a little to their lordships about his decrees, no more reversals were heard of. In all cases of appeal, their lordships well knew, it was for the most part customary to leave the judgment to the law lords; the impropriety therefore of their trying over again the causes themselves had adjudged, needed, he thought, no farther argument.

The motion being objected to as throwing a direct censure on the late appointment of commissioners, it was withdrawn, and the following substituted instead, "That a committee be appointed to take into consideration the independence of the judges; and such farther regulations as may be proper for securing the same."

After some debate, in which Lord Loughborough replied to the Duke of Richmond, in a speech, said to have been one of the most eloquent ever delivered in parliament, the previous question was moved,

moved, and carried without a division.

The original motion was principally opposed on the ground of its having no basis or foundation; on no grievance being alledged, for which the pretended remedy was sought. An ideal grievance was indeed supposed, but no attempt had been made to prove it existed in fact and experience; on the contrary, the practice alluded to had long obtained whenever the crown, in its discretion, had thought proper, with the approbation of all times, uncensured and uncomplained of; in which it was not pretended that there had been any thing grievous to the subject, and from which experience, the infallible test of political truth, had not shewn any one inconvenience to have resulted. Vague and general observations on the effects of hope and fear could not be admitted when opposed to fact and experience. Such disquisitions belonged to the schools, legislators having rarely or never adopted them, but contented themselves with the application of law to any ill habit of the mind, as it became predominant and inconvenient to the just and rational ends of government. A theory professing to have for its object a practical corrective and improvement, should shew what is amiss, and point out the manner in which it is to be reformed.

The motion was therefore objected to, not only as inadmissible, because it was founded on nothing theoretical or practical, and because nothing had been offered to shew the necessity or expedience of their interposition; but also as hurtful and dangerous, because it tended to an indirect imputation

upon the characters of the guardians and interpreters of the law, and to diminish that high and distinguished public estimation, which they now enjoyed; and which it was on all sides agreed their conduct had so amply and honourably earned.

On the 23d, the June 23d. chancellor of the exchequer delivered a message from his Majesty, recommending to the House the consideration of a separate establishment for the Prince of Wales. The said message being afterwards taken into consideration, the House was informed, that his Majesty had graciously resolved to take on himself the annual charge of his son's establishment, without laying any additional burden on his subjects; that 50,000*l.* was to be settled on the prince, to be paid out of the civil list; and that all that was demanded was 60,000*l.* as a temporary aid to equip him at his outset in life. This sum was accordingly voted, and an address of thanks presented to his Majesty.

In the committee on the bill for regulating certain offices in the exchequer, the chancellor proposed, that after the interest of the present auditors and tellers of the exchequer, and of the clerk of the pells, in their respective places, should cease and determine, the salaries of those officers in future should be fixed and certain, and as follow: the place of auditor 4,000*l.* a year; each tellership 2,700*l.*; clerkship of the pells 3,000*l.*; the place of deputy to each of the four tellers 1,000*l.*; the deputy to the clerk of the pells 800*l.*; and the receiver under him 200*l.* These regulations, after some debate, were severally adopted; by which it was supposed, that on an average computation

putation of peace and war, the respective salaries would be reduced about one half.

A clause was afterwards brought up, "to exempt the case of Edward Lord Thurlow from the operation of the bill; his Majesty having, in the year 1778, promised to the said Lord Thurlow, on his accepting the office of lord high chancellor, a reversion of a tellership of the exchequer, in as large and beneficial a manner as tellerships were then enjoyed." This clause caused some debate. The provision made for that noble lord was contrasted with the case of Lord Camden, who had retired on a pension of only 1,500*l.* a year, with the same promise of a tellership. The extraordinary pension of 2,680*l.* granted to the former, ought therefore to be considered as a compensation for the curtailed state in which he was to receive the tellership. It was also remarked, that the late chancellor of the exchequer, when defending that pension in the House, had urged as his principal argument, the generous conduct of Lord Thurlow, in having, unlike his predecessors, made no stipulation whatever on his accepting the seals. To record, therefore, the whole ground of the proposed exemption, the clause, it was said, ought to have run thus, "whereas Edward Lord Thurlow has a pension of 2,680*l.* a year, because he nobly declined to make any stipulation on

his becoming chancellor; and whereas it is fit he should have the reversion of a tellership of the exchequer in as beneficial a manner as it had heretofore been enjoyed, because he bargained for the same before he would take the seals; therefore be it enacted, &c." At length the clause, as first moved, was agreed to without a division; but on the report, three days afterwards, it was rejected by a majority of 57 to 49.

On the 16th, the session was closed with the usual formalities, by a speech from the throne, in which, besides the common topics, both Houses were acquainted that the exigencies of the public service might require their being called together again at an early period.

Before we conclude this part of our work, it may be necessary to add, that the state of the affairs of the East India Company continued during the whole session to be the object of unremitted investigation in the two committees appointed for that purpose; but that the unsettled state of government prevented any effectual measures from being taken in consequence of their reports. The celebrated bill which was brought in by the new ministers at the beginning of the ensuing session will afford us an opportunity of giving a retrospective view of the whole of the parliamentary proceedings relative to those vast and important objects.

## C H R O N I C L E.

J A N U A R Y.

*Utrecht, Dec. 27, 1782.*

**T**HE states general of Holland published a placart, in which they offered a reward of 1000 golden ryders (about 12000 guineas) to any one, even an accomplice, who would discover the author or authors of a libel, intituled, *The true Cause of the Decline of that Republic*, in a letter found between Utrecht and Amersfort, in which the Princess of Orange in particular was very much vilified; the same placart forbade the reprinting of the said libel on pain of paying a fine of 6000 florins (about 540l.)

*January 8th, 1783.* A chapter of the Bath was held at St. James's, when General Grey was invested with the insignia of that order.

*10th.* The bank of Scotland offered 4000l. for twelve months, free of interest, to the magistrates of Aberdeen, to purchase corn for the relief of the poor; and 1000l. for the charity workhouse at Stirling.

*St. James's, 11th.* The king signified his pleasure to the lords commissioners of the Admiralty,  
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that the uniform clothing worn by the flag officers of his majesty's fleet, should be altered in the manner mentioned at the foot hereof; and that commodores having captains under them, the first captain to the admiral of the fleet, and first captains to admirals commanding in chief squadrons of 20 sail of the line or more, shall be distinguished by wearing the same frock uniform as rear-admirals.

Such flag officers, however, as were provided with the uniforms were permitted to wear the same till the end of the present year.

UNIFORMS of the Flag Officers of his Majesty's Fleet to be hereafter as follows :

## FULL DRESS.

Admiral's.—A blue cloth coat, with white cuffs, white waistcoat and breeches; the coat and waistcoat to be embroidered with gold, in pattern and description the same as that worn by the generals of his majesty's army; three rows of embroidery upon the cuff.

Vice-Admiral's—Ditto, with embroidery the same as that worn by lieutenant generals; two rows of embroidery on the cuff.

Rear-Admirals.—Ditto, with embroidery the same as that worn  
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by major-generals: one row of embroidery on the cuff.

Buttons the same pattern as are now in use.

#### UNDRESS.

Admiral's.—A blue cloth frock, with blue cuff and blue lappels; embroidered button-holes like those now in use, from the top to the bottom of the lappel, at equal distance, and three on the cuff.

Vice Admiral's.—Ditto, with button-holes three and three.

Rear-Admiral's.—Ditto, with button-holes two and two.

Plain white waistcoats and breeches.

Buttons the same pattern as before worn.

*Edinburgh, Jan. 13th.* The Directors of the Royal Bank made offer to the magistrates of 5000 l. sterling, free of interest for 12 months, for the purpose of purchasing corn for the relief of the poor.

*Hague, Jan. 15th.* The three regiments, known by the name of the Scotch brigade, were actually under the command of the national troops of Utrecht. The officers had six weeks given them to consider of a new oath, but the colonels commandant demanded longer time. About fifty officers retired from that service, viz. six or eight field officers, twelve captains, and thirty subalterns. These gallant veterans did not think it consistent with their honour as British subjects, to take the new oath lately ordered to be imposed, which was virtually to make them abjure their native country. Several of them arrived in Bristol, fully trusting to the resolution of the British cabinet council, who resolved, that they should be

taken under his majesty's protection.

The commanders of the three Scots regiments in the Dutch service, generals Houston, Stewart, and Dundas, were to enjoy their pay during life, without being obliged to subscribe the oath, or do any duty on account of their long and meritorious services.

The sessions began at the Old-Bailey. 15th.

Daniel M'Ginnis was tried for the wilful murder 17th. of John Hardy, hatter, in Newgate-street, where Mr. M'Ginnis lodged, by stabbing him in the left breast, with a short tuck, or bayonet, which entered his heart. This unhappy accident was occasioned by some water thrown out of Mr. M'Ginnis's window, on Mr. Hardy's sky-light, who going up stairs to remonstrate with Mr. M'Ginnis, words arose, which proceeded to this fatal extremity. Mr. M'Ginnis had a most excellent character given him as a quiet, harmless, inoffensive, and humane person, by gentlemen of great rank.

The session ended on the Middlesex side, when 10 18th. convicts received judgement of death; eight sentenced to be transported to America; 20 to be kept to hard labour in the house of correction; two to be imprisoned in Newgate; and 21 discharged by proclamation.

This being her majesty's birthday, the same was observed as usual.

The parliament met according to adjournment. 21st.

*Deal, Jan. 23d.* Twenty thousand pounds in specie was brought on shore, taken out of the Oastle Emes,



Emes, Capt. Laud, a Dutch ship, from the Texel, bound to Batavia, under Russian colours, which run on the Goodwin Sands.

The following letter was received on Thursday night, by the Right Hon. Nathaniel Newnham, Esq. Lord Mayor, from Lord Grantham, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.

*St. James's, Jan. 23, 1783.*  
Half past seven o'clock.

"MY LORD,

"I have the satisfaction to acquaint your lordship, that a messenger is just arrived from Paris, with the preliminary articles between Great-Britain and France, and between Great-Britain, and Spain, which were signed at Versailles on the 20th inst. by Mr. Fitzherbert, his majesty's minister plenipotentiary, and the ministers plenipotentiaries of the aforesaid courts.

"The preliminaries with Holland are not yet signed; but a cessation of hostilities with that republic is agreed upon.

"I send your lordship immediate notice of this important event, in order that it may be made public in the city, without loss of time.

"I have the honour to be,

"My lord,

"Your lordship's most obedient,

"and humble servant,

"GRANTHAM."

29th. A cause was decided in the court of King's Bench, of the utmost consequence to traders, as it decided a matter much questioned. An eminent tradesman brought an action against Lady Lanf——, for goods had

and delivered. She pleaded her being a femme coverte; the case was, that her husband, Lord Lanf——, had parted from her, allowed her a separate maintenance, and was now settled on his estate in Ireland. The question therefore was, whether, under these circumstances, the plea of coverture was to protect the lady from arrest and judgement? Lord Mansfield mentioned the cases where the plea of coverture was and was not valid. It was not valid where the husband was exiled by the laws of his country, because the creditors could not pursue him for the debt of his wife. It was not valid where, by a discovery of infidelity to his bed, they had been separated by the laws of their country. But the present was a new case. They were parted by consent. The husband was in Ireland, and the lady resided in England on a separate maintenance. It was impossible for the creditor in England, by the laws of that land, to recover his debt from the husband in Ireland, and therefore, in equity, the wife was considered as a femme sole. The cause was decided against Lady Lanf——, with costs of suit.

DIED, lately at Litchfield, the Rev. Mr. Bond, and his wife, who had lived together upwards of forty years: they were both interred in one grave, at the cathedral church.

In the Netherlands, one Martens, aged 100 years and 11 months.—His father lived to the age of 104, and his mother to the age of 108 years.

At Wamphray, Agnes Carmichael, in the 113th year of her age:

F E B R U A R Y.

*Hague, Feb. 1st.* The following singular anecdote is reported of the Russian ambassador :—That minister, in conference with the Greffier Fagel, expressed his surprise to him, that as the republic was not only in friendship, but even in alliance with his court, he should not have been made acquainted with the instructions which the states general had given to their ambassadours at Paris: to which Mr. Fagel made answer, that he had no instructions in that respect, but that if he pleased, he would speak to their High Migh-  
tinesses on the subject; but the Russian minister desired he would not, till he should explain himself further on that head. The next morning he sent a note to the Greffier, telling him, it was not necessary to give him any further trouble upon the affair in question, as he had seen the instructions he meant in the public papers.

*Whitehall, Feb. 5th.* The king ordered letters patent to be passed under the great seal of the kingdom of Ireland, for creating a society or brotherhood, to be called knights of the illustrious order of St. Patrick, of which his majesty, his heirs and successors, shall perpetually be sovereigns, and his majesty's lieutenant-general and general governor of Ireland, &c. for the time being, shall officiate as grand-masters: and also for appointing the following knights companions of the said illustrious order.

His Royal Highness Prince Edward.

His Grace William Robert Duke of Leinster.

Henry Smyth Earl of Clanrickarde,

Randall William Earl of Antrim,

Thomas Earl of Westmeath,  
Morrough Earl of Inchiquin,

Charles Earl of Drogheda,

George de la Poer Earl of Tyr-  
ron,

Richard Earl of Shannon,

James Earl of Clanbrassen,

Richard Earl of Mornington,

James Earl of Courtown,

James Earl of Charlemont,

Thomas Earl of Beftive,

Henry Earl of Ely.

Chancellor, Archbishop of Dublin.

Register, Dean of St. Patrick's.

Secretary, Lord Delvin.

Ulster, Wm. Hawkins, Esq.

Usher, Jn. Freemantle, Esq.

The Hon. Charles James Fox presented to the House 10th.  
of Commons, a petition signed by several hundred inhabitants of Westminster, stating that they were aggrieved by the circulation of counterfeit halfpence. That they had endeavoured as far as lay in their power to put a stop to the same, but found their inability in so doing—and therefore prayed the house to give them such relief as they in their wisdom should deem meet.

The lord chancellor, in 12th.  
the name of the House of Peers, addressed Lord Viscount Howe, and thanked him for the important services he had done his king and country in the relieving Gibraltar.

Mr. Bishop, common 17th.  
cryer of this city, attended by proper officers, read at the Royal Exchange gate, and Cheap-  
side conduit, the king's proclamation, declaring a cessation of arms by sea and land.

19th. An order of council was issued, laying an embargo on all ships which were taking in cargoes for America.

The men convicts lying under sentence of transportation in Newgate, were removed to the vessel lying at Woolwich for their reception.

22d. The bank of England gained a cause in refusing to pay a bill stolen from them, and lost at a gaming table.

24th. The two members of parliament, Mr. Cook and Mr. Wilmot, who were appointed to revise the list of pensions granted to the American refugees, made their report to the lords of the Treasury, by which it appeared, that a saving of upwards of 20,000l. per ann. will accrue to the nation, by the reduction of such of the above pensions as they deemed unnecessary and unmerited. Those gentlemen who held employments under government in arrears, were to be paid their salaries up to the 10th of October last, and then to be considered no longer as servants of the crown.

25th. A petition from the county of York, and also a petition from the city of York, relative to a more equal representation, were presented to the House of Commons. Before it was sent from York to be presented to parliament, it had 10,124 names subscribed to it, exclusive of those signed to a duplicate in London.

Letters from Bohemia advise, that on Thursday the 26th of February a dreadful fire broke out in the town of Budin.

26th. The lord mayor, attended by several aldermen, she-

riffs, and city officers, and a great number of the common-council, went from Guildhall to St. James's, and presented their address to his majesty on the peace.

The county of Middlesex presented an address on the peace to his majesty. 28th.

DIED, Margaret Melvill, wife of Robert Forbes, brewer, at Kettle, in Fifeshire, on the 24th, aged 117. She was married at 35, and had one son and five daughters; the eldest is now aged 77 years. She had 17 grand children; and 37 great grand children; she renewed her teeth about the 100th year of her age, never had a head-ach or pain in her life, and walked, saw, and heard till the day before her death.

## M A R C H.

Being St. David's day, the 1st. honourable society of ancient Britons met at the Welsh charity-school in Gray's Inn Road, and proceeded from thence to St. George's church, Hanover-square, where an excellent sermon, suitable to the occasion, was preached by the right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Bristol. The whole collection at church, and at the different tables, added to the donation of his royal highness the Prince of Wales, and of the noblemen and gentlemen, contributors to the said charity, amounted in the whole to 469l. which is 7l. more than last year.

The sessions ended at the Old-Bailey, when six convicts received judgment of death, eighteen were sentenced to be transported to America, eighteen to be kept to hard labour in the house of correction

rection, seven of whom were ordered to be whipped, seven to be imprisoned in Newgate, four to be privately whipped, and 24 discharged by proclamation.

*Dublin, March 1st.*

In the Assembly of the Delegates of thirty-four different Corps of Volunteers of the Province of Leinster, at the Exchange,

Resolved unanimously,

That the virtuous citizens of Geneva, who wish for an asylum in this kingdom from the hand of tyranny and oppression, deserve our utmost approbation, and such of them as establish themselves amongst us shall upon every occasion receive our utmost attention and support.

The commissioners appointed for receiving subscriptions for the bank of Ireland, received the sum of 600,000*l.* in government securities, and lodged the same in his majesty's treasury, being the original stock or capital of this bank.

3d. A general order was sent to the lord lieutenants of the counties in England for disbanding the militia.

Came on a second time to be tried before the Earl of Mansfield and a special jury of merchants, a cause wherein Mr. John Carvick, of Bank-street, was plaintiff, and Mr. Abraham Vickery, of the bank of England, defendant. The action was brought to recover the amount of a bill of exchange drawn by Mr. John Maydwell the elder, and Mr. John Maydwell the younger, payable to their own order, directed to, and accepted of, by the said Mr. Vickery, which bill had originally been obtained by one Nixon, without a valuable consideration, and only indorsed by

John Maydwell the younger, one of the drawers: the question therefore to be determined was, whether the bill in that state was negotiable? when the jury were clearly of opinion the plaintiff ought not to recover, the bill, with only one indorsement, not being negotiable; which opinion the judge immediately entered in his book and read to the jury. By this important decision it is settled, that where two persons not in partnership draw a bill of exchange, they must both indorse it before they can negotiate the same.

A petition was presented from the electors of the ancient town and borough of Southwark, which set forth the present disproportioned and inadequate representation of the commons, and the unconstitutional duration of parliaments.

Passed the great seal a. grant to the Right Hon. Lord Thurlow, of an annuity of 2680*l.* per annum. 5th.

Was decided at Guildhall, before Lord Mansfield and a special jury, a cause wherein merchants and underwriters are materially interested. The case was, several ships were left behind at Jamaica, through a mistake, by the unfortunate convoy which suffered so severely in September last; the *Glorieux*, of 74 guns, was also left behind, and the ships at the island took the opportunity of the *Glorieux's* sailing, to follow the fleet, which they joined, before they got through the Gulf of Mexico, where the masters of the merchant vessels went immediately on board the admiral's ship, to get sailing orders, which they had not before received.

received. In the storm which afterwards happened many of these ships were lost, and others taken, which the underwriters refused to pay for, the policies being warranted to sail from Jamaica with convoy, which they alledged was not done, as the Glorieux was a chance ship, and not regularly appointed for that purpose by the admiral on that station; and though this ship, when joined, constituted part of the convoy, yet the jury gave a verdict in favour of the underwriters, agreeing, that joining a fleet at sea, and then receiving sailing instructions, was a deviation from the policy warranted with convoy, let the junction be made under any circumstances whatever.

8th. The ports of Dover and Calais were opened for passengers to and from Great-Britain and France.

10th. A petition from the freeholders of the county of Surry; also

A petition from the inhabitants of Scarborough; and also

A petition from the freeholders of the county of Nottingham, were severally presented to the House of Commons, complaining of the present inadequate representation of the people in parliament.

12th. A court of aldermen was held at Guildhall, when James Sanderson, Esq. was elected alderman of the ward of Bridge Within, in the room of Thomas Woolridge.

Two petitions from the gentlemen of the county of Flint were presented to the House Commons on the unequal representation.

An express arrived in town from Portsmouth, 13th. with an account of the crews of the Speedy and Marquis de Seignally sloops of war (which were appointed to convoy the outward-bound fleets to the West-Indies) having mutinied, and refused to proceed on that voyage.

A letter from Liverpool, dated March 13, after mentioning the loss of the Count Belgioiosa East Indiaman off Dublin Bay, adds, all on board perished (147 persons.) She was one of the richest ships ever sailed from Liverpool, not less in value than 130,000 dollars on board, besides a great value in ginseng, bale goods, and 300 tons of lead; and as a great part of the cargo was very weighty, little was expected to be fished up.

Lord Howe set off for Portsmouth, in consequence 14th. of an express received from Sir Thomas Pye, with an account of fresh irregularities having broke out among the seamen. The crews in many of the ships, it was said, paraded about the streets with bludgeons, in a tumultuous manner, to the great dread of the inhabitants, who were under the necessity of continuing confined to their houses, to avoid danger. His lordship and Capt. Levelson Gower have been successful in appeasing the sailors, every thing remaining quiet on board and on shore on the 16th instant, when his lordship left Portsmouth.

By late general returns of musters from New-York, the number of men killed in the British service amounts to 45,03 men rank and file, exclusive of the officers which fell in the field, or lost their

their lives either naturally or accidentally.

18th. Was a total and visible eclipse of the moon. It began at 31 minutes past seven o'clock, and ended at 14 minutes past 11 o'clock.

27th. This evening the late archbishop of Canterbury was buried at Lambeth, when a coffin found in the grave where he is interred proves, by the inscription, to be one of the bishops of Ely, who lived in the reign of Queen Mary, and died in that of Queen Elizabeth. The date of the coffin plate is 1570, which makes it 213 years since his interment; the body and cloaths were perfectly found; the corpse had a hat under one arm, and a cap on the head.

DIED.—The Hon. Miss Isabella Courtenay, third daughter of Lord Viscount Courtenay. This young lady, who was most elegantly accomplished, and had almost completed her 18th year, was standing before the fire at his lordship's house in Grosvenor-square, about six o'clock on the preceding evening, when a spark flying from the grate, set her cloaths on fire, she was so miserably burnt before any assistance could be procured, that she died at two o'clock next morning in the greatest agonies. No person was in the room when the melancholy accident happened except her sister, Lady Honeywood, and her child, who were not capable of affording any assistance, the former falling into fits. The young lady, when her cloaths caught fire, ran out of the room, and from room to room, without meeting with any one to give her the least aid, until it was too late

to overcome the flames. It is generally thought her immediate death, however, was owing to the fright. In such cases, the first thought should be to avoid running about; to fall down and roll one's self up in the carpet, or in the bed-quilt, as the safest and most certain expedient; but the horror and trepidation are generally such as to prevent the mind from taking the necessary steps for deliverance.

Aged 73, that well known and ingenious mechanic, Mr. Christopher Pinchbeck.

At Shrewsbury, Mr. R. Yeomans, painter and undertaker. He was supposed to be one of the largest men in England, weighing near 40 stone. His coffin measured six feet and a half in length, three feet three inches over, and two feet four inches in depth. Mr. Yeomans was in the 39th year of his age, and till very lately was as active as most men.

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#### A P R I L

*Plymouth, Apr. 1st.* On the 1st inst. 300 of the Medway's crew landed at North Corner with bludgeons, paraded up Fore-street dock, and went into Liberty-field, and there waited for the crew of the Crown. About an hour after, the crews of the Crown and Vengeance, near 800 men, landed to fight the Medway's people: but the crew of the Medway, finding they should be overpowered, dispersed and went on board their ship, which prevented a great deal of bloodshed. The quarrel originated from some of the Medway's people insulting the boatswain's wife of the Crown. Nothing



Nothing here but fighting, and rioting among the crews paid off.

On the 5th, the crew of the *Artois*, Capt. M'Bride, mutinied, and threatened to unrig the ship, but the captain, on proper application, found means to quiet them; and on promising them redress, they returned to their duty.

*Portsmouth.* A very elegant monument has lately been erected in the church yard of Portsea, to the memory of the brave, tho' unfortunate, Admiral Kempenfelt, and his fellow-sufferers, who perished in the *Royal George*.

The monument is lofty, in a pyramidal form, ornamented with marine trophies, arms, sculptured urns, &c. and in an oval compartment, upon the upper part of the pyramid, in black marble and gold letters, is this inscription:

“ Reader,  
With solemn thought  
Survey this grave,  
And reflect  
On the untimely death  
Of thy fellow mortals;  
And whilst,  
As a man, a Briton, and a patriot,  
Thou' read'st  
The melancholy narrative,  
Drop a tear  
For thy country's  
Loss.”

And underneath the following inscription:

“ On the twenty-ninth day of  
August, 1782,  
his Majesty's ship the ROYAL  
GEORGE,  
being on the heel at Spithead,  
overfet and sunk;  
by which fatal accident  
about nine hundred persons  
were instantly launched into eter-  
nity,

among whom was that brave and experienced officer

Rear-Admiral KEMPENFELT.

Nine days after  
many bodies of the unfortunate  
floated,  
thirty-five of whom were interred  
in one grave  
near this monument,  
which is erected by the parish of  
PORTSEA,  
as a grateful tribute  
to the memory  
of that great commander  
and his fellow-sufferers.”

And upon a pedestal, in gold letters, is this epitaph:

‘ ’Tis not this stone, regretted chief, thy  
name,  
Thy worth and merit shall extend thy  
fame;  
Brilliant achievements have thy name  
imprest  
In lasting characters on ALBION's breast.”

A forgery was discovered to be committed on the East-India Company; and next day an advertisement appeared in all the papers, in which William Wynne Ryland stands charged on suspicion of counterfeiting an acceptance to two bills of exchange, for payment of 7114l. and for publishing the same as true, knowing them to be false, with intent to defraud and cheat the united East-India Company; and offering a reward of 300l. for apprehending and delivering him up to justice. He has since been apprehended, as will appear in its place.

An account was received from Tulles in the Limosin, in France, that a most dreadful and astonishing accident happened to the castle of Montaignac, about three leagues



leagues from that town. At 11 in the morning of the 17th of March, there fell a violent rain, accompanied by a most impetuous wind, and followed by a single, but most terrible clap of thunder, which struck the castle, which is of considerable extent, in almost every part. The walls of this ancient edifice, remarkable for their solidity, and for being from eight to nine feet thick, were in some places thrown down, and lean in others. In short, the whole castle appears a heap of ruins.

By another account we learn, that part of a very high mountain tumbled down, and stopped up the river Ardes till five o'clock the next day, so as not to suffer the least drop to pass through. On the part fallen unfortunately stood a mill composed of two builings, which was swallowed up.

An account of the receipt and disbursements of Black Friars Bridge, from Lady-day, 1782, to Lady-day, 1783, as delivered in on Friday at Guildhall.

Cash paid at Guild-	l.	s.	d.
hall	6053	1	6
Bad copper	889	3	6
Bad silver	45	10	6
Wages	823	18	0
Gratuities	262	17	6

Nett receipt - 8074 11 0

Some letters, arrived in town, give the following account of the loss of the Grosvenor East-India-man, viz. that the ship was driven on shore near the river St. Christopher's, on the African coast, about 40 leagues to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, on or about the 10th of October; and on the 11th of December last, four of her crew arrived at Mo-

selle Bay, and gave an account to the council of the Dutch East-India company, that the Caffres had come down upon the people, carried off the female passengers, and had killed several of the men who attempted to protect them.

This day there was a general change of the ministry. 2d.

*Venice.* In the night of April the 11th, by the most violent hurricane in the memory of the oldest man living, the sea rose so very high, as to overflow the whole city. Several boats moored in sight of St. Mark's square, were driven by the force of the wind on the quay called the Esclavons. It is hitherto impossible to ascertain the damage occasioned by the hurricane in the neighbouring islands; but if we may judge from what we have suffered here, it must have been very considerable.

*Charlstown, via St. Augustine.*

On the 14th of April, this town was evacuated by the British, and possessed by the Americans.

By letters from Kingston in Jamaica, we find the fleet left Charles-town Bar on the 18th of April, consisting of more than 130 sail, great and small, part of which, having on board loyalists and their negroes, was conducted to St. Augustine by the convoy which arrived at Kingston; part went to New-York with his majesty's ships Assurance, of 44 guns, Bellisarius 20, and Carolina 16, having on board troops and inhabitants; many families of the first distinction in Carolina went to England in a small division of the fleet, under the protection of his majesty's ship Adamant of 50 guns; and the remainder of the fleet separated

rated for St. Lucia, having on board the troops and loyalists, conducted by his majesty's ship Narcissus, of 20 guns.

About 1600 veteran troops, under the command of brigadier general Stewart, upwards of 400 white families, many of them of considerable property, and about 4500 slaves, arrived in the fleet.

*Dublin, April 13th.* The Privy-council sat upon the establishment of the Genevese emigrants, whose names and numbers being given in, the settlement of their asylum was then determined upon to be at Passage, next the confluence of the rivers Barrow and Suir, in the county of Waterford. A very considerable tract of land in that district shortly retracts to government, which it is intended should be appropriated and granted in fee to the Genevese.

18th. About 2000 seamen assembled on Tower-hill, and proceeded in a detached body to the Admiralty, to insist on an explicit answer from the board, when their arrears of wages and prize money should be cleared off. No proper answer being given, they proceeded to St. James's palace, to harangue the king on the occasion. but the leading avenues to the palace being either guarded or shut, prevented the tumult which might have ensued, and they peaceably dispersed.

*Report of the State of the City Hospitals was read before the Governors, April 20.*

*Christ's Hospital.*

Children put forth apprentices, and discharged out of this hospital last year, 10 whereof were instructed in

the mathematics and navigation - - - 183  
Buried the last year - - 4  
Remaining in this hospital 1207

*St. Bartholomew's.*

Cured and discharged from this hospital - - 5829  
Out-patients relieved with advice and medicines 6098  
Buried this year - - 140  
Remaining under cure, in-patients - - - 421  
Out-patients - - - 121

In all, including out-patients 12609

*St. Thomas's Hospital.*

Cured and discharged from this hospital - - 3241  
Out patients relieved - 4610  
Buried this year - - 292  
Remaining under cure, in-patients - - - 461  
Out-patients - - - 233

Total, including out-patients 8837

*Bridewell Hospital.*

Admitted into this hospital 659  
Maintained in several trades, &c. - - - 42

*Bethlem Hospital.*

Admitted into this hospital 207  
Cured - - - 178  
Buried - - - 15  
Remaining under cure - 264

**DIED.** In the parish of Alva, near Bamff, in Scotland, James Smith, a farmer at that place, aged 106; he has left four children. 17 grand-children, and 16 great grand-children.

At Newcastle, Mrs. M. Tate, aged 116.

## M A Y.

The Duke of Bridgewater's canal broke the banks 2d  
near

near Warrington, and carried two coal-boats and a flat into a meadow at a considerable distance; a great number of hands were immediately employed, and the breach was repaired in a few days.

The English frigate the *Brilliant* arrived at Tangier, having on board Sir Roger Curtijs, as envoy from his Britannic majesty to the court of Morocco. He took with him, as presents to that African monarch, three 26 pounders, and one of 18, with 400 balls, besides several other things not ascertained. The emperor appointed a commissary to conduct Sir Roger either to Mequinez or Sallee, where his majesty was expected to arrive.

3d. The sessions at the Old-Bailey ended on the Middlesex side, on account of the essoign day of Term, when 12 convicts received sentence of death, one of whom, viz. Thomas Littlepage, for stealing naval stores, was respited, and ordered to be transported for seven years; fifteen others were likewise ordered to be transported for seven years, and one for fourteen years; eleven to be imprisoned and kept to hard labour in the house of correction, and likewise to be whipped; four whipt and discharged, and 18 delivered on proclamation.

5th. A petition from the county of Suffolk was presented to the House of Commons, praying the house to take into their most serious consideration the present inadequate representation of the people in parliament, &c.

The petitions relative to a more equal representation, presented to the House of Commons this session, are from the following places, viz.

Suffex, Launceston, Poole, Tiverton, Yarmouth, Winchester, Cambridge town, Lynn Regis, north-west division of Devon, Derby county, St. Edmund's Bury, Derby borough, York city, Carmarthen county, Gloucester city, Somerset, Southwark, Penryn, Cornwall, Rochester, Lymington, Scarborough, Surrey, Nottingham, Flint county, Denbigh, Droitwich, Southampton county, Portsmouth, Chichester, Montrose, London, Middlesex, Dumbarton, Kent, Westminster, freeholders of London, burghs of Irvine, Tower hamlets.

At Pontefract sessions, 7th. John Seaton, Esq. the treasurer for the West Riding of York, delivered to the justices of the peace there assembled, an account of the number of pieces of woollen cloths made in that Riding, from the 25th of March, 1782, to the 25th of March, 1783; when it appeared there had been manufactured 131,092 pieces of broad woollens, measuring 4,563,376 yards; and 108,641 pieces of narrow cloths, measuring 3,292,002 yards. Increased this year 18,622 pieces of broad, and 11,892 pieces of narrow woollens.

As his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was 12th. returning to town on horseback this evening, and Mr. Thomson, surgeon, of Kensington, was returning from Knightsbridge, they rode violently against each other, and were both thrown a considerable distance from their horses. His Royal Highness escaped unhurt, and Mr. Thomson was but slightly bruised.

About

15th. About noon a message from the Bank was formally delivered at the Stock exchange, purporting, that the Bank directors had that day resolved not to advance any money upon the new subscription, as they had invariably done during Lord North's administration, after the deposit or first payment had been made by the respective subscribers. The scrip, on this notice, fell 2 per cent.

18th. The following nobility from Paris arrived here, Monseigneur le Duke de Cognies, Monseigneur le Duke de Pollinack, le Marquis de Cognies, Mr. le Compte de Cognies, Mr. le Compte de Danlow, Mr. le Compte Straizes, Mad. la Marquesse de Cognies, Mad. la Comtesse de Chalons, and Mad. la Comtesse D'Anloic. Many others are soon expected.

23d. A cause of the utmost importance in the hosiery branch was tried at Guildhall before the Right Honourable Lord Loughborough, Lord Chief Justice, and a most respectable jury of merchants, respecting an exclusive right to an invention, for which a patent was granted for a machine to be added to a stocking-frame, for making knotted and double-looped work, which invention is the property of Messrs. Horton, March, Wright, and Kemp. These ingenious manufacturers had to contend with a most formidable combination, entered into by some opulent Nottingham hosiers, for working the plaintiffs' machine, which they formerly announced under their hands. During the course of the trial, several artful manœuvres

were set up by the defendants, notwithstanding which, a few of the plaintiffs' witnesses, out of a great number which were employed in the framesmiths and hosiery branches, as well as such of the defendants' witnesses, who were equally culpable for working the plaintiffs' machine, and were indulged by the court to give their evidence, fully proved the plaintiffs' invention to be new and complete, and their specification to be simple and clear, after a conflict of four hours, without any reply, or summing up of evidence, the jury, without going out, found a verdict for the plaintiffs, to the entire satisfaction of the chief justice and the court.

*Vienna, May 31.* Our last accounts from Hungary report, that on the 13th of this month there happened a most violent storm, which has been attended with great damage in several parts of the kingdom. The city of Cremitz was entirely destroyed. The lightning fell in nine different places, and the city was set on fire and reduced to ashes in spite of the endeavours of the inhabitants; 70 persons lost their lives.

DIED.—Henry Howarth, Esq. a gentleman of high reputation at the bar, about 36 years of age, one of the king's counsel, and member of parliament for Abingdon, Berks, was drowned near Mortlake, within sight of his own house. He and Mr. Chippendale, a near relation, were sailing in a boat of Mr. Howarth's, and had made fast the sheet, when, by a sudden squall, the boat was unfortunately overset. Mr. Howarth, who was an excellent swimmer, cried, "Chip, never fear,

fear, "we shall do very well!" At this instant, the mast struck Mr. Howarth on the head, who immediately sunk, and was not found until about three quarters of an hour afterwards. Mr. Chippendale, by clinging to the side of the boat, happily saved himself. Mr. Howarth was universally beloved, and is greatly regretted by all who had the honour of his acquaintance.

In Golden-square, Count Hafflang, envoy from his serene highness the Elector Palatine Duke of Bavaria, privy-counsellor and chamberlain at both courts; likewise knight of the illustrious order of St. George. His excellency died in the 83d year of his age, after an embassy of 42 years.

## J U N E.

1st. The ingenious Mr. Spalding, accompanied by one of his young men, went down twice in his diving-bell at the Kish bank, Ireland, where the Imperial East-Indiaman was some time since wrecked, for the purpose of recovering some of her materials. He did nothing more, however, than examine her situation, &c. determining to go to work next morning. Accordingly, Monday morning, about six o'clock, he and his young man went down, and continued under water about an hour, in which two barrels of air had been sent down for the supply of the bell; but a good deal of time having elapsed without any signal from below, the people on deck, apprehensive that all was not right, drew up the bell, and Mr. Spalding and his young

man were both discovered to be dead.

This being the anniversary of his majesty's birth-day, the same was observed at court. 4th.

The first stone of the new bridge across the river Thames at Kew was laid by Michael Decker Saunders, Esq. proprietor of Walton-bridge.

The long contested cause between the free cornfactors and the corporation of the city of London, under the name of Cockfedge and Fanshaw, was finally determined in the House of Lords, upon the unanimous opinion of all the judges, delivered by Mr. Justice Gould, by which the right of the freemen cornfactors to the toll or duty of one farthing a quarter, upon all corn consigned to them for sale and imported coastwise eastward of London-bridge (except from the Cinque Ports or the county of Kent) is for ever established.

The Grand Jury found a true bill against William Wynne Kyland, for forgery on the East-India company. His trial, however, at his own request, was put off. 5th.

Their majesties, his royal highness the prince of Wales, and their royal highnesses the princes and princesses, removed to Windsor and Kew, to remain there during the summer. 6th.

*Admiralty-Office.* Extract of a letter from Rear-admiral Rowley to Mr. Stevens, dated Port-Royal, Jamaica, April 4.—"I have to desire you will acquaint their lordships, that on the 13th ult. his majesty's ship *Resistance* arrived



rived here from a cruise. Capt. King brought in with him *La Coquette*, a French frigate of 28 guns, commanded by the Marquis De Grasse; she was taken off Turk's Island after firing her guns.

Came on to be tried, before Judge Heath, in the court of Common Pleas, the long-contested cause between several French seamen, who were taken prisoners in the squadron under the command of Count de Grasse, and the owners of the ship *Keppel*, Capt. Gooch, to receive wages for the time they were compelled to work on board that ship; when the causes were finally determined in favour of the French seamen, who were ordered to be paid 20 guineas each for their services during the voyage.

7th. This day - an express arrived to one Edward Whitmore, a private soldier in the 9th regiment of foot, quartered in Norwich, informing him of the death of his father, by which event he came into immediate possession of a fortune of more than 50,000l.—The above express was brought to Norwich by his lady, who arrived in her own carriage and four.

10th. The session ended at the Old-Bailey, when sentence of death was pronounced on 22 capital convicts; 11 were sentenced to be transported; 19 to be imprisoned and kept to hard labour in the house of correction for different terms, several of whom are also to be whipped; 18 were sentenced to be whipped and discharged; four to be imprisoned in Newgate; and 25 discharged by proclamation; 13 detained for

trial at the ensuing assizes for the counties of Devon, Suffolk, Essex, Surry, and Kent.

*Dublin, June 19th.* A poor woman at Dungannon went to a house where oatmeal was sold, and took her petticoat to pledge for some meal for herself and her children (of which she had four, one of them sucking): the man to whom she went happened not to be at home, but late in the evening he returned and went to bed; when in bed his wife told him that a woman (naming her) had been with her to get meal, and had brought a petticoat to pledge for the same, but that she gave her none; she feared, however, the woman was in a very bad situation; upon this the husband got out of bed instantly, and took a bowl full of meal to the house of the poor woman; when he came near it he heard the children crying bitterly, and on entering the cabin found the woman dead with hunger, the infant sucking the corpse, and the others crying round her.

A petition from the merchants, bankers, and traders of London, Westminster and Southwark, were presented to the House of Peers, against the stamp duty on receipts. 18th.

The Duke of Portland presented to the House of Peers the following message from his majesty, which was read by Lord Mansfield, as speaker of the house: 23d.

George R.

His Majesty having taken into consideration the propriety of making an immediate and separate establishment for his dearly beloved son the Prince of Wales, relies

relies on the experienced zeal and affection of the House of Lords, for the concurrence and support of such measures as shall be most proper to assist his majesty in this design.

The Duke of Portland, after a short introductory speech, moved,

That an humble address be presented to his majesty, to return the thanks of this house to his majesty for his most gracious message; and to assure his majesty in the most dutiful manner of the hearty zeal of this house, to testify their earnest desire to concur in such measures as shall be most proper to assist his majesty in fulfilling his desire of making an immediate and separate establishment for his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

The same upon the question put was agreed to, and ordered *nemine dissente*, and was presented to his majesty by the lords with white staves.

The like message was delivered to the commons, who voted that the sum of a hundred thousand pounds be granted, towards enabling his majesty to make a separate establishment for his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

24th. The bill laying a stamp duty on bills of exchange and receipts—the mutiny bill—the bill for regulating the office of paymaster-general of his majesty's forces, together with thirty other public and private bills received the royal assent, by virtue of a commission under the great-seal for that purpose.

25th. The judges of the different courts, met in the King's Bench chamber, and appointed the

circuits for the summer assizes as follows:

Home. Lord Mansfield, Mr. Justice Gould.

Oxford. Lord Loughborough, Mr. Justice Nares.

Midland. Lord Chief Baron Skinner, Mr. Justice Willes.

Norfolk. Mr. Justice Ashurst, Mr. Baron Hotham.

Northern. Mr. Baron Eyre, Mr. Justice Buller.

Western. Mr. Baron Perryn, Mr. Justice Heath.

The Dublin bank opened for transaction of business; when the king's orders, communicated thro' the lord-lieutenant, that all public money in that kingdom, payable on his account, by taxes, aids, duties, &c. should be from thenceforward deposited in that bank, were made public.

This morning, about 11 o'clock, Thomas Davenport, 26th. Esq. was conducted to the Court of Chancery, between Edward Bearcroft and Richard Jackson, Esqrs. two of his majesty's counsel, when Lord Loughborough, as first lord commissioner, acquainted him that his majesty had been pleased to call him to the dignity of a serjeant at law; his writ was then delivered in, and the usual oaths administered.

His Royal Highness Prince William Henry arrived from 27th. the West Indies about two o'clock at Windsor.

Mr. Recorder made his report to his majesty, of the convicts under sentence of death in Newgate, who were tried in April session, viz. Collin Reculest, Sarah Leech, John Brown, Thomas Richards, John Wharton, Alexander

ander Smith, Robert Forrester, Richard M'Dade, Anne Lovell, John Higginson, William Ruthey Pratt, William Harcourt, John Hasleworth, Thomas Davies, Robert Cullum, George Wood, and John Miles; when John Higginson, Alexander Smith, John Mills, William Ruthey Pratt, William Harcourt, John Hasleworth, and Robert Cullum, were ordered for execution.

30th. The court of Exchequer

gave a final decree in the important cause between the lessees of the vicarial tithes of Fulham, and a parishioner, occupier of a common garden, in favour of the lessees, with full costs. The particulars of this long contested cause cannot be uninteresting to such of our readers as are concerned in vicarage tithes, and may serve as a caution against hasty references, as by a curious decision of one, the greatest injury has been done to the lessees, and may, if not guarded against, be done to others. For instance: the same lessees, in 1776, requested a composition of 4l. a year for the lands in question, about 10 acres, which reasonable demand was refused by the occupier, and when the case came before a special jury, it was referred to a neighbour, who gave it as his opinion, that 3l. 11s. was a full composition and condemned the lessees in all costs, amounting to about 1000l. The lessees, greatly alarmed, and conceiving themselves greatly injured and oppressed by such an extraordinary decision, in 1776 they, for the sake of public justice, renewed their action for the succeeding tithes, exactly upon the same

grounds as the former, and on Monday, 30th of June, the defendant made an offer in court of 15l. a year for the tithes of those very grounds for which the arbitrator lately awarded only 3l. 11s. The 4l. first required shews the moderation of the lessees, and the 15l. afterwards offered shews the injustice of the award against which they were determined to appeal.

DIED.—At Marseilles, aged 112, Alexander Mackintosh. For the last ten years he lived entirely on vegetables, and enjoyed a good state of health till within a few days of his death. He was born at Dunkeld, in Scotland; but being in the rebellion in the year 1715, was obliged to leave his country, and resided at Marseilles ever since on a small pension allowed him by some of the Pretender's family.

In Cockspur-Street, Charing-cross, aged only 22, Mr. Charles Byrne, the famous Irish giant, whose death is said to have been precipitated by excessive drinking, to which he was always addicted, but more particularly since his late loss of almost all his property, which he had simply invested in a single bank note of 700l.—In his last moments (it has been said) he requested that his ponderous remains might be thrown into the sea, in order that his bones might be placed far out of the reach of the chirurgical fraternity; in consequence of which, the body was shipped on board a vessel to be conveyed to the Downs, to be sunk in 20 fathom water. We have reason, however, to believe, that this report is merely *a tub* thrown out to *the whale*.—Our philo-

philosophical readers may not be displeased, to know, on the credit of an ingenious correspondent who had opportunity of informing himself, that Mr. Byrne, in August 1780 measured eight feet; that in 1782 he had gained two inches; and after he was dead he measured eight feet four inches. Neither his father, mother, brother, nor any other person of the family, was of an extraordinary size.

### J U L Y.

*Cambridge, July 2d.* The four annual prizes, of 15 guineas each, given by the Hon. John Townshend, and James Mansfield, Esq. members for this university, were yesterday determined in favour of Dr. Dampier, of King's college, and Dr. Catton, of St. John's college, senior bachelors; Dr. Reine, of Trinity college, and Dr. Sparke, of Pembroke-hall; one prize of a former year being left undetermined, is this year given to Dr. Michell, of King's college, junior bachelor.

Subjects for the senior bachelors was—"Utrum plus boni an mali Europæis gentibus attulerit Transatlantici orbis patefactio?"

For the junior bachelors—"Ex quibus præcipue causis in tantam magnitudinem creveret res Romana?"

Two gold medals left by Sir William Browne, M. D. to be annually given were on Monday last determined in favour of Messrs. Ramsden, and Raine, of Trinity college.

The chancellor's prizes, at Oxford for this year are adjudged as

follow: to Mr. Barker, of Christchurch, bachelor of arts, for an English essay on the study of history; and to Mr. Bowles of Trinity-college, for Latin verses on *Calpe obsessa*, or the siege of Gibraltar.

This day was a thunder storm the most general throughout England that has been remembered for a long time, particularly in Wiltshire, and most of the northern counties; which killed a great number of sheep and black cattle, as well as doing other considerable damage.

This day was executed before St. Andrew's church, 3d. Holborn, John Mills, on the Coventry act, for unlawfully laying in wait and wounding John Brazier in several parts of his body.

The following were executed at Tyburn, pursuant to their sentence, John Wharton, William Rutley Pratt, Robert Cullum, John Hasleworth, and William Harcourt.

This morning Lieutenant Charles Bourne received the 9th. judgment of the court of King's Bench for an assault on Sir James Wallace, and also for a libel; for the first offence to be imprisoned in the King's Bench prison two years, and to give security for his good behaviour for seven years, himself in 1000l. and two sureties in 500l. each, and for the libel 50l. fine. He then addressed the Court, and told them, that the applause of his brother officers in the whole affair would enable him to bear the severe sentence of that court with resignation.

The lords of the Admiralty appointed 10th. four masters from the half-pay list,

list, for the sole purpose of looking after the ships in ordinary, who are to make a report of their condition every three months to the board: eight of them are to reside at Portsmouth, six at Plymouth, eight at Chatham and Sheerness, and two at Woolwich.

The projector began his operations on the wreck of the Royal George at Spithead, which ended without success.

11th. The Beer sloop, which was sunk with the Royal George, and lay close along side her, was raised six fathom from the ground, and towed to a considerable distance.

13th. Lieutenant Elliot, of the Baracoota cutter, arrived with dispatches from his excellency Sir Roger Curtis, knight, his majesty's ambassador to the emperor of Morocco, dated Gibraltar, June 13, in which he gave an account that the former treaties of friendship and commerce had been renewed and confirmed, and that additional articles for the better regulation of commerce between the two nations, were concluded and signed at Salée on the 24th of May last.

A terrible fire, like that in 1742, almost entirely reduced to ashes the town of Attendatn, in the duchy of Westphalia; only 20 houses were saved out of 300. The convent of Franciscans and the parish church became a prey to the flames.

*Extract of a Letter from Lochgairhead, near Dunbarton, July 16.*

"The following melancholy accident has just happened in this place, as we were finishing the arch of a bridge. There were a number of people on the arch,

curious to see it finished, when the wood gave way, and all went down in an instant. Several were much hurt, but none mortally, except one man, James Christie, who had one leg broke, and was otherwise so severely bruised, that he died within six hours after, notwithstanding every effort was used that medical skill could afford."

Came on the election of a professor of anatomy to 17th. the Royal Academy, vacant by the death of Dr. Hunter, when Mr. Sheldon, of Great Queen-street, was chosen. Mr. Cruikshank, late partner with Dr. Hunter, was the other candidate.

The trial of Mr. Atkin- 19th. son, on an indictment for perjury, came on in the court of King's Bench, before the Earl of Mansfield and a special jury. The indictment consisted of many different counts; and, after a trial of several hours continuance, Mr. Atkinson was found guilty of all but three. The jury were out about ten minutes.

The Irish parliament was dissolved, and the new par- 25th. liament to meet on the 6th of September.

This day the sessions began at the Old Bailey.

His royal highness prince William Henry, attended 26th. by General Budat, his preceptor, set off from Windsor on his way to Germany.

This morning came on at the Old Bailey the trial of Mr. Ryland for forgery, which continued till three o'clock, when the jury, after a short conference, returned their verdict guilty.

DIED.—At Longford in Ire- land,  
[O] 2

land, Alexander Kilpatrick, Esq. aged 116 years and some months; he was formerly a colonel of an Irish regiment of foot, and served under the Duke of Marlborough.

At St. Lucar de Barrameda, Donna Anna Reyna, aged 100 years and 25 days: she had eleven children, 59 grand-children, and 25 great-grand-children. She enjoyed, through her whole life, perfect health, and preserved her strength until within two years of her death, when she suffered by the consequences of a fall from a horse. Her hair, which was black, turned white at the age of forty. At ninety she cut it off, and when it grew again, it was of the original colour, which never afterwards changed. She died without having known infirmities, and with the tranquil use of her reason, declaring that she felt no pain.

## AUGUST.

*Edinburgh, Aug. 1st.* There was presented to the Right Honourable the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, a memorial from a number of gentlemen and merchants residing in that city and Leith, setting forth in substance, "That the order of council in the Gazette for a quarantine of forty days being observed by all vessels from Dantzick, Royal and Ducal Prussia, and Pomerania, while it evinced the attention of government to prevent the dreadful consequences of pestilence, at the same time would be productive of direful effects, relative to cargoes of foreign grain; that such was

the situation of the city of Edinburgh and neighbourhood, that there was not a sufficient supply of corn in granaries to serve three weeks; that all dependence was laid on the expected arrivals, the utility of which would be defeated, if the quarantine was rigidly enforced." These facts were submitted, and left with his lordship.

The Lord Provost, the Lord Advocate, and a numerous and respectable meeting, convened at the Goldsmith's-hall. Dr. Cullen and Dr. Black attended, and gave it as their opinion, that there was very little danger of the pestilence being conveyed in grain. A very ample opinion was afterwards subscribed by these physicians. A letter was immediately prepared, to be signed by the Lord Provost, stating the facts already mentioned, and accompanying the memorial from the merchants, and opinion of the professors, to be transmitted by express to the Right Hon. Lord North, Secretary of State for the home department, to be by him presented to his Majesty and Privy Council, praying that such relaxation might be allowed in the discharge of all cargoes of foreign grain, as the distressed situation of the country so loudly called for.

*Petersburgh, August 7th.* The court received dispatches from prince Potemkin, general in chief, dated from Karas-Bassar, in Crimea. He published in that peninsula, as also in Taman and Cuban, a manifesto, in which the empress discloses her intention of annexing these countries to her dominions. Every where the oaths were taken to the empress; and that



that her sovereignty was establishing there in a manner so solid, that it would be a very difficult matter for the Turks to break through these new engagements.

*Hanover, Aug. 8th.* His royal highness prince William Henry, third son of the king of England, arrived here from London on Sunday last.

*Aaples, Aug. 9th.* On the 29th past, at one in the morning, a violent shock of an earthquake happened again at Calabria, which threw the whole country into an alarm. At six the same morning, they had another more violent and longer than any that had happened before, insomuch that the barracks now seemed not safe, and every body fled into the fields. Four villages; which had been spared before, were overturned. Corona also suffered considerably, and the new buildings begun at Cozenza are so shattered, that they must be pulled down. It is not said whether any persons have perished, but the commotion was felt so strongly at Messina, that it again did considerable damage there.

*Frankfort on the Maine, Aug. 11th.*

A fire broke out at Querfurt, which reduced 80 houses to ashes, and almost as many granaries filled with the produce of the last harvest.

*Sheerness.* This morning four of the seamen who belonged to his majesty's ship *Raisonable*, and who were condemned to die, by the sentence of a court-martial held on them at Chatham in the month of July last, were disposed of in the following manner, in order for execution; the *Scipio*,

*Dictator*, *Carnatic*, and *Thetis*, were the ships appointed for this solemn scene; one being ordered to be executed on board of each. But the man who was to receive his punishment on board the *Thetis*, was reprieved just before the signal was given. The other three were hanged, by being drawn up by the yard-arm at the firing of a gun; a yellow flag was flying from each ship during the execution.

This being the birth-day <sup>12th.</sup> of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, who enters into the 22d year of his age, their majesties and the heir apparent received the congratulations of the nobility, &c. at Windsor.

*York.* An action was tried, brought by *qui tam*, on the statute of usury, for discounting bills, and receiving a larger rate of interest than the law allows. The witness, upon whose single testimony this action was supported, was a young tradesman of family and character, but went through a long and severe cross-examination by the counsel for the defendant. The rate of interest was near sixteen per cent. and as bills were commonly discounted here about that premium, it was become a cause of great expectation. The jury gave a verdict for treble of the whole discounted, viz. 3600l. When the jury delivered this judgment, the judge said, he applauded the spirit of the witness for bringing the cause into court; at the same time he thought the verdict too severe, for it might be the entire ruin of the defendant and his family. He therefore submitted to the jury, whether it would not be right to

reconsider their verdict, which they did, and gave 390l.

16th. This being the birth-day of his Royal-Highness Prince Frederick, Bishop of Osnabrug, who now enters the 21st year of his age, their majesties received the compliments of the nobility on the occasion at Windsor.

17th. One of the king's messengers arrived with the ratification of the provisional articles, which was exchanged on the 13th inst. at Paris, between his majesty's plenipotentiary and the plenipotentiaries of the United States of America.

18th. At 11 minutes after nine in the evening, a very singular phenomenon was seen at Greenwich. It being rather dark, a sudden and uncommon light appeared, without any cause then visible, for full two minutes; then appeared this phenomenon, coming from the N. N. W. perfectly horizontal in its course, and without any vibration, continued to the S. S. E. It passed over Greenwich, and near the Royal Observatory, till the elevated trees in the park took it from the sight. Though it was transitory, the motion was not rapid, for you could distinctly discover its form, colour, &c. Its duration was near two minutes, during which there was no variation in its lustre. Its magnitude and animated effect, made it appear near our earth. Two bright balls parallel to each other, led the way, the apparent diameter of which appeared to be about two feet, and were followed by an expulsion of eight others, not elliptical, seeming gradually to mutilate, for the last was small.

Between each ball, a luminous serrated body extended, and at the last a blaze issued, and terminated in a point. Minute particles dilated from the whole. While this luminary was passing, the atmosphere was exceedingly bright; but immediately after it became dark, though the moon was up. The phenomenon which appeared in 1716, and continued from eight in the evening till three in the morning, was, like the present, not local; for it has been seen in most parts of the kingdom, notwithstanding it was not subject to the great vibrations of the former. The balls were partially bright, as imagination can suggest; the intermediate spaces, not so exquisite in their colourings. The balls were tinted first by a pure bright light, then followed a tender yellow, mixed with azure, red, green, &c. which, with a coalition of bolder tints, and a reflection from the other balls, gave the most beautiful rotundity and variation of colours, that the human eye could be charmed with. The sudden illumination of the atmosphere, the form, and singular transiion of this bright luminary, rendered much to make it awful; nevertheless the amazing vivid appearance of the different balls, and other rich, connective parts, not very easy to delineate, gave an effect equal to the rainbow, in the full zenith of its glory. It appeared also almost all over the island of Great Britain nearly at the same time, as well as in France, Flanders, &c.

This being the birth-day 21st.  
of his Royal Highness Prince William Henry, his Majesty's third son, who now enters the 19th

19th year of his age, there being no levee nor court at St. James's, their majesties received the compliments of the nobility on the occasion at Windsor.

27th. The first air balloon was let up at Paris by M. Mongolfier.

30th. An action was brought against the corporation of Carlisle, for having a fell across the river Eden at Ringarth, by the proprietors of the water above the fell. After a short hearing, Judge Buller observed, it was unnecessary to proceed, as there was an express act of parliament to prevent any river in Great Britain having fells across, and the jury gave their verdict accordingly. The corporation let the fishery the last three years for 845l. per annum.

DIED, aged 55, widow Keepus, of the parish of St. Mary, Norwich, who, since the year 1757, has been tapped for the drop 80 times, and 6553 pints of water taken from her, amounting very nearly to 82 pints each tapping. One hundred and eight pints have been drawn off at one operation.

## SEPTEMBER.

1st. Three of the constables belonging to the office in Bow-street having been sent in search of the transports who lately escaped on the coast of Sussex, to a house in Onslow-street, Saffron-hill, where five of them were assembled, a terrible engagement took place. Two of the villains ran up stairs, and escaped at a back window. The three

that were left armed themselves, one with a poker, another with a shovel, and the third with a clasp-knife, and the word was with one voice, "Cut away, we shall be hanged if taken, and we will die on the spot rather than submit." On which a bloody contest commenced. One of the constables had the fore-part of his head laid open, and received three deep wounds from the right eye down to the cheek; another of the constables received a terrible wound a little above the temple from a large poker, after which he closed with the villain, and got him down; the third constable had better success with the villain he encountered, for, by striking him on the right hand with his cut-lafs, he dropped his weapon, and then they all said they would submit.

The above prisoners, named Middleton, Godby, and Bird, were examined before William Blackborow, Esq. when Lee and Townsend, servants to Mr. Akerman, deposed, that they, with many other prisoners, were on the 14th of last month taken from Newgate, and put on board of a vessel, in order for transportation to America. Being asked by the magistrate, by what means they had procured their liberty, they acknowledged that they had run the ship aground, having confined the captain and the crew, and got on shore in the two long-boats; that no cruelty was exercised, nor any property stolen, except that some of the convicts obliged part of the sailors to change cloaths with them; that they concealed themselves in hedges and ditches till night, and then took

took different routs ; that they (the prisoners), and a few others, collected half a crown among themselves, which they gave to a countryman, for conducting them to Rye, whence they walked to London, where they had arrived but a very short time when they were apprehended and committed to Newgate.

*Königsberg, Sept. 3d.* The wife of a merchant in this city exhibits an uncommon example of fecundity. She was brought to bed of five children, three sons and two daughters, all likely to do well, and the mother suffered no more than is natural to expect in such a labour.

4th. At six this morning the honourable Colonel Cosmo Gordon and Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas met at the ring at Hyde-Park, to fight a duel. It was agreed upon by their seconds, that after receiving their pistols they should advance, and fire when they pleased. On arriving within about eight yards of each other they presented, and drew their triggers nearly at the same time, when only the colonel's pistol went off. The lieutenant-colonel having adjusted his pistol, fired at the colonel, who received a severe contusion on his thigh. Their second pistols were fired without effect, and their friends called to reload them ; after which they again advanced to nearly the same distance, and fired, when the lieutenant-colonel fell, having received a ball in his body. He received immediate assistance from a surgeon, who attended the colonel in case of need, and who extracted the ball on the field,

which notwithstanding proved mortal.

It was this day ordered by his majesty in council, 5th. that the embargo at present subsisting upon ships and vessels laden, and to be laden, in the ports of Great Britain and Ireland with provisions, be taken off.

An order of council was likewise issued, for regulating the trade to America, in pursuance of an act of last session of parliament.

Letters from Liverpool, 8th. give an account of a violent hurricane there, which lasted four hours, during which, nothing was able to withstand its fury ; the largest trees were torn up by the roots, many houses unroofed, and almost all the ships driven from their moorings, but none, except one from Newfoundland, lost. Fortunately the storm happened in the night, or many persons must have been killed by the falling of chimnies, tiles, &c.

As some men were emptying the lead mills, at Temple Mills, Hackney, which were repairing, they found an urn full of Roman coins, some of them in high preservation, with the impression of Julius Cæsar and Constantine the Great, together with several medals ; likewise a stone coffin, with the skeleton entire, measuring seven feet nine inches long ; the inscription on the coffin is unintelligible : in removing the old foundation a vault was discovered, in which were several urns, but quite imperfect : what is very remarkable, the vaults, for centuries past, are supposed to have been sixteen feet under water.

*Edin.*

*Edinburgh, Sept. 9th.* An order arrived from the lords of the Treasury for 5000*l.* in addition to the 10,000*l.* formerly given for the relief of the poor in the northern counties in Scotland. This last donation is to be disposed of in a different manner from the former. The grain purchased with the 10,000*l.* was distributed among the poor without any price being exacted from it. The oat-meal bought with the 5000*l.* to be sold at 6*d.* per peck.

10th. The corporation of London went in procession, and presented to his majesty an address on the birth of a princess, and the safe delivery of the queen: and, at the same time, congratulated his majesty upon the Prince of Wales having attained his age of twenty-one years.

There was this evening a remarkable total eclipse of the moon, visible not only to Europe and Africa, but also to great part of Asia and America. The following is its calculation:

Sep. 10, 1783, at night.	H. M.	
Beginning of the eclipse,	9	38
Beginning of total darkness		
ness . . . . .	10	38
Middle, . . . . .	11	29
Ecliptical opposition,	11	36
End of total darkness,	12	22
End of the eclipse, . .	1	19
Duration of total darkness,		
ness, . . . . .	1	42
Total duration, . . .	3	41

During the eclipse a body of light, equal and similar to what is called Saturn's Ring, was seen round the moon, at first only with glasses, but afterwards with the naked eye; a phenomenon equally curious and uncommon.

A remarkable instance of fertility arose from a grain 13th. of red Lammas wheat, which grew at Upper Areley, in Staffordshire. It produced 68 ears, and, upon an average, each ear contained 75 grains, amounting to 5100 in the whole.

This day eight new peers were created.

Orders were sent from the War-office to the Her- 15th. ralds-office, Doctors Commons, for the heralds to be at the War-office this day at 12 o'clock, to proceed in form to the different places, and proclaim the peace; on which occasion a party of the Horse Guards were on duty to attend the heralds.

Advices have been received over land from Fort 16th. William, Bengal, dated the 10th of March last, which confirm the accounts of the treaty with the Mahratta state being concluded on the 17th of May, 1782 and ratified at Fort William on the 6th of June following; that it was completely ratified by the paishwa, and ministers at Poona, on the 20th of December; and that the original counterparts of the treaty were finally interchanged, with every public formality, between Mr. Anderson and Madajee Sindia, on the 24th of February last.

His Majesty, to shew the testimony of his approbation towards those of his Hanoverian subjects who were employed in the defence of Gibraltar, ordered a donation to be presented every soldier belonging to the several corps. It consisted of a scarf to be worn on their arms, with a motto,

motto, descriptive of the glorious service for which it was bestowed. His majesty farther ordered, that all the men concerned in the above occasion, when they shall come to the situation of pensioners, shall receive double the allowance permitted to ordinary soldiers. The grenadiers belonging to the same body are to bear upon their caps a silver plate given by his majesty with the word GIBRALTAR inscribed upon it in large letters.

22d. The sessions ended when 58 convicts received sentence of death; 97 were sentenced to be transported, 73 of whom were capital convicts who had received his majesty's mercy on that condition; three ordered to hard labour on the River Thames; two to be kept to hard labour in the house of correction, and three on the Thames; 12 to be publicly whipped, seven ordered to be privately whipped; 6 to be imprisoned in Newgate; and 32 were discharged by proclamation.

This sessions exhibited a far more melancholly spectacle than ever was recited in the annals of the Old Bailey.

DIED, in her 78th year, at the house of Dr. Samuel Johnson, in Bolt-court, Fleet-street, where she had lived by the bounty of that truly benevolent gentleman near twenty years, Mrs. Anna Williams, who had long been deprived of her sight. She published in 1745 the "Life of Julian," from the French of M. de la Bletterie; and in 1766 a volume of "Miscellanies in prose and verse," 4to. by the kind assistance of Dr. Johnson, who wrote several pieces contained in that volume.

At Windsor, Mrs. Vigor, aged 84. This lady was married, first, to Thomas Ward, Esq. consul-general of Russia, in 1731; second to Claudius Rondeau, Esq. resident at that court; where she wrote those truly original *Russian Letters*, published by Doddsley (without her name) in 1775.

## OCTOBER.

The Bank of Paris, denominated Caisse d'Escompte, 2d. stopped payment.

Letters from Gibraltar, 3d. contained an account of the communication having been opened between the garrison and the Spanish continent on this day, when a mail was dispatched for England, &c. in the usual manner.

Paris, Oct. 10th. We have had occasion to observe, that storms have been mostly general on the 3d of August last, but no part of the kingdom seems to have suffered so much as the countries adjacent to Orleans. On the above day a storm arose, which taking its direction from S. W. to N. E. over-ran, in less than half an hour, a space of 20 leagues by one. By its dreadful and rapid effects, 20 parishes have lost every hope of a crop, which was the most promising ever known. The hamlet of Saint Bohaire suffered most; all the trees were torn up by the roots, the chimnies beat down, and every house, mill, and barn unroofed. The timber-work of the church, 56 feet in length, 24 in breadth, and 19 in height, which, though built in the year 1355, was as good as new, gave way during the evening service. Luckily



Luckily only one life was lost, and about forty were wounded; the rest owed their lives to the strong cieling that supported the timber frame.

By letters from Grenoble we receive the melancholy information, that the heavy rains which fell for two months successively, in too great an abundance to flow through the ordinary channels, soon formed the most rapid torrent, which have caused very considerable damages, having entirely stopped up some roads, and damaged or rendered impassible some others, the waters carrying off houses, mills, &c. and filling the plains with stones, some of which are of an enormous size. The village called Vaulnavay, situate within three leagues of Grenoble, suffered the most, its unfortunate inhabitants having lost their all, even to the utensils of husbandry; whilst, reduced to general want, most of them fell a prey to an epidemic distemper, which had began its ravages some time before the dreadful catastrophe.

15th. At a common council holden in the Council-Chamber of London, Resolved that the thanks of the court be given to the Right Honourable Nathaniel Newnham, lord mayor, for his steady and impartial conduct in Common-hall on Michaelmas-day last, when he testified an equal attention to the rights of the corporation, and the real interests of the livery at large, by strenuously endeavouring to preserve that harmony between them upon which the honour and happiness of both so essentially depend, And for the

respect shewn this court, by the communication of a late requisition signed T. Tomlins, &c. for the calling a common-hall, and desiring the opinion of this court, &c.

This morning about seven o'clock Mr. Munro, of the 17th. 16th regiment of dragoons, and Mr. Green, with their seconds, met in a field near Battersea-bridge, for the purpose of settling a dispute which took place a few evenings since; they took their ground at the distance of about six yards; they then fired three pistols each, the last of which wounded Mr. Green in the side; the seconds interfered, and asked Mr. Green if he was satisfied; he said not, unless Mr. Munro made him a public apology;—*that*, Mr. Munro said, he *now* would not do. Mr. Green, replied, "then one of them must fall." They again took their ground, and fired each two pistols more; one ball entered Mr. Munro's knee, and Mr. Green received a shot which has since proved fatal, the ball entering a little above the groin.

Philadelphia, Oct. 18th. The people called Quakers, in America, having been long impressed with a sense of the iniquity of the slave trade, at length enjoined the members of their society to liberate all such as they held in bondage, but finding a disposition in some still to continue and carry on this unrighteous traffic, they believed it to be their religious duty, at their late anniversary meetings, to present an address to the united States in congress, which was favourably received, and a committee thereupon appointed by congress to take the same into consideration.

20th. The Russians took possession of Crimea, and prince Heraclius, sovereign of Georgia, yielded up his sceptre to the immortal Catharine.

*Canterbury, Oct. 24th.* Some few days ago 46 lambs in-keep at a farmer's in this neighbourhood dying very suddenly, the grazier they belonged to had several of them opened, when the cause of their death was discovered to be owing to their having eaten mint roots, quantities of which were found undigested in their stomach.

25th. This day being the anniversary of the king's accession to the throne, when his majesty entered into the twenty-fourth year of his reign, it was observed with the usual demonstrations.

27th. Seaton's prize at Cambridge, the subject of which was HOPE, was this year adjudged to the Reverend Mr. Hayes of Trinity-college, and one of the ushers of Westminster-school.

DIED lately at Leicester, in her 100th year, Mrs. Bancart, who could read without spectacles till within a fortnight of her death. She buried her husband in 1765, aged 104 years.

At Navarre in France, Mons. James le Messurier, aged 118 years.

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## NOVEMBER.

4th. More than half of Beesdorp, a very large country town in Prussia, was reduced by fire to a heap of ruins.

The sessions ended, when six

more convicts received judgment of death; six were sentenced to be transported; five to be kept to hard labour in the house of correction; one to be imprisoned in Newgate; three whipt and discharged; and ten delivered on proclamation.

This morning, about a quarter before two o'clock, 5th. a fire broke out in the workshops behind the dwelling-house of Mr. Seddon, in Aldersgate-street, which entirely consumed above thirty houses, and damaged many others. At day-break several families were sitting round what few effects they had saved in Smithfield, some half dressed, and others without clothes, wrapped in carpets and blankets. Several fellows were taken into custody, for purloining the property of the unfortunate sufferers. Fortunately no lives were lost.

The Prince of Wales 11th. first took his seat in the House of Peers, as Duke of Cornwall.

Christopher Atkinson, Esq. was called upon, according to the recognisance entered into by him and his bail for his appearance in the court of King's-Bench, to abide the judgment of that court, on his conviction of the crime of perjury, when not appearing, his default was recorded, and the recognisances estreated in the Exchequer, on the motion of the solicitor-general.

Mr. Secretary Fox presented to the House of 14th. Commons, copies of the definitive treaties of France, Spain, and the United States of America,

The

17th. The Duke of Portland presented to the House of Peers the definitive treaties between France, Spain, and the United States of America.

His Royal Highness George Prince of Wales took his seat for the first time at the council board.

22d. Mr. Bembridge, late accountant to the Pay Office, was brought before the judges in the court of King's Bench, agreeable to the intimation given to his counsel to that effect by Lord Mansfield in the course of last week, when Mr. Bearcroft, on the part of Mr. Bembridge, addressed himself to the court in a long and able speech, praying for a new trial. This application, however, though supported with very powerful arguments, the court did not think proper to comply with, and Mr. Bembridge being then in the custody and presence of the court, their lordships declared their intention of taking that opportunity to proceed to judgment. Accordingly Mr. Justice Willes, as the middle judge, proceeded to a full and elaborate revision of the circumstances that had transpired in the evidence adduced against Mr. B. in his trial; and after commenting upon some of them, with not inconsiderable share of point and severity, concluded with pronouncing the judgment of the court, which was to this effect:—that he should be fined in the sum of two thousand six hundred pounds, and be confined in his majesty's court of King's Bench for six months. Mr. B. was accordingly consigned to the custody of the marshal, and conveyed to that prison. He bore

this very heavy judgment with great fortitude and composure.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, with 23d. his duchess and retinue, set out for Dover, to embark for Calais in their way to Paris.

W. Vaughan, the messenger, seized in the King's 25th. Bench prison, in the apartments of a bankrupt, the sum of 2225l. in bank notes, concealed in the window-case or frames of the windows, from his creditors.

A melancholy account 26th. was received, that the city of Thessalonica, capital of Macedonia, a great magazine for the Levant trade, has been totally overthrown by an earthquake; in the lower part many French, English, and Italians are buried in the ruins. This disaster is more destructive than that of Messina. Warehouses of all kinds of commodities, belonging to the merchants of Marseilles and London, are swallowed up.

The Dolphin man of war, of 44 guns, Capt. Sutton, arrived from New-York with several transports, &c. under convoy. The final evacuation of that city took place on the 26th of this month, when it was delivered up to the American governor, George Clinton, Esq. who took possession of it in due form with some companies of New-York militia, amounting to about 550 men, which are to continue there as the garrison, till further arrangements are made by the American government.

Was tried, before the 30th. Earl of Mansfield, at Guildhall, two actions of infinite concern to inn-keepers: two travellers sued for the recovery of their losses

losses during one night's stay at an inn. The facts were these: when they were conducted to bed by the chamberlain, they desired to have a key to lock the chamber door: it was a two-bedded room, but the travellers chusing to lie together, there was one bed remained empty. In the morning one of the plaintiffs missed three guineas, the other thirteen and a half. For the recovery of this money the actions were brought. Mr. Bearcroft laboured hard for the defendant, upon the danger of giving a verdict against his client, on the evidence of one plaintiff in favour of another, by which mankind might be tempted to conspire together, and fabricate losses which they never suffered. He said, in the present case, it looked as if one man robbed the other.—The attorney-general proved the reputation of the plaintiffs to be above that suspicion. Lord Mansfield said, the law was clear, that an inn-keeper was bound to keep his guests in security. The circumstances for the consideration of the jury were, whether the defendant was negligent, and the evidence of the plaintiffs to support each other's cause material as to their credibility. The jury gave the travellers a verdict to repair their losses.

*Paris, Nov. 30th.* A cure for cancers has been lately found out by chance; it is nothing more than pitch, which a shepherd in one of our provinces applied with great success, and it has been found to be a radical cure for that complaint.

DIED, suddenly, in Dublin, Miss Clancy, daughter of the

late William Clancy, formerly one of the most considerable merchants in Dublin. The circumstances of this lady's death are very extraordinary: on the morning of her decease she told the family she had passed a most disagreeable night, having dreamed that her eldest sister (a widow lady who resides in France) was dead, and that her ghost had appeared to her, to warn her of an immediate dissolution: at first she refused to credit the ghost, declaring her health to be very good; but the apparition persevered in asserting, she had but a few hours to live. This dream affected her much, but she was rallied out of her fears. She paid some morning visits, and then retired to her devotion. At dinner she was very cheerful, but suddenly dropped her knife and fork, complained of a violent pain in her head, and instantly expired.

## DECEMBER.

Christopher Atkinson was expelled the House of Commons for perjury. 4th.

A cause of very great importance to the proprietors of the sugar estates in our islands, came on to be heard before the barons of the Exchequer, on a seizure of a very large quantity of sugar imported from the island of Tortola, with a certificate that the sugar was of British produce; when after a long examination of witnesses on both sides, and pleadings of the most eminent counsel, it clearly appearing to the satisfaction of a special jury to be of foreign 5th.

foreign produce, and not British, a verdict for condemnation was accordingly given.

6th. Trial came on before Lord Loughborough at Guildhall, on an action brought against the East-India Company, for not providing for and sending home the foreign sailors (commonly called Lascars) hired abroad to assist in navigating the company's ships to England, and since which for their support they have been obliged to beg about the streets; when after a hearing of two hours a verdict was given against the company that they should allow each man (as they were acknowledged to be good sailors) 36s. a month during their stay in England, to be clothed; and to be sent home at the company's expence.

10th. Being the anniversary of the institution of the Royal Academy, a general assembly of the academicians was held at the Royal Academy, Somerset-place, when Edmund Garvey, Esq. was admitted an academician, and received his diploma, signed by his majesty.

Three silver medals were given, viz. one to Mr. William Artaud, for the best drawing of an academy figure; one to Mr. Thos. Proctor for the best model of an academy figure; one to Mr. Thomas Johnson, for the best drawing of architecture, being the elevation towards the principal court of one of the pavillions of Greenwich hospital, nearest the river, done from actual measurement.

The assembly then proceeded to elect the officers for the year ensuing, when Sir Joshua Reynolds was re-elected president.

## Council.

James Barry,  
George Dance,  
Jeremiah Meyer,  
John Richards,  
J. Bap. Cipriani,  
J. Singleton Copley,  
Rev. Mr. W. Peters,  
Benj. West, Esqrs.

## Visitors.

Agostino Carlini,  
Richard Cosway,  
Joseph Nollekens,  
Joseph Wilton,  
John Bacon,  
Edward Burch,  
Charles Catton,  
J. Singleton Copley,  
Benj. West, Esquires.

The sessions began at the Old-Bailey.

The sessions ended, when 17th. 24 convicts received judgment of death, 30 were sentenced to be transported to America, 13 to be imprisoned short terms in Newgate, 25 kept to hard labour in the house of correction, of whom several were whipped, 21 to be whipped and discharged, and 22 discharged by proclamation. Besides the twenty-four unhappy objects who were capitally convicted this sessions, there were no fewer than 90 offenders cast for simple felonies! A circumstance, we are assured, never before known in the annals of the above court.

This morning, at one 19th. o'clock, a special messenger delivered to Lord North and Mr. Fox the two secretaries of state, a message from his majesty, importing that it was his majesty's will and pleasure, that they should deliver to him the seals

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seals of their respective offices. On this message the seals were sent to Buckingham-house by Mr. Frazier and Mr. Nepean, the two under secretaries. A similar message was about the same time sent to the commissioners of the great seal.

Late the evening before the Duke of Portland and Mr. Fox communicated to his majesty dispatches from Holland.

24th. His majesty went to the House of Peers, and gave the royal assent to the following bills: the malt bill—land-tax bill—East India payment bill—American trade bill—Irish postage bill—Splitnerberg's naturalization bill—Tournay's naturalization bill—Borrowstowness canal bill—and some road bills.

DIED.—At Newmarket, Mrs. Moore, wife of Mr. Moore, church-clerk, who had been many years mistress of the free-school. Her death was occasioned by a bite from a cat. She had a day or two preceding her death all the symptoms of feline madness.

### BIRTHS for the year 1783.

Jan. 2. Lady of W. Drake, Jun. Esq. M. P. for Amer-sham, of a daughter.

6. At seven in the morning, The Countess of Artois was happily brought to bed of a princess whom the King has named Mademoiselle d'Angoulême.

10. The Right Hon. Lady Elizabeth Cavendish was safely delivered of a son and heir.

The lady of Lord Algon Percy, of a daughter.

15. The lady of Sir Henry Hunlock, of a daughter.

18. Lady of C. A. Pelham, Esq. of a daughter.

29. The lady of the Right Hon. Lord Macdonald, of a son.

30. On Monday last, at his house in Arlington-street, the Countess of Carlisle, of a daughter.

Feb. 13. The lady of the Hon. Mr. Fortescue, of a son and heir.

17. The lady of the Hon. Keith Stewart, of a son. Her serene Highness the Princess Frederica of Wirtemberg was safely delivered of a daughter.

24. The Lady of John Wilmot, Esq. eldest son of the Right Hon. Sir Eardley Wilmot of a son.

27. Mrs. Stuart, daughter of Lord Camden, was brought to bed at his lordship's house in New Burlington-street, of a daughter.

The lady of the Hon. Mr. Nevill, of a daughter.

March 4. The lady of Sir Robert Hutchinson, of twins, at their house in Portman-square.

10. The lady of Sir John Thorold, Bart. was safely delivered of a daughter.

13. Of a daughter, the lady of the Right Hon. Lord Hawke.

15. Of a son and heir, the lady of Sir John Shaw, Bart.



Bart. at his house in George-street, Hanover-square

16. The lady of Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, Barr. was safely delivered of a son

23. Archduchess Maria Amelia, sister of the grand duke, and wife of the Prince of Parma, of a prince

24. Countess of Tankerville, of a daughter  
Countess of Cavan, of a son

- April 10. The lady of Lord Paget, of a daughter

12. Lady Elizabeth Yorke, of a daughter, at the house of Philip Yorke, Esq. in Park-street

14. Lady of Sir Thomas Miller, Bart. of a son

16. The lady of Sir Rowland Hill, of a son

- May 6. The Countess of Percy was safely delivered of daughter

7. Lady Cadogan, of a son  
Countess of Balcarras, of a son

- June 1. Duchess of Rutland, of a son

8. The lady of Sir Alexander Purves, Bart. of a daughter

Right Hon. Lady Rodney, of a son

12. Countess Dowager of Granard, of a son

Lady Walpole, of a daughter

Lady of Baron Nolken, of a son

14. Lady of the Hon. Mr. Walpole, of a son and heir

Her grace the Duchess of Leinster was safely delivered of a son

25. Her serene Highness the Duchess of Courland, of a princess

Sir Cecil Bishop's lady, of a son and heir

- July 3. Her Royal Highness the Princess Royal of Prussia, of a prince

The Right Hon. the Countess Mexborough, of a son

6. Lady of Viscount Duncannon, of a son

10. The lady of the Hon. Henry Erskine, of a son

12. Her grace the Duchess of Devonshire was brought to bed of a daughter

14. The lady of the Right Hon. Lord Chewton, of a daughter

18. The Queen of Naples, of a dead princess

30. The Countess of Lincoln, of a daughter

- Aug. 4. The lady of the Bishop of Gloucester, of a daughter

5. The lady of Sir James Grant, Bart. of Cannongate, Edinburgh, of a son

7. Her Majesty was safely delivered of a princess, at her lodge at Windsor

27. The Right Hon. Lady Boston, of a son

28. The

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28. The Right Hon. Lady Castlestewart, of a daughter  
Lady Harrington, of a daughter
- Sept. 6. The Right Hon. Lady Viscountess Lewisham was safely delivered of a daughter
9. Her Imperial Highness the grand Dutchess of Russia, of a princess, named Alexandria-Paulina
11. Her Grace the Dutchess of Athol, of a son
18. Lady Perrot, of a son
21. The Countess of Rothes, lady of Dr. Lucas Pepys, was safely delivered of a son
27. The lady of Rich Aldworth Neville, Esq. M. P. for Reading, of a son and heir
29. The grand Dutchess of Tuscany, of a prince
- Oct. 1. The lady of Sir George Cockburn, of a daughter
10. Lady of the Bishop of Lincoln, of a daughter
14. Countess of Roseberry, of a son
15. Lady of Sir John Taylor, of a son
18. Lady Grantham, of a son
22. The Countess of Galloway, of a son, being her fifteenth child
- Nov. 13. Lady of G. Noel Edwards, Esq. of a son
22. The lady of George Drummond, Esq. of a son and heir
- Dec. 8. The Hon. Mrs. Fane,

of Berners street, of a son.

## MARRIAGES in the Year 1783.

- Dec. 16, At New-York, Sir Jacob 1782. Wheate, Bart. commander of his majesty's ship Cerberus, to Miss Maria Shaw, of that city
26. Capt. Macleod, of the royal artillery, to the Right Honourable Lady Amelia Kerr
- Jan. 3. Lord Visc. Palmerston, 1783. member of parliament for Hastings, to Miss Mea
10. Rev. Auriol Drummond, son of the late Archbishop of York, and nephew to the Earl of Kinnoul, to Miss De Visme, daughter of the late William De Visme, Esq.
14. Lord Viscount Deerhurst, to Miss Pitches, daughter to Sir Abraham Pitches  
John William Egerton, lieutenant-colonel of the 23d dragoons, M.P. for Brackley, and son of the Bishop of Durham, to Miss Haynes, only daughter of Samuel Haynes, Esq.
30. Hon. Mr. Grimston, brother to Lord Viscount Grimston, to Miss Sophia Hoare, coheirs of the late Richard Hoare, Esq. of Bosham, Essex.

Sir

- Sir John Freke, Bart. at  
Saunders's Court, in  
Ireland, to the Hon.  
Lady Catherine Gore
- Feb. 15. Hon. Thomas Onslow,  
to Mrs. Duncombe, re-  
lict of the late Thomas  
Duncombe, Esq.
- Lady Arabella Crosbie,  
sister to the Earl of  
Glandore, to ——— Ward,  
Esq. of the kingdom of  
Ireland, brother to Lord  
Ward
- Sir Nathaniel Duken-  
field, Bart. of Cheshire,  
to Miss Ward, sister to  
John Ward, Esq. of  
Kent
20. P. C. Crespigny, Esq.  
M. P. for Aldborough,  
in the county of Suf-  
folk, to Miss Scott, only  
daughter of the late R.  
Scott, Esq. of Betton,  
near Shrewsbury
- March 5. By special licence, the  
Hon. George Richard  
St. John, to Miss Char.  
Collins, daughter of the  
Rev. Mr. Collins, of  
Winchester
13. By special licence, Wil-  
liam Manners, Esq. son  
of the Rev. Mr. Man-  
ners, to Miss Which-  
cott, the only daughter  
of Sir Richard Which-  
cott, Bart. of As-  
wardby
20. Richard Bagot, Esq.  
brother of Lord Bagot,  
to the Hon. Miss Fran-  
ces Howard, daughter  
of Lady Andover
- Apr 8. By a special licence,  
Sir William Jones, to  
Miss Shipley, eldest  
daughter of the Bishop  
of St. Asaph
21. By a special licence, the  
Right Hon. John Ri-  
chard, Earl Delawarr,  
to Miss Lyell, only  
daughter of Henry  
Lyell, Esq.
28. Sir David Carnegie, Bt.  
of Southesk, to Miss  
Elliott, daughter of  
Andrew Elliot, Esq.  
late lieutenant-governor  
of New-York
- May 1. Sir Henry Gough, Bart.  
to Miss Carpenter,  
daughter of General  
Carpenter
- William Walter Yea,  
Esq. eldest son of Sir  
William Yea, Bart. to  
Miss Newman, daugh-  
ter of Francis Newman,  
Esq. of Cadbury-house,  
Somersetshire
6. By special licence, Wil-  
liam Beckford, Esq. to  
Lady Margaret Gor-  
don, daughter to the  
Earl of Aboine
12. Lady Frances Scott, sis-  
ter to the Duke of Buc-  
cleugh, to ——— Dou-  
glas, Esq. of Douglas-  
castle, Scotland
16. Sir Hugh Dalrymple,  
lieutenant-colonel of  
the 68th regiment, to  
Miss Frances Leighton,  
youngest daughter of  
the late General Leigh-  
ton
20. James King, Esq. young-  
est son of Gilbert King,  
Esq. of Charles-Town,  
in the county of Ros-  
common, to the Hon.  
Miss Creighton, eldest  
daughter

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- daughter to Lord Viscount Erne
25. John Aubrey, Esq. of Dorton, Bucks, to Miss Carter, of Chilton, in the same county
- June 5. Sir John Jervis, knight of the Bath, to Miss Parker, daughter of the Right Hon. Sir Thomas Parker
22. The Right Hon. Sir Joseph Yorke, knight of the Bath, to the Dowager Baroness de Boetzelaer, relict of the late Baron de Boetzelaer, formerly first noble of the province of Holland
24. Sir George Allanson Winn, Bart. to Miss Blennerhasset
29. Captain Sir William Chaloner Burnaby, of the navy, and of Broughton, in Oxfordshire, Bart. to Miss Elizabeth Molineux, second daughter of Crisp Molineux, of Garboldisham, Norfolk, Esq.
- July 10. The Right Hon. the Earl of Chatham, to the Hon. Miss Townshend, daughter of Lord Sidney
20. By a special licence, the Earl of Denbigh, to Lady Halfard, widow of the late Sir Charles Halfard, Bart.
29. Hon. Grenville Anson Chetwynd, third son of Lord Visc. Chetwynd, to Miss Stapylton
30. Sir Thomas Gage, Bart. to Miss Maria Fergus
- Aug. 7. Morton Eden, Esq. his majesty's envoy extraordinary at the court of Saxony, to Miss Elizabeth Henley, youngest sister to the Earl of Northington
9. The Right Hon. the Earl of Eglintown, to Miss Twisden, daughter of the late Sir William Twisden, Bart.
12. Sir George Armytage, Bart. of Kirklees, Yorkshire, to Miss Harboard, eldest daughter of Sir Harboard Harboard, Bart. of Gunton, in Norfolk
18. Richard Colt Hoare, Esq. eldest son of Richard Hoare, Esq. of Barn Elms, to the Hon. Miss Lyttelton, eldest daughter of Lord Westcote, of Hagley Park, in Worcestershire
- The Rev. Edward Beekingham Benson, to the Right Hon. Lady Frances Alicia Sandys, sister of the Earl of Tankerville
- Sept. 16. The Hon. George Dalrymple, brother to the Earl of Stair, to Miss Harland, eldest surviving daughter of Admiral Sir Robert Harland
24. Sir Robert Wilmet, Bart. of Osmaſton, in the county of Derby, to the Hon. Mrs. Byron, daughter of the Hon. Admiral Byron
- Sir Thomas Wallace, to Miss Gordon

Oct. 6.

- Oct. 6. Lord Viscount Valentia, to Miss Cavendish, daughter to the Right Hon. Sir Henry Cavendish, Bart.
- Nov. 1. The Rev. Mr. O'Beirne, secretary to the first lord of the Treasury, to Miss Stuart, only surviving child of the Hon. Colonel Francis Stuart, brother to the Earl of Moray
- Dec. 3. William Bellingham, Esq. to Miss Fanny Cholmondeley, youngest daughter to the Hon. Robert Cholmondeley
16. By special licence, Thomas Boothby Parkyns, Esq. eldest son of Sir Thomas Parkyns, Bart. to Miss James, only daughter of the late Sir William James, Bart.

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*Principal PROMOTIONS in the Year 1783, from the London Gazette, &c.*

Dec. 28, 1782. Vice-admiral Sir Peter Parker.—John Whalle Gardiner;—and James Graham, Esqrs. to be Baronets of Great-Britain.

Jan. 4, 1783. Rev. John Hume, to be dean of Derry, in Ireland, void by the resignation of the Rev. Mr. Edward Emily

Dr. Scott to the office of register of the court of faculties

The Countess of Pembroke, to be one of the ladies of her majesty's bed-chamber, in the room of the Countess of Hertford, deceased

Alexander Chalmers, to be commissary clerk of the commissariat of Murray, vacant by the resignation of Mr. William Dunbar

— 8. The order of the Bath conferred upon the Right Hon. George Augustus Elliott, general of his majesty's forces, and governor of Gibraltar

Same day lieutenant general C. Grey was invested with the order of the Bath

— 10. John Storr, Esq. of Halston, in the county of York, to be rear admiral of the red

— 11. Lieutenant general Sir Charles Grey, knight of the Bath, to be general and commander in chief of his majesty's forces in North America, in the room of Sir Guy Carleton, knight of the Bath

— 12. Lady Elizabeth Waldegrave, daughter of the earl of Waldegrave, appointed lady of the bed chamber to the princess royal

— 22. Hon. Charles Howard, commonly called Earl of Surry, to be lord lieutenant of the West Riding in the county of York, and of the city of York and county of the same

— 28. Richard Viscount Howe, Admiral Hugh Pigot, Charles Brett, and Richard Hopkins, Esqrs. John Jeffries Pratt, John Aubrey, Esq. and John Leveson Gower, were appointed commissioners of the Admiralty

Feb. 1. The Rev. St. Andrew St. John, M. A. uncle to Lord St. John, to the deanry of Worcester, vice Dr. Foley, deceased

— 10. The Marquis of Carmarthen to be ambassador extraordinary to his Christian majesty; and

and William Fawkener, Esq. to be his lordship's secretary

— 14. Duke of Rutland was appointed steward of his majesty's household

— 20. The Hon. William Skeffington, to be equerry to her majesty, in the room of the Hon. John West, now Earl Delawar

— 22. The Hon. John Trevor, to be envoy extraordinary to the king of Sardinia; and Lord Galway, envoy extraordinary to the Elector Palatine, and minister to the diet at Ratisbon

Alexander Murray, Esq. to be one of the lords of session in North Britain

Elay Campbell, Esq. advocate, to be his majesty's solicitor general in Scotland

March 1. Edward Mathew, Esq. major general of his majesty's forces, to be captain general and governor in chief in and over the island of Grenada, and such of the islands, commonly called the Grenadines, to the southward of the island of Carriacou, including that island, and lying between the same and Grenada

Edmund Lincoln, Esq. to be captain general and governor in chief in and over the island of St. Vincent, Bequia, and such other the islands, commonly called the Grenadines, as lie to the northward of the island of Carriacou, in America

John Orde, Esq. to be captain general and governor in chief in and over the island of Dominica and its dependencies, in America

— 4. The dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Great Britain to the Hon. Francis Rawdon, (commonly called Lord Rawdon) by

the title of Baron Rawdon, of Rawdon, in the county of York

The dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Great Britain to the Right Hon. Thomas Townshend, by the title of Baron Sydney, of Chiselmurst, in the county of Kent.

The dignity of a baronet of the kingdom of Great Britain, to the Rev. Mark Sykes, D. D. of Sledmire, in the county of York

The like dignity to lieutenant general John Dalling, of Burwood, in the county of Surry

William Jones, Esq. to be one of the judges of his majesty's supreme court of judicature, at Fort. William, in Bengal, in the room of Stephen Cæsar Le Maistre, Esq. deceased

— 5. His grace the Duke of Buccleugh, elected governor, and the Right Hon. Lord Elliock, deputy governor, of the royal bank of Scotland

— 8. The Earl of Arran to be a knight of St. Patrick, vice Earl of Antrim, declined

Edward Fanning, Esq. to be lieutenant governor of the province of Novo Scotia, vice Sir Andrew Snape Hamond

The Hon. Mr. Willoughby, son of Lord Middleton, to be colonel of the Nottingham militia, in the room of the late Lord George Sutton

— 12. Lord Mountstuart was appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the court of Spain

Robert Lifton, Esq. to be his secretary

— 14. Edwin Francis Stanhope, Esq. gentleman usher of the privy chamber, to be one of her majesty's equerries, in the room of the Hon. John West

16. The



— 16. The honour of knight-hood on Alexander Munro, Esq. his majesty's consul at Madrid

His Royal Highness Prince Edward, to be senior knight companion of the illustrious order of St. Patrick

— 23. Major Bernard, of the 20th dragoons, to be master of the jewel office, in the room of the late Col. William Egerton

Lord Sydney, to be governor of the Charter-house, in the room of the late archbishop of Canterbury

April 2. Dr. Moore was translated from the see of Bangor to the archbishoprick of Canterbury

The Right Hon. Charles Townshend, to be treasurer of his majesty's navy

The Right Hon. David, Visc. Stormont, to be lord president of his majesty's most honourable privy council

The Right Hon. Frederick, Earl of Carlisle, privy seal

The Right Hon. Lord North, and the Right Hon. Charles James Fox, to be principal secretaries of state

His grace William Henry, Duke of Portland, the Right. hon. John Cavendish, the Right hon. Charles Howard, Frederick Montagu, Esq. and Sir Grey Cooper, Bart. to be commissioners of the treasury

The Right hon. Lord John Cavendish, to be chancellor and under-treasurer of the Exchequer

— 4. John Montagu, Esq. vice-admiral of the red, to be the port admiral at Portsmouth

— 7. The Right hon. William Eden, to be of his majesty's most honourable privy council

Admiral Lord Viscount Keppel, Admiral Hugh Pigot, the Right

hon. William Ponsonby, Lord Viscount Duncannon, the hon. John Townshend, Sir John Lindsay, knight of the Bath, William Jolliffe and Whitshed Keene, Esqrs. to be commissioners for executing the office of high admiral of the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland

The Right hon. Edmund Burke, to be receiver and paymaster general of the forces

— 9. The Right hon. Charles Greville, to be treasurer of his majesty's household

The Right Hon. Alexander Lord Loughborough, lord chief justice of his majesty's court of Common Pleas, Sir William Henry Ashurst, one of the justices of his majesty's court of King's Bench, and Sir Beaumont Hotham, one of the barons of his majesty's court of Exchequer, to be lords commissioners for the custody of the great seal

His grace the duke of Manchester, to be ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the most Christian king

The Earl of Shannon, the Right Hon. Charles Spencer, commonly called Lord Charles Spencer, and the Right Hon. William Eden, to be vice-treasurers of the kingdom of Ireland

— 11. George Maddison, Esq. to be his majesty's secretary of embassy to the most Christian king

The Right hon. Lord Foley, and the Right hon. Henry Frederick Carteret, to be postmasters general

— 12. The Earl of Dartmouth, lord steward of his majesty's household

The Earl of Hertford to be  
[P] 4 Lord

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lord chamberlain of his majesty's household

The Earl of Cholmondeley to be captain of the yeomen of the guards

Lord Viscount Townshend to be master general of the ordnance

Henry Strachey, Esq. to be keeper of his majesty's stores, ordnance, and ammunition of war

William Adam, Esq. to be treasurer and paymaster of his majesty's ordnance

The Right hon. Richard Fitzpatrick, his majesty's secretary at war

— 14. — St. John, Esq. of Lincoln's inn, barrister at law, to be under secretary to Lord North

The Right Hon. George James, Earl of Cholmondeley, the Right hon. Richard Fitzpatrick, and the Right Hon. Frederick Montagu, were sworn of the privy council

— 15. Earl Fitzwilliam to be custos rotulorum for the soke or liberty of Peterborough, in Northamptonshire

John Lee, Esq. to be solicitor general

— 20. Sir Willoughby Ashton to be usher of the black rod in Ireland, under the Earl of Northington

— 29. John Courtney, Esq. master surveyor of the ordnance.

Humphry Minchin, Esq. clerk of the ordnance

The bishop of Worcester to be clerk of the closet to his majesty

Dr. Warren to be bishop of Bangor

May 3. The Right hon. Robert, Earl of Northington, lieutenant general and general governor of his majesty's kingdom of Ireland

— 6. James Wallace, Esq. to be attorney general

The Earl of Leven to be his majesty's high commissioner to the general assembly of the church of Scotland

— 14. The Right hon. George Harry, Earl of Stamford, to be lord lieutenant of the county of Chester, and of the city of Chester and county of the same

— 17. Dr. Lewis Bagot, bishop of Bristol, to be bishop of Norwich

The Earl of Sandwich, to be ranger and keeper of St. James's park, and of Hyde park

The Earl of Jersey to be captain of his majesty's band of pensioners

The Lord Viscount Hinchinbroke, to be master of his majesty's buck hounds

James Hefeltice, Esq. to be his majesty's procurator

— 22. Counsellor Erskine to be king's counsel

— 23. A. Pigot to be king's counsel

June 14. Dr. Wilson, to be bishop of Bristol

— 15. Rev. Cyril Jackson to be dean of the cathedral church of Christ in the university of Oxford. And, the Rev. Thomas Shafto to be canon of the same church, in the room of Mr. Jackson

— 16. The Right hon. Lord Viscount Keppel, first lord of the admiralty, was unanimously chosen master, and Sir William James, Bart. deputy master of the Trinity house.

— 17. Dr. Smallwell, to be bishop of St. David's

— 26. Thomas Davenport, Esq. was called to the degree of serjeant

jeant at law. As was also Nash Grosse, Esq.

— 27. Serjeant Davenport was knighted by his Majesty

July 4. Capt. John Collins, in the navy, was knighted

Aug. 15. The Hon. Henry Erskine, (brother of the Earl of Buchan) to the office of lord advocate of Scotland, in the room of Henry Dundas, Esq.

Henry Mathias, Esq. to the offices or places of prothonotary and clerk of the crown in the counties of Carmarthen, Pembroke, and Cardigan, and the town of Haverfordwest, and borough of Caermarthen

— 19. Alleyne Fitzherbert, Esq. to be his majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Peterburgh

— 22. Thomas Page, Esq. of the artillery, had the honour of knighthood conferred on him

— 26. George Ogle, Esq. and the honourable Thomas Pelham, to be of his majesty's most honourable privy council in the kingdom of Ireland

— 28. The Earl of Derby to be chancellor of the duchy and county Palatine of Lancaster, vice Lord Ashburton

— 30. John Randolph, bachelor of divinity, to be regius professor of divinity in the university of Oxford, with the place and dignity of a canon of the cathedral church of Christ in the said university, void by the death of the Rev. Dr. Benjamin Wheeler

The Hon. and Rev. Edward Seymour Conway, M. A. to be a canon of the said cathedral church, void by the death of the Rev. Dr. Benjamin Kennicott

The Hon. and Rev. George Hamilton, M. A. to be a prebend of his majesty's free chapel of St. George in the castle of Windsor, void by the death of the Rev. Dr. John James Majendie

Sept. 20. Letters patent passed the great seal, granting John, Lord Sheffield, the title of Baron Sheffield of Roscommon, in the county of Roscommon, with remainders severally to his daughters

The like dignity of baron of the said kingdom of Ireland to the following gentlemen:

Arthur Pomroy, of Newbury, in the county of Kildare, Esq. Barton Harberton of Carbery, in the said county

Robert Clements, Esq. Baron Leitrim of Manor Hamilton, in the county of Leitrim

Francis Mathew, Esq. Baron Landaff of Thomastown, in the county of Tipperary. And

William Tonson, Esq. Baron Riversdale, of Rathcormuck, in the county of Cork

The dignity of a baroness of the said kingdom to Mrs. Christian Hely Hutchinson, wife of the Right Hon. John Hely Hutchinson, by the title of Baroness Donogmore of Knocklofty, in the county of Tipperary

The dignity of a baron of the said kingdom to sir John Hussey Delaval, bart. by the title of Baron Delaval of Redford, in the county of Tipperary

To John Pennington, Esq. the title of Baron Muncaster; with remainder to his brother Lieutenant colonel Lowther Pennington

To Richard Pennant, Esq. the title of Baron Penrhyn, in the county of Lowth

Oct.

Oct. 21. William Lucas, Esq. to be his majesty's chief justice of the islands of Grenada and the Grenadines, in America

— 25. The Right Hon. Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, clerk of the pipe

Nov. 11. Rev. Dr. Kaye, to be dean of Lincoln

George Payne, to be consul-general at Morocco

19. Mr. John Lee, to be attorney general

Mr. James Mansfield, to be solicitor general

The Hon. Thomas Erskine, and Arthur Pigott, Esq. the former appointed attorney general, and the latter solicitor general to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales

The Hon. Mr. Walpole, appointed envoy to the court of Bavaria

— 20. Lord Viscount Lewisham, lord warden of the Stanneries, and steward of the duchy of Cornwall

— 25. Richard Ackom Harrison, Esq. to be collector of his majesty's customs at the port of Hull

Dec. 6. Hon. Capt. George Fitzroy, one of the grooms of the bed chamber to the prince of Wales

— 10. The Rev. William Dickson, clerk, M. A. to the united bishopricks of Down and Connor

— 13. Anthony Storer, Esq. to be minister plenipotentiary to the court of Versailles, during the absence of the duke of Manchester

— 20. The Right Honourable George, Earl Temple, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state

The Right Hon. Granville, Earl Gower, lord president of the privy council

The dignity of a baronet of the kingdom of Great Britain to the several gentlemen under mentioned :

John Guise, of Higham Court, in the county of Gloucester, Esq.

Sir Andrew Snape Hamond, Knight, with remainder to Andrew Snape Douglas, Esq. captain in his majesty's navy

Charles Barrow, of Hygrove, in the county of Gloucester, Esq. with remainder to Thomas Crawley Boevy, of Flanley Abby, in the said county, Esq.

John Morshead, of Trenant Park, in the county of Cornwall, Esq.

The Rev. Richard Rycroft, D. D. of Calton, in the county of York

John Silvester Smith, of Newland Park, in the West Riding of the county of York, Esq.

John Lombe, of Great Melton, in the county of Norfolk, Esq. with remainders severally to his brother Edward Hase, of Sall, in the said county of Norfolk, Esq. and to the heirs male of Vertue, wife of Richard Paul Jodrell, of Saxlingham, in the same county, niece of the said John Lombe, Esq.

Thomas Durrant, of Scottowe, in the county of Norfolk, Esq.

Lucas Pepys, doctor of physic, of Brook street, Grosvenor square, physician extraordinary to his majesty, with remainder to his brother William Weller Pepys, of Ridley, in the county Palatine of Chester, Esq. one of the masters in the high court of chancery

Francis Wood, of Barnsley, in the county of York, Esq. second son

son of Francis Wood, late of Bamfley aforesaid, Esq. deceased, with remainder severally to the Rev. Henry Wood, of the same place, D. D. eldest son of the said Francis Wood, deceased, and to the heirs of the said Francis Wood, deceased

William Fitzherbert, of Telfington, in the county of Derby, Esq. and Thomas Beavor, of Hethel, in the county of Norfolk, Esq.

— 23. His grace Charles, Duke of Rutland, to be keeper of the privy seal

The Right Hon. Francis, Marquis of Carmarthen, and the Right Hon. Thomas, Lord Sydney, to be his majesty's principal secretaries of state

The Right Hon. Edward, Lord Thurlow, to be lord high chancellor of Great Britain

The Duke of Dorset, ambassador to Paris

Daniel Hailes, Esq. his secretary

Lord Salisbury to be lord chamberlain

Lloyd Kenyon, Esq. to be attorney general

Richard Pepper Arden, Esq. to be solicitor general

William Pitt, Esq. Lord Graham, John Buller, Esq. Edward James Elliott, Esq. and John Aubrey, Esq. to be commissioners of the treasury

Duke of Chandos, to be lord steward of the household

Lord de Ferrars, to be captain of the band of gentlemen pensioners

The Hon. William Wyndham Grenville, and Lord Mulgrave, to be joint pay-masters of the forces

The Hon. William Pitt, the office of chancellor and under-treasurer of his majesty's exchequer

His grace the Duke of Richmond, the office of master general of his majesty's ordnance

The Right Hon. Richard Viscount Howe, Charles Brett, John Jeffries Pratt, and John Leveson Gower, Esqrs. Henry Bathurst, Esq. (commonly called Lord Apsley), Charles George Percival, and James Modyford Haywood, Esqrs. to be his majesty's commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland.

The Right Hon. Henry Dundas, the office of treasurer of his majesty's ordnance

William Smith, Esq. the office of treasurer and paymaster of his majesty's ordnance

G. A. Selwyn, surveyor of crown lands

The Right Hon. Barry Yelverton, to be lord chief baron, in Ireland

John Fitzgibbon, Esq. to be attorney general, in Ireland.

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*SHERIFFS appointed by his Majesty in Council, for 1783.*

*Berkshire.* James Patey, of Reading, Esq.

*Bedfordshire.* John Dilley, of Southill, Esq.

*Bucks.* David Devisme, of Great Missenden, Esq.

*Cumberland.* John Orfeur Yates, of Skerwith Abbey, Esq.

*Cheshire.* Davis Davenport, of Capesthorpe, Esq.

*Cam-*

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*Cambridge and Huntingdon.* William Vachell, of Hingeston, Esq.

*Cornwall.* Christopher Hawkins, of Trewithen, Esq.

*Devonshire.* Francis Rose Drewe, of Grange, Esq.

*Dorsetshire.* Francis John Browne, of Frampton, Esq.

*Derbyshire.* Sir Edward Every, of Eggington, Bart.

*Essex.* John Godsalve Crosse, of Baddow, Esq.

*Gloucestershire.* Joseph Roberts, of Clapton lane, Esq.

*Hertfordshire.* Robert Mackay, of Tewin, Esq.

*Herefordshire.* Tomkyns Dew, of Whitney, Esq.

*Kent.* Henry Hawley, of Leybourne, Esq.

*Leicestershire.* Charles Loraine Smith, of Enderby, Esq.

*Lincolnshire.* Sir Jenison William Gordon, of Branston, Bart.

*Monmouthshire.* Elisha Biscoe, of Dixon, Esq.

*Northumberland.* William Hargrave, of Shawden, Esq.

*Northamptonshire.* Michael Wodhull, of Thenford, Esq.

*Norfolk.* Sir Martin Browne Folkes, of Hillington, Bart.

*Nottinghamshire.* John Gilbert Cooper, of Thurgaton, Esq.

*Oxfordshire.* Sir Gregory Page Turner, of Ambroseden, Bart.

*Rutlandshire.* John Bellars, of Seaton, Esq.

*Shropshire.* Isaac Hawkins Browne, of Badger, Esq.

*Somersetshire.* Peter Sherstone, of Wells, Esq.

*Staffordshire.* Richard Gildart, of Norton, Esq.

*Suffolk.* Robert Trotman, of Ipswich, Esq.

*Southampton.* William Powlett Powlett, of Sombourne, Esq.

*Surrey.* Henry Boulton, of Leatherhead, Esq.

*Suffex.* John Norton, of Southwick, Esq.

*Warwickshire.* John Neale, of Allesley Park, Esq.

*Worcestershire.* Jonathan Pytts, of Kyre, Esq.

*Wiltshire.* Thomas Hufsey, of Fisherton Anger, Esq.

*Yorkshire.* Sir Robert Darcy Hildyard, of Winestead, Bart.

### SOUTH WALES.

*Brecon.* Thomas Meredith, of Brecon, Esq.

*Carmarthen.* John Davies, of Trawsfinaur, Esq.

*Cardigan.* John Benyon, of Dufryn, Esq.

*Glamorgan.* William Kemys, of Ynylward, Esq.

*Pembroke.* Thomas Wright, of Popehill, Esq.

*Radnor.* Thomas Price, of Glascombe, Esq.

### NORTH WALES.

*Anglesey.* Morgan Jones, of Skerries, Esq.

*Carnarvon.* Thomas Ashton Smith, of Vaenol, Esq.

*Denbigh.* Charles Goodwin, of Burton, Esq.

*Fliut.* George Prescott, of Harwarden, Esq.

*Merioneth.* Robert Evans, of Bodwenni, Esq.

*Montgomeryshire.* William Humphreys, of Llwyn, Esq.

### DEATHS, 1783.

Hugh Sandilands, brother to Lord Torphechen, at Madras, in October last.

Dec.



Dec. 19, 1782. At Strasburgh, her royal highness the princess Christina, aunt to the elector of Saxony, and grand abbess of Remiremont

26. Henry Home, Esq. Lord Kaimes, judge in the courts of session and judiciary

28. The Princess Maria Charlotte Antonietta, of Sardinia, spouse of his royal highness prince Antony, of Saxony, of the small-pox

Baron Van Affeburg, prince bishop of Paderbourn, in Germany

Jan. 3, 1783. Lady Jane Flack, wife of Mr. Flack, attorney, and daughter of the Earl of Wigtown

4. At Madras, the Hon. George Sempill, brother to Lord Sempill

9. Rev. Dr. Foley, uncle to Lord Foley, and dean of Worcester

10. Lord George Sutton, uncle to his grace the Duke of Rutland

11. Admiral John Storr  
Capt. Charles Fielding, brother-in-law to the Earl of Winchelsea

12. Lord Stirling

14. The lady of rear-admiral Fowke.

Lady Anne Stuart, relict of John Stuart, of Blair-hall, Esq. and daughter of the late Francis, Earl of Morey

16. Lady dowager Vere

21. Sir George Armytage, Bart.

25. Sir Jarritt Smyth, Bart.

Lady Stafford

Lady Echlin, relict of Sir Robert Echlin, Bart. sister to the late Countess of Derby

27. Miss Susannah Howard, daughter of the earl and countess of Carlisle

29. In Scotland, Sir James Clerk, Bart. of Pennycuik

At Lisbon, his eminence Cardinal don John de Cunha, privy-councillor to his majesty, archbishop of Evora, and inquisitor-general of the kingdom of Portugal and its dependencies

William, Earl of Delawar

Feb. 4. The Right Hon. the Countess of Aylesbury

The Right Hon. the Earl of Suffolk, without male issue, and was succeeded in his titles by Colonel Howard of the guards

6. Mrs. Huddleston, wife of Thomas Huddleston, of Hatton Garden, Esq. She was the only child of Lady Anne Mackworth, and niece of the Earl of Abercorn

8. At Bath, the Hon. John Chichester, Esq. only brother to the Right Hon. the Earl of Denegall

10. Lady Isabella Monck, sister to the late duke of Portland, and aunt to the present Duke of Portland

23. Lady Hardres, relict of Sir William Hardres, Bart. of Hardres Court

25. The Right Hon. Dowager Lady Carysfort, mother of the present lord

The infant don Giuseppe, their Sicilian majesty's third son (not quite two years old)

30. Lady Reeve, relict of Sir Thomas Reeve

March 2. Lady Mary West, sister to the Earl of Stamford

Lord George Fitzgerald, brother to the Duke of Leinster

9. Lady Dowager Walpole

16. William Egerton, brother to the bishop of Durham

19. Hon. Dr. Frederick Cornwallis, lord archbishop of Canterbury primate of all England.

20. The lady of Sir Robert Shafto,

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Shafto, Esq. daughter and heiress of the late Thomas Duncombe, Esq. of Duncombe Park, by Lady Diana Howard, daughter of the late Earl of Carlisle

21. The Rev. and Hon. Dr. Hervey, uncle to the Earl of Bristol

24. His royal highness Charles Gustavus, youngest son of the king of Sweden

The Right Hon. John Lord Rollo. His lordship is succeeded in honours and estate by his eldest son James, now Lord Rollo

30. The celebrated anatomist, Dr. William Hunter

At Hanover, aged two-years, Prince Frederick Charles Ferdinand, younger son of his highness Prince Charles Louis Frederick of Mecklenburgh Strelitz

April 5. Her serene highness the Princess Louisa Carolina, margravine of Baden Dourlach, and sister to the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt

6. Sir William Guise, Bart. representative for the county of Gloucester

Lord Bruce at Spa, in Germany

9. Sir John Frederick Bart. F. R. S. in the 74th year of his age

10. At Greenwich, in an advanced age, Admiral Mann

11. Hon. Mrs. Boscawen, relict of lieutenant-general George Boscawen

19. At lady Harriot Vernon's, in Grafton-street, after a lingering illness, Miss Lucy Vernon, her ladyship's third daughter

20. Sir John Ramsay, Bart. of Banff

21. Mrs. Willes, relict of the late Right Hon. Edward Willes,

lord chief baron of his majesty's court of exchequer in Ireland

23. The Right Rev. Dr. Philip Young, Lord bishop of Norwich

28. Lord Charles Cavendish, grand uncle to the Duke of Devonshire

May 3. Prince Octavius, at Kew palace, of inoculation for the small-pox, aged four years, two months, and ten days

6. The Right Hon. Hen. Loftus, Earl of Ely, Viscount Loftus of the kingdom of Ireland, and Knight of the order of St. Patrick

11. Henry Howarth, Esq.

16. Sir William Douglas, Bart.

20. The Right Hon. Lady Fortescue, Viscountess Valentia, wife of the Right Hon. Arthur, Viscount Valentia, in the kingdom of Ireland

23. Rear-admiral Charles Webber

25. Sir John Gordon, of Invergordon, Bart.

26. The Right Hon. Lord Carbery, of the kingdom of Ireland. He is succeeded by his only son, the Hon. George Evans, Esq.

29. His excellency Comte de Haflang, envoy from his serene highness the Elector Palatine and Duke of Bavaria, privy-councillor and chamberlain at both courts; likewise knight of the illustrious order of St. George, in the 83d year of his age, after an embassy of forty-four years

Lady Anne Greville, sister to the Earl of Warwick

June 5. Lady Helen Stuart, lady of Lord Stonefield

7. Sir Rowland Hill, of Hawkstone, in the county of Salop, Bart. He is succeeded in his title and estates by his eldest son now Sir Richard Hill, Bart.

Lady

Lady Chadwick, relict of the late Sir Andrew Chadwick

Lately, on her passage from Bengal, the Hon. Mrs. Carey, relict of the Hon. Col. Carey, son of Lord Viscount Falkland

The infant don Carlos Eusebio, only son of the prince of Asturias

19. The Hon. Mr. Bateman, brother to Lord Bateman

28. Lady Middleton, daughter of Lord Pelham

Rev. James Lewis, dean of Ossory, in Ireland

Lady Pennington, wife of Sir Joseph Pennington, Bart. elder brother of Lord Muncaster

July 1. Lady Viscountess Gage

3. At Edinburgh, the Right Hon. James, Lord Ruthven

7. At Brighthelmstone, Lady Catharine Bouverie, daughter of the Earl of Dunmore

16. At Edinburgh, Mr. Hew Dalrymple, son to Lord Westhall

26. Sir Thomas Burnet, of Leys, Bart.

Aug. 1. The Right Hon. Lord Visc. Hereford, premier viscount of England: His lordship is succeeded in his titles and estates by his only brother, the Hon. George Devereux, Esq. now Lord Visc. Hereford

The Right Hon. Sir William Osborne, Bart.

3. The Right Hon. Lady Hawley

7. The lady of Sir John Palmer, Bart. and sister of Sir Henry Gough, Bart.

8. Sir John Ruffel, Bart.

10. The lady of Sir Noah Thomas

15. Lieutenant general Evelyn, uncle to Sir Frederick Evelyn, Bart.

18. The Right Hon. Lord Ashburton, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster

The Rev. Dr. Benjamin Kennicott, canon of Christ church

Thomas Lloyd, of Albertrinant, in the county of Cardigan, Esq. brother in law to the Right Hon. the Earl of Lisburne, and the Hon. General Vaughan

20. In Berk'ey square, Lady Dowager Gerrard

22. The Right Hon. Robert, Visc. Hampden, Baron Trevor, in the 73d year of his age

30. Mrs. Perry, relict of William Perry, Esq. of Penhurst, in Kent, niece to John and Jocelyn, late Earls of Leicester

Sept. 1. The Right Hon. Hugh, Lord Clifford, Baron of Chudleigh

4. Lady Nicolson, widow of Sir James Nicolson, of Glenbervie.

15. The Right Hon. James Grenville, brother to the late Earl Temple, and uncle to the present earl

In the 73d year of his age, of the gout in his stomach.—the Rev. Sir Mark Sykes, Bart. D. D.

16. The Right Hon. Sir John Shelley, Bart. of Michael Grove, in the county of Suffex

18. Lovell Stanhope, Esq. uncle to the Earl of Chesterfield

24. Hon. Godfrey Lill, one of the justices of the Common Pleas in Ireland, father of Lady Cattle Stuart

The Right Hon. Walter Hussey Burgh, lord chief baron of the Exchequer in Ireland

Sir Robert Pollock

Oct. 1. The Right Hon. Lady Delaval

The Hon. Mrs. Law, lady of the

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the Rev. Archdeacon Law, daughter of the Right Hon. Lord Visc. Falkland

6. The celebrated Euler, one of the greatest mathematicians of the age, at Petersburg

8. The lady of Sir William Duffe

13. Hon. Mrs. Catharine Heneage, relict of George Heneage, Esq. and aunt to Lord Petre

14. Lady Dowager Sarah Frankland

15. The Right Hon. Francis, Earl of Shipbrook, whose title is extinct

17. The Right Hon. Lady Anne Dufign, wife of Gerrard Dufign, Esq. and sister to the late Earl of Hyndford

18. The Rev. Dr. Cuff, Dean of Lincoln

21. Sir William Hanmer, Bart.

23. The Right Hon. Joseph Leeson, Earl of Miltown

26. The Hon. Miss Howe, sister of the late, and aunt to the present Lord Chedworth

Sir Charles Turner, Bart.

28. Mons. d'Alembert, member of the French academies and the academies of sciences

31. The Right Hon. Earl Spencer, Visc. Althorp, Baron Spencer

Nov. 5. The Right Hon. Alexander, Lord Blantyre

7. The Hon. Master Willoughby de Broke, son of Lord Willoughby de Broke

10. James Wallace, Esq. his majesty's attorney general, king's serjeant in the duchy court of Lancaster, and serjeant of the county Palatine of Durham

Captain John Campbell, nephew to James, the first Duke of Argyl, and cousin to the five succeeding dukes

16. Rev. Dr. James Trail, lord bishop of Downe and Connor

21. The Right Hon. Lady Caryll, consort to Lord Caryll

At Braunfels, the reigning prince of Solms, Ferdinand William Ernest, in the 68th year of his age.

Dec. 5. At Versailles, mademoiselle of France, aged five years, only daughter of the French king

7. Sir John Mitchell, Bart. of Shetland

8. George Mason, D. D. lord bishop of Sodor and Mann

9. Sir George Suttie, of Balgowan, Bart.

10. The Right Hon. Lady Dorothea Inglis, widow of Sir Adam Inglis, Bart. of Cramond, in Scotland

Sir Robert Smyth, Bart. of Isfield, in Suffex, and Bury St. Edmund's

11. Lady Sharp, widow of Sir Alexander Sharp, Bart.

13. Mrs. Cornwall, mother of the speaker of the House of Commons

16. Sir William James, Bart.

19. The Hon. William Parker, youngest son of the Earl of Macclesfield

21. In Grosvenor square, Sir Francis Ratcliff, Bart.

23. Mrs. Vernon, sister to the late Lord Shipbrook, and to General Vernon

## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

*Letters and Papers relating to Captain Apgill's Case, written by his Mother, Lady Apgill; the Comte de Vergennes, Prime Minister of France; the American Congress; and General Washington.*

*Copy of a Letter from Lady Apgill to Comte de Vergennes, dated London, July 18, 1782.*

SIR,

IF the politeness of the French court will permit an application of a stranger, there can be no doubt but one in which all the tender feelings of an individual can be interested, will meet with a favourable reception from a nobleman whose character does honour not only to his own country, but to human nature. The subject, Sir, on which I presume to implore your assistance, is too heart-piercing for me to dwell on, and common fame has, most probably, informed you of it, it therefore renders the painful task unnecessary. My son, an only son, as dear as he is brave, amiable as he is deserving to be so, only nineteen, a prisoner under articles of capitulation of York Town, is now confined in America, an object of retaliation. Shall an innocent suffer for the guilty! Represent to yourself, Sir, the situa-

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tion of a family under these circumstances, surrounded as I am by objects of distress; distracted with fear and grief; no words can express my feeling, or paint the scene. My husband given over by his physicians, a few hours before the news arrived, and not in a state to be informed of the misfortune; my daughter seized with a fever and delirium, raving about her brother, and without one interval of reason, save to hear heart-alleviating circumstances.—Let your feelings, Sir, suggest and plead for my inexpressible misery. A word from you, like a voice from heaven, will save us from distraction and wretchedness. I am well informed General Washington reveres your character; say but to him you wish my son to be released; and he will restore him to his distracted family, and render him to happiness. My son's virtue and bravery will justify the deed. His honour, Sir, carried him to America. He was born to affluence, independence, and the happiest prospects. Let me again supplicate your goodness; let me respectfully implore your high influence in behalf of innocence, in the cause of justice, of humanity; that you would, Sir, dispatch a letter to General Washington, from France, and favour

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favour me with a copy of it, to be sent from hence. I am sensible of the liberty I take in making this request; but I am sensible, whether you comply with it or not, you will pity the distress that suggests it; your humanity will drop a tear on the fault, and efface it. I will pray that heaven may grant you may never want the comfort it is in your power to bestow on

ASGILL.

*Copy of a Letter from Comte Vergennes to General Washington, dated Versailles, the 29th of July, 1782.*

S I R,

IT is not in quality of a king, the friend and ally of the United States, though with the knowledge and consent of his majesty, that I now have the honour to write to your excellency. It is as a man of sensibility, and a tender father who feels all the force of paternal love, that I take the liberty to address to your excellency my earnest solicitations in favour of a mother and family in tears. Her situation seems the more worthy of notice, on our part, as it is to the humanity of a nation, at war with her own, that she has recourse, for what she ought to receive from the impartial justice of her own generals.

I have the honour to inclose your excellency a copy of a letter which Mrs. Asgill has just wrote to me. I am not known to her, nor was I acquainted that her son was the unhappy victim, destined by lot to expiate the odious crime that a former denial of justice obliges you to revenge. Your excellency

will not read this letter, without being extremely affected; it had that effect upon the king and upon the queen, to whom I communicated it. The goodness of their majesties hearts induce them to desire that the inquietudes of an unfortunate mother may be calmed, and her tenderness reassured. I feel, Sir, that there are cases where humanity itself exacts the most extreme rigour; perhaps the one now in question may be of the number; but allowing reprizals to be just, it is not less horrid to those who are the victims; and the character of your excellency is too well known for me not to be persuaded that you desire nothing more than to be able to avoid the disagreeable necessity.

There is one consideration, Sir, which, though it is not decisive, may have an influence upon your resolution. Capt. Asgill is doubtless your prisoner, but he is among those whom the arms of the king contributed to put into your hands at York-Town. Although this circumstance does not operate as a safeguard, it however justifies the interest I permit myself to take in this affair. If it is in your power, Sir, to consider and have regard to it, you will do what is very agreeable to their majesties; the danger of young Asgill, the tears, the despair of his mother, affect them sensibly, and they will see with pleasure the hope of consolation shine out for these unfortunate people.

In seeking to deliver Mr. Asgill from the fate which threatens him, I am far from engaging you to seek another victim; the pardon, to be perfectly satisfactory, must be entire. I do not imagine it



## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [243]

it can be productive of any bad consequences. If the English general has not been able to punish the horrible crime you complain of, in so exemplary a manner as he should, there is reason to think he will take the most efficacious measures to prevent the like in future.

I sincerely wish, Sir, that my intercession may meet success; the sentiment which dictates it, and which you have not ceased to manifest on every occasion, assures me, that you will not be indifferent to the prayers and to the tears of a family which has recourse to your clemency through me. It is rendering homage to your virtue to implore it.

I have the honour to be, with the most perfect consideration, Sir, yours, &c.

(Signed) DE VERGENNES.

*Copy of the Order of Congress for releasing Capt. Apgill.*

By the United States in Congress assembled, Nov. 7, 1782.

ON the report of a committee to whom was referred a letter of the 19th of August, from the commander in chief, a report of a committee thereon, and motion of Mr. Williamson and Rutledge relative thereto, and also another letter of the 25th of October from the commander in chief, with a copy of a letter from the Count de Vergennes, dated the 29th of July last, interceding for Capt. Apgill,

Resolved, that the commander in chief be directed, and he is hereby directed, to set Capt. Apgill at liberty.

CHARLES THOMSON, Sec.

*Copy of a Letter from General Washington, to Capt. Apgill, covering the above Resolve.*

Head Quarters, Nov. 13.

SIR,

"It affords me singular pleasure to have it in my power to transmit you the inclosed copy of an act of Congress of the 7th inst. by which you are released from the disagreeable circumstances in which you have so long been. Supposing you would wish to go to New-York as soon as possible, I also inclose a passport for that purpose.

"Your letter of the 18th of October came regularly to my hands; I beg you to believe that my not answering it sooner did not proceed from inattention to you, or a want of feeling for your situation; I daily expected a determination of your case, and I thought it better to await that, than to feed you with hopes that might in the end prove fruitless. You will attribute my detention of the inclosed letters, which have been in my hands about a fortnight, to the same cause.

"I cannot take leave of you, Sir, without assuring you, that in whatever light my agency in this unpleasing affair may be received, I never was influenced through the whole of it by sanguinary motives, but by what I conceived a sense of my duty, which loudly called upon me to take measures, however disagreeable, to prevent a repetition of those enormities which have been the subject of discussion; and that this important end is likely to be answered without the effusion of the blood of an innocent person, is not a greater

greater relief to you than it is to,  
Sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

(Signed) G. WASHINGTON."

When Capt. Apgill arrived at New-York the Swallow packet having failed without him, he followed her in a boat, but did not overtake her till she had got upwards of four leagues to sea. The consequence was, that he came over without servant or baggage.

*Whitehall, April 12.*

*Extracts of Letters from Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, K. B. dated Madras, the 31st of August, and 25th of September 1782, received at the Office of his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the home Department, on the 7th of April, 1783.*

**W**HILST I was straining every nerve in advancing the army to the neighbourhood of Chingleput, to counteract the views of Hyder and the French, I anxiously looked to the result of my reference to the governor general and to the arrival of their orders in consequence, as a period which would undoubtedly restore to me that authority over the southern troops which would enable me to direct them to such a co-operation as might tend equally to facilitate my own movements, and distract the designs of our enemies; but most unfortunately on the 18th of February, long before any answer could come from Bengal, Colonel Braithwaite was attacked by Hyder Ally's son, Tippoo Saib, and Mons. Lally, near the banks of Colle-

roon, and totally defeated. His whole detachment, consisting of about 2000 infantry, 250 cavalry, 18 officers, and a field train of 13 pieces, were either captured or destroyed.

The French being free from any apprehensions of a check from our southern forces, and covered by the army of Hyder Ally to the northward, which secured them from all sudden attack by my army, proceeded in perfect security against Cuddalore, which being incapable of holding out for any length of time, was, on the 6th of April, surrendered to the French forces under Mons. Duchemin, on terms of capitulation, which I have the honour to inclose.

*To his Excellency Sir Eyre Coote, K. B. Lieutenant General and Commander in Chief in India.*

SIR,

IT gives me much concern to inform you, that this garrison surrendered to the French arms on the 4th instant in the morning. A copy of the capitulation I have now the honour of forwarding.

I flatter myself your excellency will excuse me for not sending it sooner, as I have been prevented by a multiplicity of business, owing to constant applications from the gentlemen in charge of the French officers, relative to the delivering over the stores, &c. of this garrison.

I have the honour to be,

With the greatest respect,

Your excellency's very obedient  
and most humble servant,

(Signed) JAMES HUGHES  
*Cuddalore, April 6, 1782.*

SIR,

## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [245

SIR,

THE French general, being desirous of having as little bloodshed as possible, has sent me to inform you, that the nabob's troops having joined his army, if you do not immediately surrender, it will be out of his power to prevent the plundering of the fort, being promised to the European and black troops if they attack it.

In consequence of which he proposes articles of capitulation, such as, from our situation, you have reason to expect: wishing to convince the English, that it is only in war we look on you as enemies, and being sent for this purpose by Mons. Duchemin, general of the French army, I sign these his first proposals, according to the power he has invested me with.

(Signed)

LE VTE DE HOUDETOT.

N. B. The above is a translation of a copy from the original.

*Articles of Capitulation drawn up between his Excellency Mons. Pierre Duchemin, Marshal of the Camps and Army of the King of France, and Commandant of the Troops of his Majesty in India, on the one Side, and Capt. James Hughes, Commandant of the Garrison of Cuddalore, on the other.*

The gates shall be delivered up to-morrow, the 4th of April, 1782, between the hours of eight and nine in the morning.

Agreed.

The English flag shall be kept flying till that time on the ramparts, and all hostilities shall be suspended; Captain Hughes giving his word, that nothing shall go out of the place, either by land or sea, and all that does go

out shall be deemed an infringement on the articles of capitulation, as it must either belong to the king or company, since the property of officers and inhabitants are insured to them.

Agreed.

The garrison shall remain prisoners of war; the European officers and troops shall be sent to Madras on their parole, to be exchanged for the like number and rank of French officers and troops.

Agreed.

Private property shall be secured; but all that belongs to the king and company shall be given over with the utmost exactness, and registered by the French commissary sent for that purpose; and the least infidelity shall be deemed an infringement on the articles of capitulation.

Agreed.

The garrison shall march out with the honours of war, and deposit their arms on the Glacis without being damaged.

Agreed.

The garrison shall be provided with provision, and a passage by sea to Madras, the civil as well as military.

Agreed.

Those who do not choose to remain under the French government, will have passports and escorts to Madras; those that do, shall, at the expiration of three months, take the oaths of allegiance to his most Christian majesty.

Agreed.

The liberty of religion is granted in full.

Agreed.

The fort being delivered up, all private property belonging to the

English, whether within or without it, shall be secured to them.

Agreed.

The whole is thoroughly understood and agreed to, upon the strictest honour.

*April 3, 1782.* Signed for the French general, Le Vicomte de Houdetot.

(Signed) DUCHEMIN.

(Signed) JAMES HUGHES,  
Captain Commandant  
of Cuddalore.

N. B. The above is a translation of a copy from the original articles of capitulation.

JAMES HUGHES,  
Captain Commandant.

On the 12th, I received intelligence of the enemy having commenced the siege of Permacoli. And I find that garrison capitulated on the 17th.

I had no doubt of the enemy's forming designs upon Vandiwash; indeed my intelligence gave me reason to believe, that the French and Hyder would march immediately to attack it: I therefore moved the army towards it with all possible dispatch, in full persuasion that our enemies would have met me there, and tried a decisive action; but I arrived there without receiving the smallest opposition; apprehending, however, lest the enemy might be in doubt about my desire of bringing them to action, and convinced that they would not seek for me in the neighbourhood of Vandiwash, where I could receive them to so great advantage, I determined to advance towards them. I accordingly made two marches in the direct road to the ground, on which we had observed them,

from the hill of Vandiwash, to be encamped; but on my approach they fell back, and both by my intelligence, and by what I could discover from the heights in the neighbourhood of our camp, they took up their station on the Red Hills. This was a position in itself so strong, and could, by an army of such magnitude as Hyder's, supported by an European force far exceeding the numbers in my army, be occupied to so great advantage, that I judged it expedient to lay my intelligence and sentiments before the two next officers in command, Major General Stuart and Colonel Lang, that I might have the benefit of their opinions on a matter of such momentous importance, and on the issue of which depended the whole of the British interests in India.

Upon a reference to the council of war, which was held on this occasion, the idea I suggested of drawing the enemy from their strong post, by moving in a direction which would effectually check Hyder's supplies, and alarm him for the safety of his grand magazine of Arnee, was unanimously approved.

In conformity to that plan, we accordingly marched on the 30th, and, on the first of June, encamped at the distance of about five miles from Arnee. That day I received intelligence that Hyder, on hearing of the route we had taken, marched immediately, and that the advance of his army had arrived the preceding evening at Dessoor, distant from us about twenty-five miles, and in the high road toward us. I was thereby satisfied, that the effect I had in  
view

view had taken place, and ordered a proper place to be reconnoitred for posting the baggage, in case I should either have found it advisable to go and meet the enemy, or to receive them on the ground I had occupied. In the middle of the night of the 1st, or rather early in the morning of the 2d, intelligence was brought me, that Hyder had come to Chittiput, distant from us about eleven miles. The army was then under orders of march to proceed nearer Arnee, which, I was encouraged to hope, might prove an easy acquisition, and which, by the large stock of provisions it contained, added to the extreme fitness of its situation, opened to us no less a prospect than the total expulsion of the enemy from the Carnatic. In my then position, with Hyder's army on the one side, and an object of such magnitude on the other, it became a point of deliberation, which was the most eligible line of conduct to be adopted; to persevere in my original intention of threatening Arnee (which Hyder had most undoubtedly come to cover) and thereby bring on an action, or to advance and engage the enemy. I preferred the former, as it promised the most certain issue, upon the mind of Hyder, whose sole view evidently was to save his grand magazine. It was equal to him whether he accomplished that, by diverting our attention from it, or by giving us battle. But it is reasonable to imagine, that if he succeeded on the former grounds, he would hardly, after having suffered four defeats, put any thing to risk on the latter. We accordingly therefore commenced our

march towards Arnee, contiguous to which the advance of our army had arrived, and we had begun to mark out the ground for our encampment, when a distant cannonade opened on our rear, and which was the first annunciation I had of Hyder's having approached so near us, in force. His coming upon us, thus suddenly, proceeds from his being able to cover the march of his line of infantry by his large bodies of horse, and which having generally been the companion of our movements, during the whole war, were never to be considered as any positive proof of his army being at hand.

Every dispatch was used in making the necessary dispositions for repelling the attack, and coming to action. Our line was then in a low situation, with high and commanding ground all round, which as the enemy had got possession of, our different manoeuvres were performed under every disadvantage, and exposed to a heavy though distant cannonade. It was not till near mid-day that we had reduced the enemy's various attacks to one settled point, so as to advance upon them with effect, and with a prospect of advantage; but so soon as that was accomplished, we pushed on and they gave way; we pursued them till the evening was far advanced, taking from them in their retreat one gun, five tumbrils, and two carts loaded with ammunition.

I remained at this advanced station to the last moment the state of my provisions would admit of; and when obliged to fall back for my supplies, I endeavoured to do it with all the credit possible, by again seeking for Hyder, who by

my intelligence, had encamped with his army contiguous to a road by which we might march. He retreated before me with precipitation, although in possession of ground which he could have disputed our approach towards with great advantage. We pursued our march the preceding day, by the same road on which he had retreated, but found that he had turned off and crossed the country towards Arnee. On the 8th of June, when encamped in the neighbourhood of Trivatore, and where we had halted a day to refresh both the troops and cattle, of which they stood greatly in need, having suffered severely both by sickness and fatigue, our grand guard was most unfortunately drawn into an ambuscade composed of about six thousand of Hyder's chosen horse, and totally cut off, before any support could be afforded.

It is with pleasure I acquaint you, that the establishment of peace with the Mahrattas is in the fairest way towards being happily accomplished, as, on the 17th of May last, articles of a treaty of peace, and perpetual friendship and alliance, between the English and the Mahrattas, were agreed to and executed by Manheo Scindia, on the part of the latter, and by Mr. David Anderson, (deputed by the governor-general and council) on the part of the former, subject however to the approval and ratification of their respective governments, before they should become final. In as far as depends upon us, I believe every part has been confirmed; but as yet I have not heard of the conditions having received the seal

and signature of the Peshwa, and the attestations of the dependent members of the Poona state.

The only important movement of the army, which happened between the action of the 2d of June until this present time, was the relief of the garrison of Villore, which was performed between the 7th and 21st of August: the army having marched in that period, near two hundred miles, and threw into the place provisions sufficient to maintain the garrison to the first of March next.

I am concerned to acquaint your lordships with the fall of Trincomale, which by our intelligence was surrendered to the French force under Monsieur Suffren on the 31st ult. by capitulation.—My orders were to defend it to the last. Our squadron had an action with the French squadron off the place on the 3d instant, in which the last suffered most; but our fleet found it necessary to come to these coasts, where it arrived the 9th instant, and is now refitting, and intends proceeding to Bombay the middle of next month. The Minerva store ship, and the Major and Nottingham Indiamen belonging to Sir Richard Bickerton's fleet, are arrived; the two latter having on board Lieutenant Colonel Adams, with two companies of his majesty's 101st regiment, and Colonel Reimbold, with two companies of his majesty's electoral troops. They have all of them arrived extremely healthy, and have suffered very little indeed by the voyage.

My present weak state will not allow of my entering into a particular detail of the late march of the army towards Cuddalore, and



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its return, together with the other occurrences which have since happened.

Major General Sir Hector Munro has resigned the service, and returns to Europe in the Myrtle transport, which sails in a few days. Major General Stuart, who has been constantly in the field during the whole of this year's campaign, will in consequence succeed to the chief command of the company's troops on this establishment. He has been in command of the army ever since my illness, in the conduct of which he has shewn the most indefatigable activity, in a manner highly to his own honour, and much to my satisfaction.

### REMARKABLE ACTIONS at SEA.

*Admiralty-Office, April 15, 1782.*

*Extracts of Letters from Vice-admiral Sir Edward Hughes, Knight of the Bath, and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships employed in the East Indies, to Mr. Stephens, received the 6th instant, by the Honourable Captain Carpenter, who came Passenger to Ireland in the Rodney Packet belonging to the East-India Company.*

*Superb, off Negapatnam,  
July 15, 1782.*

I Mentioned, in my letter of the 15th ult. my intention to embark, in a few days, all such men from Trincomale hospital as could be any ways serviceable on board, and proceed with the Squadron to this coast to watch the motions of that of the French under Mons. Suffren; and accordingly, I sailed

from Trincomale Bay on the 23d of last month, and anchored in Negapatnam Road the day following.

At this place I was informed that the French Squadron was then at anchor off Cuddalore, which had surrendered before to their land forces; and that his majesty's armed transports the Resolution and Raikes, on their passage to join me at Trincomale with stores and ammunition, had very unfortunately been fallen in with by the French Squadron, and captured; and the San Carlos, another of his majesty's armed transports, with the Rodney brig, were chased, and very narrowly escaped being also captured, and had returned to Madras road.

I continued with the Squadron at an anchor in Negapatnam road till the 5th of this month, when, at one P. M. the French Squadron, consisting of 18 sail, 12 of which were of the line, came in sight. At three P. M. I weighed with his majesty's Squadron, and stood to the southward all that evening and night, in order to gain the wind of the enemy.

On the 6th, at day-light, the enemy's Squadron at anchor, bearing N. N. E. distant about seven or eight miles, wind at S. W.— At fifty minutes past five A. M. I made the signal for the line of battle a-breast, and bore away towards the enemy. At six, observing the enemy getting under sail, and standing to the westward, hauled down the signal for the line of battle a-breast, and made the signal for the line a-head at two cables length distance. At ten minutes past seven, our line being well formed, made the signal

nal to bear down on the enemy; each ship in our line against the ship opposed to her in the enemy's line. At forty minutes past ten the enemy's line began to fire on ours. At forty-five minutes past ten I made the signal for battle, and at the same time the signal for a close engagement.

From ten minutes after eleven, till thirty-five past noon, the engagement was general from van to rear in both lines, and mostly very close; the enemy's ships appeared to have suffered severely both in hulls and masts; the van ship had bore away out of the line, and the Brilliant, the French admiral's, second a-head, had lost his main-mast. At this time the sea breeze set in at S. S. E. very fresh, and several of the ships in our van and center were taken a-back and paid round with their heads to the westward; while others of our ships, those in the rear in particular, which had suffered much less in their rigging, paid off and continued on their former tack. Some of the enemy's ships were also paid round by the sea breeze with their heads to the westward; the admiral's second a-head in particular, which I supposed to be the Ajax, but proved afterwards to be the Severe, fell along side the Sultan, and struck to her; but, whilst the Sultan was wearing to join me, made what sail he could, fired on and raked the Sultan, without shewing any colours, and then got in amongst his own ships. At fifty past noon, finding the Worcester, Eagle, and Burford still continuing on their former tack, and nearing the body of the enemy's squadron very fast, I made

the signal to wear, and hauled down the signal for the line, purposing to make the signal for a general chase; but the captain of the Monarca having hailed, and informed me that all his standing rigging was shot away, and the ship otherwise so much disabled as to be ungovernable; and the Hero, on the contrary tack, hauling in with the land with the signal of distress out; and the enemy's ships having wore and come to on the larboard tack, those least disabled forming to the windward to cover their disabled ships, and endeavouring to cut off the Eagle, I made the signal at twenty minutes past one, to wear, and stood to the westward, the engagement still continuing partially, wherever our ships were near the enemy's, and the Eagle hard pressed by two of the enemy's ships. At half past one I made the signal for the line of battle a-head on the larboard tack, and made the Exeter's signal to come within hail, and directed her to take her station a-stern of the Sultan. At two P. M. the enemy's squadron were standing in shore, and collecting their ships, which I was also endeavouring to do, as our squadron was very much dispersed, and continued on different tacks, the ships being greatly disabled, and in general ungovernable.

At half past four I hauled down the signal for the line of battle a-head, and made the signal to prepare to anchor; and at half past five I anchored with the Superb in six fathom water, between Negapatnam and Nagore; the other ships of the squadron anchoring as they came in with the

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the land, and the Worcester next day.

The enemy having collected their ships into a close body, anchored at six P. M. about three leagues to leeward of our ships; during the remainder of the day, and all night, our ships were closely employed in securing their lower masts, almost all their standing rigging being shot away; splicing the old and reeving new rigging, and getting serviceable sails to the yards.

On the 7th in the morning the damages sustained by the several ships of the Squadron appeared to me so great, that I gave up all thoughts of pursuing the enemy; and at nine A. M. the French Squadron got under sail, and returned to Cuddalore Road, their disabled ships a head; and those less so, covering their retreat in the rear.

At ten A. M. I sent Capt. James Watt, of his majesty's ship the Sultan, in the Rodney brig disarmed, with a flag of truce, and a letter to Monsieur Suffren, containing a demand of the surrender of the French king's ship the Ajax.—Capt. Watt came up with the French Squadron the same evening, and my letter was forwarded to M. Suffren, who returned an evasive answer, saying it was the French ship Severe who had the halliards of his ensign shot away, as frequently happens in action, by which means it came down, but was never intended to be struck.

I am extremely happy to inform their lordships, that in this engagement his majesty's Squadron under my command gained a decided superiority over that of

the enemy: and had not the wind shifted, and thrown his majesty's Squadron out of action, at the very time when some of the enemy's ships had broken their line, and were running away, and others of them greatly disabled, I have good reason to believe it would have ended in the capture of several of the line of battle ships. I am happy also to inform their lordships, that the officers and the men of the Squadron behaved to my satisfaction, and have great merit for their bravery and steady conduct; the captains Geil of the Monarca, Rainier of the Burford, and Watt of the Sultan, eminently distinguished themselves by a strict attention to my signals, and the utmost exertion of courage and conduct against the enemy.

I am also obliged to Col. Fullarton of the 98th regiment, who has been my companion in the Superb, since I left Madras Road in March last, preferring to serve with his corps on board to living inactive on shore. The officers and men of this regiment have behaved with great regularity on board the ships of the Squadron, and done their duty well on all occasions. Major Grattan, an officer late of General Meadow's staff, and a captain in the 100th regiment, has also served with great credit on board the Superb on this occasion, in the absence of his corps now on the Malabar coast.

The death of Captain Macmillan of the Superb, who was shot through the heart with a grape shot early in the engagement, is universally regretted by all that knew him. I had experienced

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rienced in him an excellent officer in every department of the service.

Inclosed with this is an account of the killed and wounded on board each ship, and lists of the English and French lines of battle

*An Account of the killed and wounded on board the following Ships:*

**Superb.** Captain Dunbar Maclellan, 6 petty officers, seamen, marines, and 98th reg. killed; 19 petty officers, seamen, marines, and 98th reg. wounded.

**Hero.** Lieut. Henry Chapman, 11 petty officers, seamen, marines, and 98th reg. killed; 23 petty officers, seamen, marines, and 98th reg. wounded.

**Magnanime.** 2 petty officers and seamen killed; Lieut. Thomas Henry Willson, Captain William Adlam, of the marines, 15 petty officers and seamen, wounded.

**Monmouth.** Lieut. Sabine Gascoyne, 11 petty officers, seamen, and marines, wounded.

**Monarca.** 8 petty officers, seamen, marines, and 98th reg. killed; Mr. Francis Corrie, master, Capt. Abbot, in the company's service, 44 petty officers, seamen, marines, and 98th reg. wounded.

**Burford.** Captain Vroxholme Jenkinson, of the 98th reg. 6 petty officers, seamen, marines, and Lascars, killed; Mr. Edward Derby, master, Mr. Richard Daniel, boatswain, 32 petty officers, seamen, marines, and 98th reg. wounded.

**Eagle.** 4 petty officers and seamen, killed; Lieut. William

Wood, 8 petty officers, seamen, and marines, wounded.

**Exeter.** 11 petty officers, seamen, marines, and Lascars, killed; Mr. Thomas Cribbon, master, Mr. William Cunningham, boatswain, 22 petty officers, seamen, marines, 98th reg. and Lascars, wounded.

**Sultan.** 16 petty officers, seamen, and marines, killed; Lieut. John Drew, Lieut. Richard Williams, of the marines, 19 petty officers, seamen, and marines, wounded.

**Worcester.** 1 Lascar killed, Lieut. — Johnstone, of the marines, 8 petty officers, seamen, and marines, wounded.

**Isis.** 9 petty officers, seamen, 98th reg. and Lascars, killed; 19 petty officers, seamen, and marines, wounded.

**Total.** 77 Killed. 233 Wounded.

*The English and French Line of Battle on the 6th of July, 1782.*

<i>English ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>
Hero	74
Exeter	64
Isis	50
Burford	70
Sultan	74
Superb	74
Monarca	70
Worcester	64
Monmouth	64
Eagle	64
Magnanime	64
Frigate.	
Seahorse.	
<i>French ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>
Le Flammand	50
Le Hannibal	74
Le Brilliant	64
Le Severe	64
L'Hero	74

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<i>French ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>
Le Spbrix	64
Le Petit Hannibal	50
L'Artesien	64
Le Vengeur	64
Le Bizarre	64
L'Orient	74
L'Ajux	64
<i>Frigates.</i>	
La Bellone.	
La Fine.	
La Naide.	
La Diligente.	

EDW. HUGHES.

*Superb, Madras Road,  
Aug. 12, 1782.*

Finding it impossible to repair the loss of topmasts, and the other damages the ships of the squadron had sustained in the engagement, on the 6th of last month, with the French squadron under the command of M. Suffren, without a supply of spars, fishes and cordage, and the ammunition of the squadron as well as its provisions being nearly exhausted, I was under the necessity to proceed with the squadron to this road, where our stores and provisions are deposited; and having sailed from my then station off Negapatnam on the 18th, arrived here the 20th of last month, where I have been incessantly labouring to put the ships in a condition for service.

When I left the windward station off Negapatnam, the French squadron was at an anchor off Cuddalore, repairing their damages.

On my arrival in this road, I learned that his majesty's ship Sceptre, Capt. Samuel Graves, one of Sir Richard Bickerton's squadron, had arrived here the

13th of last month, and had again sailed with his majesty's armed transport San Carlos on the 17th, with intent to join me to the southward; and on the 28th of the month, they both joined me in this road; Captain Graves had parted company with Sir Richard Bickerton's squadron soon after it left the Channel, had been at Rio Janiero, where he met the Medea frigate, and, in the course of their passage to India, they captured a large French ship, laden with naval stores, in charge of which Capt. Graves left the Medea, and proceeded on in the Sceptre to join me.

On the 31st I dispatched his majesty's ships Monmouth and Sceptre to Trincomale, with a reinforcement of troops, and a supply of provisions and stores, under the command of Capt. Alms; and I have the satisfaction to inform their lordships, that service has been very completely performed, and the two ships rejoined me here on the 10th of this month.

As the ships of the squadron are now nearly fitted, I hope to be able to proceed to sea in a few days to cover the arrival of the expected reinforcements under Sir Richard Bickerton, and oppose the enemy's squadron.

*Superb, in Madras Road,  
Aug. 16, 1782.*

I beg you will be pleased to inform their lordships, that, since closing my last letter to you, dated the 12th of this month, his majesty's frigate the Medea, Captain Gower, arrived and joined me here the 13th, and his majesty's frigate the Coventry this day from Bom-

Bombay, where she has been completely repaired.

The *Medea* brought in with her a French ship about 450 tons burthen, laden with provisions and stores, bound to the Mauritius, but captured by the *Sceptre* and *Medea* off the Cape of Good Hope.

Captain Mitchell of the *Coventry* informs me, that on the 12th of this month, off Friars Hood, on the island Ceylon, he fell in with and attacked the *Bellona*, a French frigate of 40 guns, and after a severe engagement of two hours and a half, the *Bellona* sheered off from the *Coventry*, and made sail to join the French fleet; and the *Coventry* had suffered so much in her masts and rigging, as not to be able to come up with her before she joined the French fleet, consisting of 23 sail, which Captain Mitchell saw at anchor in the Battacalo road, and was chased by two of their line of battle ships: in the engagement the *Coventry* had 15 men killed, and 29 wounded; and I hope to be able so far to repair her damages, as to carry her to sea with me in two or three days. Captain Mitchell speaks highly of the courage and good conduct of the *Coventry's* officers and men; and I trust their lordships will give him his full share of merit, for having so gallantly attacked and beaten an enemy's ship so superior in force to his own.

*Superb, in Madras Road,*  
Sept. 30, 1782.

In my letter of the 12th of last month, I mentioned my intention to proceed to sea when the squadron was refitted, for the purpose

of covering the arrival of the expected reinforcements under the command of Sir Richard Bickerton, and to oppose the enemy's squadron: and accordingly, on the 20th, the squadron having completed its provisions, and being in a tolerable condition for service, I left the road with the squadron under my command, and used all diligence possible to get to the southward to Trincomale, being apprehensive the enemy would endeavour to make themselves masters of that harbour in the absence of the squadron: but the wind blowing strong from the southward, I did not arrive with the squadron off Trincomale till the night of the second of this month; and in the morning following I discovered French colours on the forts, and their squadron reinforced by the *Illustre* of 74 guns, the *St. Michael*, of 64, and the *Elizabeth*, formerly a company's ship, of 50 guns, with several transports, in all 30 sail, at anchor in the several bays there.

On the appearance of his majesty's squadron on the morning of the 3d, the French squadron, consisting of 14 line of battle ships, the *Elizabeth*, three frigates, and a fire-ship, got under sail, and about six, A. M. stood out of Back Bay, to the S. eastward, the wind blowing strong at S. W. off the shore, which placed them to windward of his majesty's squadron. At ten minutes past six, A. M. I made the signal for the line of battle a-head at two cables length distance, shortened sail, and edged away from the wind, that the ships to form the van of our line might the more speedily get into their stations. At 20 minutes



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minutes past eight, the enemy's squadron began to edge down to our line, then formed in good order. From that time till half past eleven A. M. I steered under topsails in the line E. S. E. with the wind blowing strong at S. W. in order to draw the enemy's squadron as far as possible from the port of Trincomale; they sometimes edging down, sometimes bringing to, and in no regular order, as if undetermined what to do.

At noon the enemy's squadron appeared to have an intention to engage. At half past two, P. M. the French line began to fire on ours, and I made the signal for battle: at five minutes alter, the engagement was general, from our van to our rear, the two additional ships of the enemy's line falling furiously on our rearmost ship, the Worcester, were bravely resisted by that ship, and the Monmouth, her second a-head, which backed all her sails to assist her. About the same time, the van of the enemy's line, to which five of their ships had crowded, bore down to the Exeter and Isis, the two headmost ships of our line, and by an exerted fire on them forced the Exeter, much disabled, out of the line; then tacked, keeping their wind, and firing on the Isis, and other ships of our van, as they passed. In the mean time the centres of the two lines were warmly engaged, ship to ship. At twenty-eight minutes past three, the mizen-mast of the French admiral's second a-stern was shot or cut away, and, at the same time, his second a-head lost her fore and mizen top-masts,

At thirty-five minutes past five the wind shifting suddenly from S. W. to E. S. E. I made the signal for the squadron to wear, which was instantly obeyed in good order, the ships of the enemy's squadron either wearing or staying at the same time; and the engagement was renewed on the other tack close and vigorously on our part. At twenty minutes past six, the French admiral's main-mast was shot away by the board, and, soon after, his mizen-mast; and about the same time the Worcester, one of our line of battle ships, lost her main top-mast. At about seven, P. M. the body of the French squadron hauled their wind to the southward, the ships in our rear continuing a severe fire on them till twenty minutes past seven, when the engagement ceased; and the ships of our squadron had apparently suffered so much, as to be in no condition to pursue them. At about eight, P. M. made the night signal for the line of battle a-head on the larboard tack; but the night being dark, and several of the ships not to be seen, at twelve P. M. I made the signal for the squadron to bring-to and lye by on the larboard tack. At day-light no part of the enemy's squadron was in sight; and the Eagle, Monmouth, Burford, Superb, and several other ships, making much water from shot-holes, so very low down in the bottom as not to be come at, to be effectually stopped; and the whole having suffered severely in their masts and their rigging; under these circumstances, and Trincomale being in the enemy's possession, and the other parts of the west coast

coast of Ceylon unsafe to anchor on, at this late season of the year, when the N. E. winds often blow strong there, I was under the necessity of steering with the squadron for this coast, to get anchoring ground, in order to stop the shot-holes under water; and from the disabled state of the several ships, I fell in with the land a very few leagues only to windward of this port; on the 8th of this month, and anchored in this road on the 9th, and am now closely employed in repairing the damages the several ships have received.

By the account of the killed and wounded, their lordships will observe, that although we have been fortunate in losing few of our men, we have suffered most severely in officers. The Hon. Captain Lumley, of the Isis, a very good officer and a promising young man; Captain James Watt, of the Sultan, a most worthy officer, died of his wounds; and Captain Charles Wood, of the Worcester, a most deserving officer, dangerously wounded, with little hopes of his recovery.

As the change of the monsoon is now near at hand, and the line of battle ships in their present state cannot remain on this coast, and as the lateness of the season may have induced Sir Richard Bickerton to remain at Bombay, in hopes of joining me there; I am preparing the ships of the squadron for service; and so soon as they are in a condition, I shall proceed to sea with them, and make the best of my way to Bombay, and there use every possible diligence to get the squadron in a

condition to come early on this coast.

I have not been able to gain the least intelligence of the French squadron since the engagement of the 3d of this month, but suppose they are refitting at Trincomale.

Inclosed is the account of the killed and wounded in the late engagement; and a list of the English and French naval force in these seas, as they were on the 3d of this month.

Superb. 4 seamen killed; Lieut. Murray, Lieut. Orr, of the marines, Lieut. Thompson, of the 98th regiment, 49 seamen and marines wounded.

Hero. 1 seaman killed; 17 seamen and marines wounded.

Sultan. 4 seamen and marines killed; Capt. Watt, since dead, Lieut. Bartholomew, Lieut. Stewart, of the 78th reg. 43 seamen, marines, and 78th reg. wounded.

Magnanime. 3 seamen and 1 sepoy killed; Lieut. Stephenson, 16 seamen, wounded.

Monmouth. 3 seamen wounded.

Monarca. Captain Robert Clugstone, of the marines, Lieut. Barrett, of ditto, 4 seamen, marines, 78th and 98th regts. killed; Hon. Captain Maidland, of the 78th reg. Hon. Lieut. Sandilands, Lieut. Armstrong, 10 seamen, 78th and 98th regts. wounded.

Burford. 4 seamen and 98th reg. killed; 38 seamen, marines, 78th and 98th regts. wounded.

Sceptre. 2 seamen killed; 23 seamen wounded.

Eagle. 8 seamen killed; 14 seamen wounded.

Exeter.

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Exeter. 6 seamen, marines, and 98th reg. killed; Lieut. Atkins, 18 seamen, marines, and 98th reg. wounded.

Worcester. Lieut. Edwards, of the marines, boatswain, 4 seamen, killed; Captain Charles Wood, dangerously, 15 seamen, wounded.

Isis. Hon. Capt. Lumley, Mr. Bell, master's mate, 5 seamen and marines, killed; 19 seamen and marines, wounded.

Total. 51 Killed. 283 Wounded.

*List of the English and French Squadrons.*

*English ships. Guns:*

Superb	74
Hero *	74
Sultan *	74
Burford	70
Monarca	68
Exeter	64
Worcester	64
Monmouth *	64
Eagle	64
Magnanime *	64
Sceptre *	64
Isis *	50

*Frigates.*

San Carlos *	44
Active *	32
Coventry *	28
Medea *	28
Seahorse *	24

*Combustion fireship*

*French ships. Guns.*

Hero *	74
Illustre *	74
L'Orient	74
Hannibal	74
Vengeur *	64
Artesien *	64
Sphinx *	64
Brilliant	64
Severe	64

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*French ships.*

Bizarre	64
Ajax	64
St. Michael *	64
Eng. Hannibal *	50
Flamand	50
Consolante	50

*Frigates.*

Pourvoyese	36
Bellone *	34
La Fine *	34
Sylphide	18
Chaser *	18

*Diligente*

*Pulveriseur fireship*

Those with this \* mark are copied.

*Superb, in Madras Road,*

*Oct. 16, 1782.*

In continuation of my letter of the 30th of last month, I beg you will please to acquaint their lordships, that the weather growing very threatening and squally, so that several of the ships of the squadron have parted their cables, and lost their anchors already, I am preparing to sail with the line of battle ships for Bombay, leaving all the frigates to cruise between Point Palmiras and this road, for the protection of the merchant ships and vessels sailing between Bengal and this port. I have not to this hour received any intelligence where Sir Richard Bickerton, with his majesty's ships and convoy under his command, now is.

*Sir Edward Hughes's Line of Battle, 6th July, with the Names of the Captains, omitted in the Gazette.*

Hero to lead on the larboard tack.

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Magnanime on the starboard tack.

Hero	74	{ Commod. King
		{ Charles Hughes
Exeter	64	Rob. Mantague
Ifis	50	Hon. T. Lumley
Burford	70	Peter Rainer
Sultan	74	James Watt
Superb	74	{ Sir Edw. Hughes
		{ Dunb. M'Clellan
Monarca	68	John Gell
Worcester	64	Charles Wood
Monmouth	64	James Alms
Eagle	64	Amb. Reddall
Magnanime	64	Charles Wolfely.

*Account of the Capture of the Solitaire, a French 64 Gun Ship, by the Ruby,*

*Admiralty Office, Feb. 2, 1783.*

**A**DAMIRAL Pigot, commander in chief of his majesty's ships at Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, by his letter to Mr. Stephens, dated at Barbadoes on the 9th of December, gives an account,

That he arrived at that island on the 21st of November, with the squadron under his command, from New York; and that rear Admiral Sir Richard Hughes, joined him on the 8th of December, with the ships under his orders, accompanied by the Solitaire, a French ship of war of 64 guns, and a small frigate of 24, captured on the 6th, 40 leagues to windward of Barbadoes.

Captain Collins, of his majesty's ship Ruby, by superior sailing, got up with the Solitaire, about twelve minutes past one in the afternoon, and the action continued 41 minutes, when the latter struck.

The rear admiral mentions the fire of the Ruby to have been greatly superior to that of the French ship, and that the condition of the two ships proved it fully; the Ruby having two men slightly wounded, with her fore-mast, rigging and sails damaged; and the Solitaire having lost her mizen-mast, being in every respect very much beat (almost a wreck) with 20 or 25 men killed, and about 35 wounded, as near as could be ascertained; among whom were the second captain, master, and boatswain. She was commanded by the Chevalier de Borda, and had been ten days from Martinique, cruising in expectation of falling in with one of our convoys from England.

The admiral adds, that too much could not be said of the very gallant behaviour of Capt. Collins, his officers, and men, upon that occasion.

*Extract of a Letter from Admiral Pigot to Mr. Stephens, dated the 3d of March, 1783.*

**C**APTAIN Payne, who I had appointed to the command of the Leander, and sent to convoy a cartel ship to the northward of the islands, acquaints me, that he had, on the night of the 18th of January, fallen in with and engaged a large ship; I have not a doubt of her being at least of 74 guns, having seen and examined several of the shot that were lodged in the Leander. I should not do justice to Captain Payne, his officers and ship's company, if I did not acquaint their lordships, that, from every enquiry as to the action, it appears to have been con-

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conducted with the greatest bravery and good order; and indeed, I have in several instances found Capt. Payne a very active good officer. It is rumoured at this island, that the ship he engaged was the Couronne, and that she is got into Porto Rico.

*N. B. The action began at midnight, and continued near two hours. Both ships were considerably damaged, and separated in the course of the night.*

*Extract of a Letter from Rear Admiral Rowley, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships at Jamaica, dated the 9th of Feb. 1783, to Mr. Stephens.*

**H**IS majesty's ship the Magicienne, of 32 guns, and 220 men, arrived here the 17th ult. after having had a very severe action with a French frigate, supposed to be the Sybil, in which the Magicienne lost all her masts, and was thereby prevented from pursuing the enemy. The Endymion, who was in sight, could not get up with her from her superiority in sailing.

*List of killed and wounded on board the Magicienne in the above action.*

Seamen killed	13
Marines killed	3
Seamen wounded	26
Marines wounded	5

*Extract of a Letter from Rear Admiral Digby, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels in North America, to*

*Mr. Stephens, dated February 8, 1783.*

**I**TAKE the opportunity of the Maria, bound to Glasgow, to acquaint their lordships, that Capt. Russel, of the Hussar, has this morning brought into port the Sybil, a French frigate of 36 guns and 350 men, after an action that does him, his officers, and men, great credit, as she is more than double his force. Captain Russel had only two men killed, and five or six wounded. What number the Sybil has lost I am not certain; she was under jury masts, having had an action some time before with a frigate.

The greatest part of the Sybil's convoy from Cape Francois, with a corvette, were brought in about ten days ago, by the Amphion and Cyclops; and there are now three or four sail of prizes off the Hook.

*Extract from the Kingston Gazette, received May 2, 1783.*

**S**UNDAY the 2d of March, his majesty's ship Resistance, James King, Esq. commander, coming through Turk's Island passage, with the Du Guay Trouin in company, discovered two ships at anchor, which cut their cables, got under way, and stood to the southward. The Resistance immediately gave chase to the sternmost ship, of 20 guns, which lost her main-top-mast, by carrying a press of sail, and then hauled her wind. The Resistance presently came up with her, gave her a dose from her upper-deckers, and stood after the other ship of 28 guns, which

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soon

soon after began to fire her stern chases, and continued so doing for about 15 minutes, when the *Resistance* running along side to leeward, she struck the white flag, after discharging her broadside, and possession was taken of the French king's frigate *La Coquette*, pierced for 28 guns, five of which had been left ashore at Turk's Island, and carrying 206 men, commanded by the Marquis de Grasse, a nephew to the celebrated Count de Grasse. — The *Resistance* discharged only a few guns, and had two of her officers wounded by the Frenchman's fire.

—*La Coquette* and her consort, were two transports, sailed from the Cape about three weeks before, with troops on board, bound on an expedition against Turk's Island, which they reduced and fortified, leaving a garrison of 530 men in the place. A day or two after the capture of *La Coquette*, the *Resistance* fell in with his majesty's frigates *Albemarle* and *Tartar*, and the *Drake* and *Barrington* armed vessels, when it was resolved an attempt should be made to retake the island; for which purpose 250 men were landed, under the command of Capt. Dixon, of the *Drake*; and the two brigs were stationed opposite the town, to cover the disembarkation, and to dislodge the enemy from the houses; but a battery of four 24 pounders, and five six pounders, being unexpectedly opened against them, they were compelled to retire: the *Drake* having seven men wounded, and the *Barrington* two. Capt. Dixon, at the same time, finding it impossible to dislodge

the enemy, who were advantageously posted behind a strong work, and greatly superior in numbers, drew off his men, and re-embarked them without loss. The following night the *Tartar* was drove off the bank, and went to sea with the loss of an anchor. It was next determined upon to attack the battery with the large ships; but the wind coming about to the westward, and blowing hard, so that it was with great difficulty the ships could be cleared of the lee-shore, the project was abandoned.

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*Extract of a Letter from General Sir Guy Carleton, K. B. &c. dated New York, June 20, 1783.*

MY LORD,

I Transmit for your lordship's information a copy of Colonel Deveaux's letter, conveying an account of the recapture of the Bahama islands, together with a copy of the capitulation.

I am, my lord,

Your lordship's most obedient,  
and most humble servant,

GUY CARLETON.

*Right Hon. Lord North.*

*Extract of a Letter from Colonel Deveaux, to Sir Guy Carleton, dated New Providence, June 6, 1783.*

I HAVE the pleasure to inform your excellency, that on the 1st of April last, not having heard that peace was concluded, I formed from St. Augustine an expedition against New Providence, to restore its inhabitants, with those of



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of the adjacent islands, to the blessings of a free government, I undertook this expedition at my own expence, and embarked my men, which did not exceed sixty-five, and sailed for Harbour island, where I recruited for four or five days; from thence I set sail for my object, which was the eastern fort on the island of Providence, and which I carried about day-light, with three of their formidable gallies, on the 14th. I immediately summoned the grand fortress to surrender, which was about a mile from the fort I had taken; his excellency the governor evaded the purport of my flag, by giving me some trifling informations, which I took in their true light. On the 16th I took possession of two commanding hills, and erected a battery on each of them of twelve pounders. At day-light on the 18th, my batteries being complete, the English colours were hoisted on each of them, which were within musquet-shot of their grand fortresses. His excellency finding his shot and shells of no effect, thought proper to capitulate, as you will see by the inclosed articles. My force never at any time consisted of more than 220 men, and not above 150 of them had musquets, not having it in my power to procure them at St. Augustine.

I took on this occasion one fort, consisting of thirteen pieces of cannon, three gallies carrying twenty-four pounders, and about fifty men.

His excellency surrendered four batteries, with about seventy pieces of cannon, and four large gallies (brigs and snows) which I have sent to the Havannah with

the troops as flags; I therefore stand in need of your excellency's advice and directions in my present situation, and shall be exceedingly happy to receive them as soon as possible.

I had letters written for your excellency on this occasion, since the middle of the last month; but the vessel by which they were to have been conveyed, went off and left them; therefore hope your excellency will not think it my neglect, in not having the accounts before this.

I have the honour to be,

Your excellency's most obedient  
and very humble servant,

(Signed) A. DEVEAUX.

Colonel-commandant of the Royal  
Forresters, New Providence.

June 6, 1783.

*Articles entered upon between Don Antonio Claraco y Sanz, Governor of the Bahama Islands, &c. and his Honour Andrew De-veaux, Colonel and Commander in Chief of the Expedition, &c.*

I. THE government house and public stores to be delivered to his Britanic majesty.

II. The governor and garrison under his command to march to the eastern fort, with all the honours of war; remaining with a piece of cannon and two shots per day, in order to hoist his Catholic majesty's flag. Provisions for the troops, sailors, and sick in the hospital, to be made at his Britannic majesty's expence; as also vessels prepared to carry them to the Havannah, particularly a vessel to carry the governor to Europe.

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III. All

III. All the officers and troops of the garrison, belonging to his Catholic majesty, are to remain in possession of their baggage and other effects.

IV. All the vessels in the harbour, belonging to his Catholic majesty, are to be given up, with every thing on board the said vessels to his Britannic majesty.

V. All effects appertaining to Spaniards to remain their property, and the Spanish merchants to have two months to settle their accounts. (Signed)

ANTONIO CLARACO Y SANZ.  
A. DEVEAUX.

*New Providence,*  
*April 18, 1783.*

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*To his Excellency Sir Guy Carleton, Knight of the most Honorable Order of the Bath, General and Commander in Chief of all his Majesty's Forces in North-America, within the Colonies lying on the Atlantic Ocean from Nova Scotia to West Florida inclusive, &c. &c.\**

*The officers commanding his Majesty's Provincial Regiments, for themselves, and in behalf of others his Majesty's Faithful Subjects in America, now serving in his Provincial Forces, beg leave to represent,*

**T**HAT the offer of independence to the American colonies by Great Britain, and the

probability that the present contest will terminate in the separation of the two countries, has filled the minds of his majesty's provincial troops with the most alarming apprehensions.

That, from the purest principles of loyalty and attachment to the British government, they took arms in his majesty's service, and relying on the justice of their cause, and the support of their sovereign and the British nation, they have persevered with unabated zeal through all the vicissitudes of a calamitous and an unfortunate war.

That their hearts still glow with loyalty to their sovereign, and the same enthusiastic attachment to the British constitution, which first stimulated them to action; and nothing can ever wean their affections from that government under which they formerly enjoyed so much happiness.

That their detestation to that republican system, which the leaders of the rebellion are aiming to establish, the fatal effects of which are already felt, is unconquerable.

That whatever stipulations may be made at a peace for the restoration of the property of the loyalists, and permission for them to return home; yet, should the American provinces be severed from the British empire, it will be utterly impossible for those who have served his majesty in arms in this war to remain in the coun-

\* This memorial of the commanding officers of his majesty's provincial regiments and corps in North America, was presented to Sir Guy Carleton in March 1783, and was by him transmitted to the secretary of state, with a letter strongly recommending the case of the provincial officers to their gracious sovereign,

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try. The personal animosities that arose from civil dissensions, have been so heightened by the blood that has been shed in the contest, that the parties can never be reconciled.

That the officers of his majesty's provincial forces have sacrificed not only their property, but many of them very lucrative professions, and all their expectations from their rank and connections in civil society.

That numbers of them entered very young into the king's service, and have grown up in the army; and having no other profession, and no family expectations, or homes to go to, their friends being all involved in the common ruin, they look forward to the day of their being disbanded with extreme solicitude.

That many of them have wives, who, born to the fairest expectations, and tenderly brought up, have been unaccustomed to want; and children about them, for whose education and future happiness they feel the most anxious concern.

That many who have served his majesty in his provincial troops, in subordinate capacities, during this war, have been respectable yeomen; of good connections, and possessed of considerable property, which from principles of loyalty, and a sense of duty, they quitted, and in the course of this contest have shewn a degree of patience, fortitude, and bravery, almost without example.

That there are still remaining in the provincial line a great number of men, who from wounds,

and from disorders contracted in service, are rendered totally unable to provide for their future subsistence; they therefore look up to that government, in whose service they have suffered, with all the anxiety of men who have no other hope left; many of them have helpless families who have seen better days.

That the widows and orphans of the provincial officers and soldiers, who have lost their lives in the king's service, are many of them reduced to extreme poverty, and distress, and have no prospect of relief but from the justice and humanity of the British government.

These, Sir, are the difficulties and the apprehensions under which his majesty's provincial troops now labour; and to your excellency they look up for assistance.

Relying on the gracious promise of their sovereign to support and protect them, and placing the fullest confidence in your excellency's benevolent interposition, and favourable representation of their faithful services, they are induced to ask—

That grants of lands may be made to them in some of his majesty's American provinces, and that they may be assisted in making settlements, in order that they and their children may enjoy the benefits of the British government.

That some permanent provision may be made for such of the non-commissioned officers, and private soldiers, as have been disabled, from wounds, and from disorders contracted in his majesty's service, and for the widows and

and orphans of the deceased officers and soldiers.

That as a reward for their faithful services, the rank of the officers may be permanent in America, and that they all may be entitled to half pay upon the reduction of their regiments.

Signed by the commanding officers of fourteen provincial corps.

*New York, March 14, 1783.*

*The following are Copies of Letters from General Carleton and Admiral Digby, in Answer to those dispatched by Robert R. Livingston, Esq. Secretary for Foreign Affairs, on Arrival of the Triumph Sloop of War, Lieutenant Duquesne, from Cadiz.*

*New York, March 26, 1783.*

SIR,

I Have received your letter of the 24th instant, inclosing a resolution of congress of the same date, taken in consequence of the arrival of the cutter Triumph, commanded by Lieutenant Duquesne, with orders of the 10th of February last, given at Cadiz by Vice admiral D'Estaing, for him to put to sea, and cruise on such stations as he shall judge most likely to meet with ships of his nation, and inform them of the happy reconciliation of the belligerent powers, and to order all their ships of war to cease hostilities against those of Great Britain; the preliminary articles of a general peace being signed the 20th of January. You therefore are pleased to express your expect-

tation, that I would think the information thus conveyed, "sufficiently authentic to justify my taking immediate measures to stop the farther effusion of blood." For my own part, I have hitherto abstained from all hostilities; and this conduct I mean to continue, so far as our own security would permit; but how great soever my desire is to put an entire stop to the calamities of war, and whatever respect this information may deserve, yet I do not find myself thereby justified in recommending measures, which might give facility to the fleets and armies menacing any part of the king's possessions, to carry their hostilities into execution. To adopt a measure of this importance, it is necessary I should receive orders from home, which I may reasonably expect every hour, as a cruiser sent out on other purposes is already arrived at Philadelphia; and I assure you, Sir, I only wait the official certainty of this great event, to assume the language, and the spirit too, of the most perfect conciliation and peace.

I perceive, Sir, by the resolution inclosed in your letter, that congress has thought fit to consider this information as authentic, and thereupon has taken one considerable step towards the carrying the terms of peace into immediate execution. Another, not less important, I presume has been taken, or is taking. With the cessation of hostilities, I perceive is connected, in the seventh article of the provisional treaty, an agreement, that "all prisoners, on both sides, shall be set at liberty." Of this event, therefore,

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fore, I hope likewise speedily to receive the very necessary and welcome notice, as I shall find the highest satisfaction in seeing released on all sides, men upon whom the evils and calamities of war have more peculiarly fallen.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient,  
humble servant,

GUY CARLTON.

*Robert R. Livingston, Esq.*

*New York, March 23, 1783.*

SIR,

I Have received your letter, inclosing me the resolve of congress, with a copy of a letter to his excellency Sir Guy Carleton; but as I have as yet received no official accounts from England, I must wait till you on your side relieve our prisoners, before I give that general relief to yours I so much wish. There can be no reason for detaining our prisoners one moment, as congress must suppose the peace signed. I shall take every precaution in my power, consistent with my duty, to stop any further mischief upon the seas; but should recommend the preventing any vessels sailing, as I have not yet received sufficient authority to enable me to withdraw my cruisers.

I am, Sir,

Your very obedient,  
humble servant,

ROBERT DIGBY.

*To Robert Livingston,  
Esq. &c. &c.*

*Copy of a Letter from his Excellency  
Sir Guy Carleton, K. B. &c.  
&c. &c. to the President of the  
American Congress.*

*New York, Aug. 17, 1783.*

SIR,

THE June packet lately arrived, has brought me final orders for the evacuation of this place; be pleased, Sir, to inform congress of this proof of the perseverance of the court of Great Britain, in the pacific system expressed by the provisional articles, and that I shall lose no time, as far as depends upon me, in fulfilling his majesty's commands.

But notwithstanding my orders are urgent to accelerate the total evacuation, the difficulty of assigning the precise period for this event is of late greatly increased.

My correspondence with General Washington, Governor Clinton, and Mr. Livingston (your late secretary for foreign affairs) early suggested the impediments, tending to retard this service. A letter to Mr. Livingston of the 6th of April, two more to General Washington of the 10th of May and 10th of June, with several to Governor Clinton, stating many hostile proceedings within the sphere of his authority, are those to which I refer; copies of some of these letters I enclose, though I am doubtless to presume, the congress to be informed of all transactions material to the general direction of their affairs.

The violence in the Americans, which broke out soon after the cessation of hostilities, increased the number of their countrymen to

to look to me for escape from threatened destruction ; but these terrors have of late been so considerably augmented, that almost all within these lines conceive the safety both of their property and of their lives, depend upon their being removed by me, which renders it impossible to say when the evacuation can be completed. Whether they have just ground to assert, that there is either no government within your limits for common protection, or that it secretly favours the committee in the sovereignty they assume, and are actually exercising, I shall not pretend to determine ; but as the daily gazettes and publications furnish repeated proofs, not only of a disregard to the articles of peace, but as barbarous menaces from committees formed in various towns, cities, and districts, and even at Philadelphia, the very place which the congress had chosen for their residence, I should shew an indifference to the feeling of humanity, as well as to the honour and interest of the nation whom I serve, to leave any of the Loyalists that are desirous to quit the country, a prey to the violence they conceive they have so much cause to apprehend.

The congress will hence discern how much it will depend on themselves and the subordinate legislatures, to facilitate the service I am commanded to perform, by abating the fears they will hereby diminish the number of the emigrants. But should these fears continue and compel such multitudes to remove, I shall hold myself acquitted from every delay in the fulfilling my orders and

the consequences which may result therefrom ; and I cannot avoid adding, that it makes no small part of my concern, that the congress have thought proper to suspend to this late hour, recommendations stipulated by the treaty, and in the punctual performance of which, the king and his ministers have expressed such entire confidence.

I am, Sir, your excellency's

Most obedient, and

Most humble servant,

GUY CARLETON.

*His excellency Elias Boudinot, Esq.*

*A circular Letter from his Excellency George Washington, Commander in Chief of the Armies of the United States of America, dated June 18, 1783.*

*Head Quarters, Newburgh, June 18, 1783.*

SIR,

THE great object for which I had the honour to hold an appointment in the service of my country, being accomplished, I am now preparing to resign it into the hands of congress, and return to that domestic retirement, which, it is well known, I left with the greatest reluctance ; a retirement for which I have never ceased to sigh through a long and painful absence, in which (remote from the noise and trouble of the world) I meditate to pass the remainder of life in a state of undisturbed repose ; but before I carry this resolution into effect, I think it a duty incumbent on me to make this my last official communi-



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munication, to congratulate you on the glorious events which heaven has been pleased to produce in our favour, to offer my sentiments respecting some important subjects, which appear to me to be intimately connected with the tranquillity of the United States, to take my leave of your excellency as a public character, and to give my final blessing to that country in whose service I have spent the prime of my life; for whose sake I have consumed so many anxious days and watchful nights; and whose happiness, being extremely dear to me, will always constitute no inconsiderable part of my own.

Impressed with the liveliest sensibility on this pleasing occasion, I will claim the indulgence of dilating the more copiously on the subject of our mutual felicitation. When we consider the magnitude of the prize we contended for, the doubtful nature of the contest, and the favourable manner in which it has terminated; we shall find the greatest possible reason for gratitude and rejoicing; this is a theme that will afford infinite delight to every benevolent and liberal mind, whether the event in contemplation be considered as a source of present enjoyment, or the parent of future happiness; and we shall have equal occasion to felicitate ourselves on the lot which Providence has assigned us, whether we view it in a natural, a political, or moral point of view.

The citizens of America, placed in the most enviable condition, as the sole lords and proprietors of a vast tract of continent, comprehending all the various soils and

climates of the world, and abounding with all the necessities and conveniences of life, are now, by the late satisfactory pacification, acknowledged to be possessed of absolute freedom and independency; they are from this period to be considered as the actors on a most conspicuous theatre, which seems to be peculiarly designed by Providence for the display of human greatness and felicity: here they are not only surrounded with every thing that can contribute to the completion of private and domestic enjoyments, but heaven has crowned all its other blessings, by giving a surer opportunity for political happiness, than any other nation has ever been favoured with. Nothing can illustrate these observations more forcibly than a recollection of the happy conjuncture of times and circumstances, under which our republic assumed its rank among the nations. The foundation of our empire was not laid in a gloomy age of ignorance and superstition, but at an epocha when the rights of mankind were better understood and more clearly defined, than at any former period: researches of the human mind after social happiness have been carried to a great extent: the treasures of knowledge acquired by the labours of philosophers, sages, and legislators, through a long succession of years, are laid open for use, and their collected wisdom may be happily applied in the establishment of our forms of government; the free cultivation of letters, the unbounded extension of commerce, the progressive refinement of manners, the growing liberality of sentiment, and, above

above all, the pure and benign light of revelation, have had a meliorating influence on mankind, and increased the blessings of society. At this auspicious period the United States came into existence as a nation, and if their citizens should not be completely free and happy, the fault will be entirely their own.

Such is our situation, and such are our prospects; but notwithstanding the cup of blessing is thus reached out to us, notwithstanding happiness is ours, if we have a disposition to seize the occasion, and make it our own; yet it appears to me, there is an option still left to the United States of America, whether they will be respectable and prosperous, or contemptible and miserable as a nation; this is the time of their political probation; this is the moment, when the eyes of the whole world are turned upon them; this is the moment to establish or ruin their national character for ever; this is the favourable moment to give such a tone to the federal government, as will enable it to answer the ends of its institution; or this may be the ill-fated moment for relaxing the powers of the union, annihilating the cement of the confederation, and exposing us to become the sport of European politics, which may play one state against another, to prevent their growing importance, and to serve their own interested purposes. For, according to the system of policy the states shall adopt at this moment, they will stand or fall;—and, by their confirmation or lapse, it is yet to be decided, whether the revolution must ultimately be considered as

a blessing or a curse;—a blessing or a curse, not to the present age alone, for with our fate will the destiny of unborn millions be involved.

With this conviction of the importance of the present crisis, silence in me would be a crime; I will therefore speak to your excellency the language of freedom and sincerity, without disguise. I am aware, however, those who differ from me in political sentiments, may, perhaps, remark, I am stepping out of the proper line of my duty; and they may possibly ascribe to arrogance or ostentation, what I know is alone the result of the purest intention; but the rectitude of my own heart, which disdains such unworthy motives; the part I have hitherto acted in life; the determination I have formed of not taking any share in public business hereafter; the ardent desire I feel and shall continue to manifest, of quietly enjoying in private life, after all the toils of war, the benefits of a wise and liberal government, will, I flatter myself, sooner or later, convince my countrymen, that I could have no sinister views in delivering, with so little reserve, the opinions contained in this address.

There are four things which I humbly conceive are essential to the well being, I may even venture to say, to the existence of the United States, as an independent power.

1st. An indissoluble union of the states under one federal head.

2dly. A sacred regard to public justice.

3dly. The adoption of a proper peace establishment. And,

4thly.

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4thly. The prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposition among the people of the United States, which will induce them to forget their local prejudices and policies, to make those mutual concessions which are requisite to the general prosperity, and, in some instances, to sacrifice their individual advantages to the interest of the community.

These are the pillars on which the glorious fabric of our independency and national character must be supported. Liberty is the basis—and whoever would dare to sap the foundation, or overturn the structure, under whatever specious pretexts he may attempt it, will merit the bitterest execration, and the severest punishment, which can be inflicted by his injured country.

On the three first articles I will make a few observations, leaving the last to the good sense and serious consideration of those immediately concerned.

Under the first head, although it may not be necessary or proper for me in this place to enter into a particular disquisition of the principles of the union, and to take up the great question which has been frequently agitated, whether it be expedient and requisite for the states to delegate a large proportion of power to congress, or not; yet it will be a part of my duty, and that of every true patriot, to assert, without reserve, and to insist upon the following positions: That unless the states will suffer congress to exercise those prerogatives they are undoubtedly invested with by the constitution, every thing must very rapidly tend to anarchy and

confusion. That it is indispensable to the happiness of the individual states, that there should be lodged somewhere, a supreme power, to regulate and govern the general concerns of the confederated republic, without which the union cannot be of long duration.

That there must be a faithful and pointed compliance on the part of every state with the late proposals and demands of congress, or the most fatal consequences will ensue. That whatever measures have a tendency to dissolve the union, or contribute to violate or lessen the sovereign authority, ought to be considered as hostile to the liberty and independency of America, and the authors of them treated accordingly. And lastly, that unless we can be enabled by the concurrence of the states to participate of the fruits of the revolution, and enjoy the essential benefits of civil society, under a form of government so free and uncorrupted, so happily guarded against the danger of oppression, as has been devised and adopted by the articles of confederation, it will be a subject of regret, that so much blood and treasure have been lavished for no purpose; that so many sufferings have been encountered without a compensation, and that so many sacrifices have been made in vain. Many other considerations might here be adduced to prove that without an entire conformity to the spirit of the union, we cannot exist as an independent power. It will be sufficient for my purpose to mention but one or two, which seem to me of the greatest importance. It is only in  
our

our united character, as an empire, that our independence is acknowledged, that our power can be regarded, or our credit supported among foreign nations. The treaties of the European powers, with the United States of America, will have no validity on the dissolution of the union. We shall be left nearly in a state of nature; or we may find by our own unhappy experience, that there is a natural and necessary progression from the extreme of anarchy to the extreme of tyranny; and that arbitrary power is most easily established on the ruins of liberty abused to licentiousness.

As to the second article, which respects the performance of public justice, congress have, in their late address to the United States, almost exhausted the subject; they have explained their ideas so fully, and have enforced the obligations the states are under to render complete justice to all the public creditors, with so much dignity and energy, that in my opinion, no real friend to the honour and independency of America can hesitate a single moment respecting the propriety of complying with the just and honourable measures proposed; if their arguments do not produce conviction, I know of nothing that will have greater influence, especially when we reflect that the system referred to, being the result of the collected wisdom of the continent, must be esteemed, if not perfect, certainly the least objectionable of any that could be devised; and that, if it shall not be carried into immediate execution, a national bankruptcy, with all its deplorable con-

sequences, will take place, before any different plan can possibly be proposed or adopted; so pressing are the present circumstances, and such is the alternative now offered to the states.

The ability of the country to discharge the debts, which have been incurred in its defence, is not to be doubted. An inclination, I flatter myself, will not be wanting; the path of our duty is plain before us; honesty will be found, on every experiment, to be the best and only true policy. Let us then, as a nation, be just; let us fulfil the public contracts which congress had undoubtedly a right to make for the purpose of carrying on the war, with the same good faith we suppose ourselves bound to perform our private engagements. In the mean time let an attention to the cheerful performance of their proper business, as individuals, and as members of society, be earnestly inculcated on the citizens of America; then will they strengthen the bands of government, and be happy under its protection. Every one will reap the fruit of his labours; every one will enjoy his own acquisitions, without molestation and without danger.

In this state of absolute freedom and perfect security, who will grudge to yield a very little of his property to support the common interests of society, and ensure the protection of government? Who does not remember the frequent declarations at the commencement of the war, that we should be completely satisfied, if at the expence of one-half, we could defend the remainder of our possessions? Where is the man to be found,

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found, who wishes to remain indebted for the defence of his own person and property to the exertions, the bravery, and the blood of others, without making one generous effort to pay the debt of honour and of gratitude? In what part of the continent shall we find any man, or body of men, who would not blush to stand up, and propose measures purposely calculated to rob the soldier of his stipend, and the public creditor of his due? And were it possible that such a flagrant instance of injustice could ever happen, would it not excite the general indignation, and tend to bring down, upon the authors of such measures, the aggravated vengeance of heaven? If, after all, a spirit of disunion, or a temper of obstinacy and perverseness should manifest itself in any of the states; if such an ungracious disposition should attempt to frustrate all the happy effects that might be expected to flow from the union; if there should be a refusal to comply with the requisitions for funds to discharge the annual interest of the public debts, and if that refusal should revive all those jealousies, and produce all those evils which are now happily removed, congress, who have in all their transactions shewn a great degree of magnanimity and justice, will stand justified in the sight of God and man! And that state alone, which puts itself in opposition to the aggregate wisdom of the continent, and follows such mistaken and pernicious councils, will be responsible for all the consequences.

For my own part, conscious of

having acted, while a servant of the public, in the manner I conceived best suited to promote the real interest of my country; having, in consequence of my fixed belief, in some measure, pledged myself to the army, that their country would finally do them complete and ample justice; and not willing to conceal any instance of my official conduct from the eyes of the world, I have thought proper to transmit to your excellency the inclosed collection of papers, relative to the half pay and commutation granted by congress to the officers of the army: from these communications, my decided sentiment will be clearly comprehended, together with the conclusive reasons, which induced me at an early period, to recommend the adoption of this measure in the most earnest and serious manner. As the proceedings of congress, the army, and myself, are open to all, and contain, in my opinion, sufficient information to remove the prejudice and errors which may have been entertained by any, I think it unnecessary to say any thing more, than just to observe, that the resolutions of congress, now alluded to, are as undoubtedly and absolutely binding upon the United States, as the most solemn acts of confederation or legislation.

As to the idea, which I am informed, has in some instances prevailed, that the half pay and commutation are to be regarded merely in the odious light of a pension, it ought to be exploded for ever: that provision should be viewed, as it really was, a reasonable compensation offered by congress,

congress, at a time when they had nothing else to give to officers of the army, for services then to be performed: it was the only means to prevent a total dereliction of the service: it was a part of their hire. I may be allowed to say, it was the price of their blood, and of your independency; it is therefore more than a common debt, it is a debt of honour; it can never be considered as a pension or gratuity, nor cancelled until it is fairly discharged.

With regard to the distinction between officers and soldiers, it is sufficient that the uniform experience of every nation of the world, combined with our own, proves the utility and propriety of the discrimination. Rewards in proportion to the aid the public draws from them, are unquestionably due to all its servants. In some lines, the soldiers have perhaps generally had as ample compensation for their services, by the large bounties which have been paid them, as their officers will receive in the proposed commutation; in others, if besides the donation of land, the payment of arrearages of clothing and wages (in which articles all the component parts of the army must be put upon the same footing) we take into the estimate, the bounties many of the soldiers have received, and the gratuity of one year's full pay, which is promised to all, possibly their situation (every circumstance being duly considered) will not be deemed less eligible than that of the officers. Should a farther reward, however, be judged equitable, I will venture to assert, no man will enjoy greater satisfaction than my-

self, an exemption from taxes for a limited time (which has been petitioned for in some instances) or any other adequate immunity or compensation granted to the brave defenders of their country's cause; but neither the adoption or rejection of this proposition will, in any manner affect, much less militate against the act of congress, by which they have offered five years full pay, in lieu of the half pay for life, which had been before promised to the officers of the army.

Before I conclude the subject on public justice, I cannot omit to mention the obligations this country is under to that meritorious class of veterans, the non-commissioned officers and privates, who have been discharged for inability, in consequence of the resolution of congress, of the 23d of April, 1782, on an annual pension for life: their peculiar sufferings, their singular merits and claims to that provision need only to be known, to interest the feelings of humanity in their behalf; nothing but a punctual payment of their annual allowance can rescue them from the most complicated misery; and nothing could be a more melancholy and distressing sight, than to behold those who have shed their blood, or lost their limbs in the service of their country, without a shelter, without a friend, and without the means of obtaining any of the comforts or necessities of life, compelled to beg their daily bread from door to door. Suffer me to recommend those of this description, belonging to your state, to the warmest patronage of your excellency and your legislature.



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It is necessary to say but a few words on the third topic which was proposed, and which regards particularly the defence of the republic. As there can be little doubt but congress will recommend a proper peace establishment for the United States, in which a due attention will be paid to the importance of placing the militia of the union upon a regular and respectable footing; if this should be the case, I should beg leave to urge the great advantage of it in the strongest terms.

The militia of this country must be considered as the palladium of our security, and the first effectual resort in case of hostility: it is essential, therefore, that the same system should pervade the whole; that the formation and discipline of the militia of the continent should be absolutely uniform; and that the same species of arms, accoutrements, and military apparatus, should be introduced in every part of the United States. No one, who has not learned it from experience, can conceive the difficulty, expence, and confusion which result from a contrary system, or the vague arrangements which have hitherto prevailed.

If, in treating of political points, a greater latitude than usual has been taken in the course of the address, the importance of the crisis, and the magnitude of the objects in discussion; must be my apology: it is, however, neither my wish nor expectation, that the preceding observations should claim any regard, except so far as they shall appear to be dictated by a good intention: consonant to the immutable rules of justice;

calculated to produce a liberal system of policy, and founded on whatever experience may have been acquired by a long and close attention to public business. Here I might speak with more confidence, from my actual observations; and if it would not swell this letter (already too prolix) beyond the bounds I had prescribed myself, I could demonstrate to every mind, open to conviction, that in less time, and with much less expence than has been incurred, the war might have been brought to the same happy conclusion, if the resources of the continent could have been properly called forth; that the distresses and disappointments which have very often occurred, have, in too many instances, resulted more from a want of energy in the continental government, than a deficiency of means in the particular states; that the inefficacy of the measures, arising from the want of an adequate authority in the supreme power, from a partial compliance with the requisitions of congress in some of the states, and from a failure of punctuality in others, while they tended to damp the zeal of those who were more willing to exert themselves, served also to accumulate the expences of the war, and to frustrate the best concerted plans; and that the discouragement occasioned by the complicated difficulties and embarrassments, in which our affairs were by this means involved, would have long ago produced the dissolution of any army, less patient, less virtuous, and less persevering, than that which I have had the honour to command. But while I men-

tion those things, which are notorious facts, as the defects of our federal constitution, particularly in the prosecution of a war, I beg it may be understood, that as I have ever taken a pleasure in gratefully acknowledging the assistance and support I have derived from every class of citizens; so shall I always be happy to do justice to the unparalleled exertions of the individual states, on many interesting occasions.

I have thus freely disclosed what I wished to make known before I surrendered up my public trust to those who committed it to me: the task is now accomplished; I now bid adieu to your excellency, as the chief magistrate of your state; at the same time I bid a last farewell to the cares of office, and all the employments of public life.

It remains, then, to be my final and only request, that your excellency will communicate these sentiments to your legislature, at their next meeting; and that they may be considered as the legacy of one who has ardently wished, on all occasions, to be useful to his country, and who, even in the shade of retirement, will not fail to implore the divine benediction upon it.

I now make it my earnest prayer, that God would have you, and the state over which you preside, in his holy protection; that he would incline the hearts of the citizens to cultivate a spirit of subordination and obedience to government; to entertain a brotherly affection and love for one another, for their fellow-citizens of the United States at large; and particularly for their brethren

who have served in the field; and finally, that he would most graciously be pleased to dispose us all to do justice, to love mercy, and to demean ourselves with that charity, humility, and pacific temper of the mind, which were the characteristics of the divine Author of our blessed religion; without an humble imitation of whose example, in these things, we can never hope to be a happy nation.

I have the honour to be, with much esteem and respect, Sir,

Your excellency's most obedient,  
and most humble servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

*His Excellency William Greene, Esq.  
Governor of the State of Rhode  
Island.*

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*General Washington's farewell Orders to the Armies of the United States.*

*Rocky Hill, near Princeton,  
Nov. 2, 1783.*

THE United States in congress assembled, after giving the most honourable testimony to the merits of the federal armies, and presenting them with the thanks of their country, for their long eminent and faithful service, having thought proper, by their proclamation bearing date the 18th of October last, to discharge such part of the troops as were engaged for the war, and to permit the officers on furlough to retire from service, from and after to-morrow, which proclamation having been communicated in the public papers for the information and government of all

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all concerned;—it only remains for the commander in chief to address himself once more, and that for the last time, to the armies of the United States (however widely dispersed individuals who composed them may be), and to bid them an affectionate, a long farewell.

But before the commander in chief takes his final leave of those he holds most dear, he wishes to indulge himself a few moments in calling to mind a slight review of the past:—he will then take the liberty of exploring, with his military friends, their future prospects, of advising the general line of conduct which in his opinion ought to be pursued; and he will conclude the address, by expressing the obligations he feels himself under for the spirited and able assistance he has experienced from them, in the performance of an arduous office.

A contemplation of the complete attainment (at a period earlier than could have been expected) of the object for which we contended against so formidable a power, cannot but inspire us with astonishment and gratitude.—The disadvantageous circumstances on our part, under which the war was undertaken, can never be forgotten.—The singular interpositions of Providence in our feeble condition, were such as could scarcely escape the attention of the most unobserving—while the unparalleled perseverance of the armies of the United States, through almost every possible suffering and discouragement, for the space of eight long years, was little short of a standing miracle.

It is not the meaning, nor within the compass of this address, to detail the hardships peculiarly incident to our service, or to describe the distresses which in several instances have resulted from the extremes of hunger and nakedness, combined with the rigours of an inclement season;—nor is it necessary to dwell on the dark side of our past affairs. Every American officer and soldier must now console himself for any unpleasant circumstances which may have occurred, by a recollection of the uncommon scenes in which he has been called to act no inglorious part, and the astonishing events of which he has been a witness; events which have seldom, if ever before, taken place on the stage of human action, nor can they probably ever happen again. For who has before seen a disciplined army formed at once from such raw materials? Who that was not a witness could imagine that the most violent local prejudices would cease so soon, and that men who came from the different parts of the continent, strongly disposed by the habits of education to despise and quarrel with each other, would instantly become but one patriotic band of brothers? Or who that was not on the spot, can trace the steps by which such a wonderful revolution has been effected, and such a glorious period put to all our warlike toils?

It is universally acknowledged, that the enlarged prospects of happiness, opened by the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, almost exceed the power of description: and shall not the brave men who have con-

tributed so essentially to these inestimable acquisitions, retiring victorious from the field of war to the field of agriculture, participate in all the blessings which have been obtained? In such a republic, who will exclude them from the rights of citizens, and the fruits of their labours? In such a country, so happily circumstanced, the pursuits of commerce, and the cultivation of the soil, will unfold to industry the certain road to competence. To those hardy soldiers, who are actuated by the spirit of adventure, the fisheries will afford ample and profitable employment; and the extensive and fertile regions of the West will yield a most happy asylum to those who, fond of domestic enjoyment, are seeking for personal independence. Nor is it possible to conceive that any one of the United States will prefer a national bankruptcy, and the dissolution of the union, to a compliance with the requisitions of congress, and the payment of its just debts, so that the officers and soldiers may expect considerable assistance, in recommencing their civil occupations, from the sums due to them from the public, which must and will most inevitably be paid.

In order to effect this desirable purpose, and to remove the prejudices which may have taken possession of the minds of any of the good people of the states, it is earnestly recommended to all the troops, that, with strong attachments to the union, they should carry with them into civil society the most conciliating dispositions; and that they should prove themselves not less virtuous and useful as citizens, than they have been

persevering and victorious as soldiers.—What though there should be some envious individuals, who are unwilling to pay the debt the public has contracted, or to yield the tribute due to merit; yet let such unworthy treatment produce no invective, or any instance of intemperate conduct;—let it be remembered, that the unbiassed voice of the free citizens of the United States has promised the just reward, and given the merited applause;—let it be known and remembered, that the reputation of the federal armies is established beyond the reach of malevolence; and let a consciousness of their achievements, and fame, still excite the men who composed them to honourable actions, under the persuasion, that the private virtues of œconomy, prudence, and industry, will not be less amiable in civil life, than the more splendid qualities of valour, perseverance and enterprize, were in the field:—every one may rest assured that much, very much of the future happiness of the officers and men will depend upon the wise and manly conduct which shall be adopted by them, when they are mingled with the great body of the community. And although the general has so frequently given it as his opinion, in the most public and explicit manner, that unless the principles of the federal government were properly supported, and the powers of the union increased, the honour, dignity, and justice of the nation, would be lost for ever; yet he cannot help repeating on this occasion so interesting a sentiment, and leaving it as his last injunction to every officer and every soldier

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dier who may view the subject in the same serious point of light, to add his best endeavours to those of his worthy fellow-citizens, towards effecting these great and valuable purposes, on which our very existence as a nation so materially depends.

The commander in chief conceives little is now wanting to enable the soldier to change the military character into that of a citizen, but that steady and decent tenour of behaviour, which has generally distinguished not only the army under his immediate command, but the different detachments and separate armies, through the course of the war. From their good sense and prudence he anticipated the happiest consequences: and while he congratulates them on the glorious occasion which renders their services in the field no longer necessary, he wishes to express the strong obligations he feels himself under for the assistance he has received from every class, and in every instance. He presents his thanks, in the most serious and affectionate manner, to the general officers, as well for their counsel on many interesting occasions, as for their ardour in promoting the success of the plans he had adopted; to the commandants of regiments and corps, and to the officers for their zeal and attention in carrying his orders promptly into execution; to the staff, for their alacrity and exactness in performing the duties of their several departments; and to the non-commissioned officers and private soldiers, for their extraordinary patience in suffering, as well as their invin-

cible fortitude in action. To various branches of the army the general takes this last and solemn opportunity of professing his inviolable attachment and friendship.—He wishes more than bare professions were in his power, that he was really able to be useful to them all in future life.—He flatters himself, however, they will do him the justice to believe, that whatever could with propriety be attempted by him, has been done.—And being now to conclude these his last public orders, to take his ultimate leave, in a short time, of the military character,—and to bid a final adieu to the armies he has so long had the honour to command, he can only again offer, in their behalf, his recommendations to their grateful country, and his prayers to the God of armies.—May ample justice be done them here, and may the choicest of heaven's favours, both here and hereafter, attend those who, under the divine auspices, have secured innumerable blessings for others! With these wishes, and this benediction, the commander in chief is about to retire from service.—The curtain of separation will soon be drawn—and the military scene to him will be closed for ever.

EDW. HANB, Adjutant-general.

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*The Address of his Officers to his Excellency General Washington, Commander in Chief of the Armies of the United States of America.*

**W**E, the officers of the part of the army remaining on the banks of the Hudson, have received

received your excellency's serious and farewell address, to the armies of the United States. We beg you to accept our unfeigned thanks for the communication, and our affectionate assurances of inviolable attachment and friendship. If your attempts to ensure to the armies the just, the promised rewards, of their long, severe, and dangerous services, have failed of success, we believe it has arisen from causes not in your excellency's power to controul. With extreme regret do we reflect on the occasion which called for such endeavours. But while we thank your excellency for these exertions in favour of the troops you have so successfully commanded, we pray it may be believed, that in this sentiment our own particular interests have but a secondary place; and that even the ultimate ingratitude of the people (were that possible) could not shake the patriotism of those who suffer by it. Still with pleasing wonder and with grateful joy shall we contemplate the glorious conclusion of our labours. To that merit in the revolution which, under the auspices of heaven, the armies have displayed, posterity will do justice; and the sons will blush whose fathers were their foes.

Most gladly would we cast a veil on every act which sullies the reputation of our country—never should the page of history be stained with its dishonour—even from our memories should the idea be erased. We lament the opposition to those salutary measures which the wisdom of the union has planted; measures

which alone can recover and fix on a permanent basis the credit of the states; measures which are essential to the justice, the honour, and interest of the nation. While she was giving the noblest proofs of magnanimity, with conscious pride we saw her growing fame; and regardless of present sufferings, we looked forward to the end of our toils and dangers, to brighter scenes in prospect.—There we beheld the genius of our country dignified by sovereignty and independence, supported by justice, and adorned with every liberal virtue. There we saw patient Husbandry fearless extend her cultured fields, and animated Commerce spread her sails to every wind. There we beheld fair Science lift her head, with all the Arts attending in her train. There, blest with freedom, we saw the human mind expand; and throwing aside the restraints which confined it to the narrow bounds of country, it embraced the world. Such were our fond hopes, and with such delightful prospects did they present us. Nor are we disappointed. Those animating prospects are now changed and changing to realities; and actively to have contributed to their production is our pride, our glory.—But justice alone can give them stability. In that justice we still believe. Still we hope, that the prejudices of the misinformed will be removed, and the arts of false and selfish popularity, addressed to the feelings of avarice, defeated: or in the worst event, the world, we hope, will make the just distinction: we trust the disingenuousness



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ness of a few will not sully the reputation, the honour, and dignity, of the great and respectable majority of the states.

We are happy in the opportunity just presented of congratulating your excellency on the certain conclusion of the definitive treaty of peace. Relieved at length from long suspense, our warmest wish is to return to the bosom of our country, to resume the character of citizens; and it will be our highest ambition to become useful ones. To your excellency this great event must be peculiarly pleasing: for while at the head of her armies, urged by patriot virtues and magnanimity, you persevered, under the pressure of every possible difficulty and discouragement, in the pursuit of the great objects of the war—the freedom and safety of your country;—your heart panted for the tranquil enjoyments of peace. We cordially rejoice with you that the period of indulging them has arrived so soon. In contemplating the blessings of liberty and independence, the rich prize of eight years hardy adventure, past sufferings will be forgotten; or if remembered, the recollection will serve to heighten the relish of present happiness. We sincerely pray God this happiness may long be your's; and that when you quit the stage of human life, you may receive from the unerring Judge, the rewards of valour exerted to save the oppressed, of patriotism and disinterested virtue.

*West Point,*  
15th November, 1783.

*Ceremonial of the Introduction of his Royal Highness George Augustus Frederick Prince of Wales, into the House of Peers, at the Meeting of Parliament on Tuesday, November 11, 1783.*

**H**IS royal highness having been, by letters patent, dated the 19th day of August, in the second year of his majesty's reign, created Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester, was in his robes, which with the collar and order of the garter he had put on in the earl marshal's room, introduced into the House of Peers in the following order:

Gentleman usher of the black rod,  
with his staff of office.

Earl of Surrey.

Deputy earl marshal of England.

Earl of Carlisle.

Lord privy seal.

Garter principal king of arms, in his robe, with the sceptre, bearing his royal highness's patent.

Sir Peter Burrell,

Deputy great chamberlain of  
England.

Viscount Stormont,

Lord president of the council.

The CORONET,

On a crimson velvet cushion, borne by Viscount Lewisham, one of the gentlemen of his royal highness's bed-chamber.

His Royal Highness the PRINCE  
of WALES,

Carrying his writ of summons, supported by his uncle the Duke of Cumberland, and the Dukes of Richmond and Portland.

And proceeding up the house with the usual reverences, the writ and patent were delivered to the Earl of Mansfield, speaker, on the wool-

[S] 4

sack,

sack, and read by the clerk of the parliament at the table, his royal highness and the rest of the procession standing near; after which his royal highness was conducted to his chair on the right hand of the throne, the coronet and cushion having been laid on a stool before the chair, and his royal highness being covered as usual, the ceremony ended.

Some time after his majesty entered the House of Peers, and was seated on the throne with the usual solemnities, and having delivered his most gracious speech, retired out of the house.

Then his royal highness at the table took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and made and subscribed the declaration; and also took and subscribed the oath of abjuration.

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*The Ceremonial of Investiture of the Knights of St. Patrick.*

*Dublin Castle, March 11, 1783.*

**T**HIS day having been appointed by his excellency the lord lieutenant for the investiture of the knights of the most illustrious order of St. Patrick, the noblemen named in his majesty's letter to be knights companions of the order were summoned to attend, in order to be invested with the ensigns of that dignity previous to their installation; and being assembled in the presence chamber, a procession was made from thence to the great ball-room, viz.

Pursuivants, and  
Officers attending the state.  
Peers named in the king's letter,  
viz.

Earls  
Beffive, and Charlemont,  
Courtown, and Mornington,  
Clanbrassil, and Shannon,  
Tyrone, and Drogheda,  
Inchiquin, and Westmeath.  
Earl of Clanricarde, and the Duke  
of Leinster.

Officers of his excellency's household, viz.

Pages.

Gentlemen at large.

Gentlemen of the chamber.

Master of the ceremonies.

Gentlemen of the horse.

Comptroller and steward of the household.

Officers of the order, viz.

Pursuivants.

Heralds.

Register, and usher.

Secretary, and genealogist.

Chancellor.

Ulster king of arms,

Bearing his majesty's commission,  
and the badge and ribband of  
the grand master upon a  
blue velvet cushion.

Lord Viscount Carhampton,

Bearing the sword of state.

His excellency the lord lieutenant,

With ten aids de camp on each side.

Gold stick.

Battle-axe guards.

On their arrival in the great ball-room the different persons who composed the procession proceeded to the places assigned them; and his excellency being covered and seated in the chair of state, Ulster king of arms presented to him his majesty's letter, which his excellency delivered to the Right Hon. John Hely Hutchinson, secretary of state, who read the same aloud, during which time his excellency and the assembly remained

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remained standing and uncovered. His excellency being again seated, Ulster presented to him the blue ribband and badge of grand master, with which his excellency invested himself.

His excellency then signified his majesty's pleasure, that the great ball-room should be styled the Hall of St. Patrick, which was done by proclamation made by Ulster king of arms, at the sound of trumpets, and with the usual formalities; after which

His excellency directed Ulster king of arms and usher of the black rod to introduce his grace the lord archbishop of Dublin, to whom the secretary of state administered the oath, as chancellor of the order, and his grace, kneeling, was invested by the grand master, with the proper badge, and received from his excellency's hands the purse containing the seals.

The dean of St. Patrick's was then introduced, to whom the oath of register of the order was administered by the chancellor, and he was invested in the like manner by his excellency, who delivered to him the statutes and the register of the order. Lord Delvin was next introduced, and having taken the oath, was invested as secretary! and in like manner Charles Henry Coote, Esq. as genealogist——John Freemantle, Esq. as usher——and William Hawkins, Esq. as king of arms of the said order, the oaths being first administered to them by the chancellor, were severally invested by the grand master.

His excellency then signified his majesty's pleasure, that in

consideration of the tender age of Prince Edward, his royal highness should be invested in England, and that his majesty's dispensation for that purpose should be entered upon the register of the order: and in consequence of his majesty's direction, the Lord Baron Muskerry was knighted, and declared proxy to his royal highness Prince Edward.

His excellency then directed that his grace the Duke of Leinster should be called in; and as by the statutes of the order none but a knight can be elected or invested, his grace, being introduced by the usher and king of arms, was knighted by his excellency with the sword of state, and immediately delivered to the genealogist the proofs of blood required by the statutes, whereupon the oaths were administered by the chancellor, and his grace kneeling was invested by the grand master with the ribband and badge. His grace then joined the procession to introduce the Earl of Clanricarde, who being sworn was invested in like manner, and both knights joined the procession to bring in the Earl of Westmeath; after which the two junior knights performed this duty, and the senior knight took his seat as companion of the order. The Earls of Inchiquin, Drogheda, Tyrone, Shannon, Clanbrassil, Mornington, Courtown, Charlemont, and Beftive, being severally introduced by the two junior knights, were each of them sworn by the chancellor, and invested by the grand master, and took their seats as knights companions.

The ceremony of investiture being

being ended, his majesty's pleasure was declared and registered for appointing his grace the Lord Archbishop of Armagh, primate and metropolitan of Ireland, to be prelate of the said most illustrious order.

A procession was then made from St. Patrick's Hall to the presence-chamber, where the lord lieutenant received the compliments of the knights of the order, and of a numerous assembly of the nobility and gentry, who testified their satisfaction in this distinguished mark of the royal favour to this kingdom.—St. Patrick's Hall was elegantly fitted up for the occasion, and the galleries belonging to it were crowded with ladies of the first rank and fashion; and the whole ceremony was conducted with the utmost propriety, and with the most splendid magnificence.

#### INSTALLATION of the KNIGHTS.

*March 17.* Being the festival of St. Patrick, tutelar saint of Ireland, and the day appointed for the installation of the newly created knights of the *Shamrock*, at six in the morning the volunteer corps of the county and city of Dublin paraded at the Royal Exchange, and balloted for the guards which were to be stationed in the cathedral; after which they proceeded to Dawson-street, to receive instructions from the right hon. the lord mayor, appointed commanding officer of the day, and from thence marched to the cathedral, the avenue to which, from the middle of Bride-street, was strongly lined, and were there joined by the troops in gar-

rison, who also lined the remaining streets to the castle. Guards of horse and foot were stationed at the different avenues leading into the streets through which the procession moved, which prevented carriages passing, and the populace from being too pressing, and by which judicious arrangement the procession met with not the least obstruction. The cavalcade left the castle between ten and eleven o'clock, in the following order: a large detachment of dragoons, state trumpets, battle-axe guards, sword of state, sovereign's esquires, archbishop of Armagh prelate of the order, the lord lieutenant as grand master, Lord Muskerry as proxy for his royal highness Prince Edward, the Duke of Leinster, the Earls of Clanrickarde, Westmeath, Inchiquin, Shannon, Clanbrassil, Mornington, Arran, Courtown, Charlemont, and Beftive. The Earl of Ely, the remaining knight, being out of the kingdom, his investiture and installation could not take place. Each knight had three esquires, who attended him in his carriage. In going to the church the knights were in their surcoat only, with their caps in their hands; but in their procession back, after they were installed, they were dressed in the full mantle, habit, and collar of the order.—The dresses of the whole were very rich and magnificent. The procession returned to the castle a little after two o'clock, and the knights appeared at the windows to gratify the spectators.

The installation of the knights was conducted with the greatest propriety and regularity—not a single

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single mistake occurred from the time of their arrival at the choir till they returned to the chapter-house. The effect of the ceremony viewed from the galleries was amazingly splendid. As the procession reached the choir they were arranged in their proper places by Ulster, and the heralds of arms; the prebends seats were prepared under the galleries, to which they *filed* off as they came up.—The esquires of the knights entered three a-breast, with their white fatten surcoats lined with sky blue,—their white fatten bonnets in their hands. After making an obeisance to the altar, they were *told* off into their proper places immediately under their respective knights, where they continued standing while the knights advanced two a-breast clad in their surcoat only with the cap of the order in their hand, the junior knight first. After being placed in the stalls formerly allotted to the prebends of St. Patrick, the whole continued standing till the sovereign of the order entered in full dress, girded with the sword, collar, and mantle, wearing his cap and plumes. He was conducted by the officers of the order to the stall formerly occupied by the dean, and after being saluted by all the knights and esquires, took his seat, covered, when the coronation anthem immediately commenced. After it was finished, the officers of the order, with the heralds and pursuivants, advanced to the sovereign's stall, making three profound obeisances, where they received the banner, which was carried by Ulster to the altar, and there received by the dean. The

prince's banner was deposited in the same manner. The premier knight, his grace of Leinster, was then invested with the insignia of the order, by the proper officers, and took his seat covered, when the next knight, Lord Clanricarde, was called upon; his grace descended in full habit of the order to receive him, and was conducted to the sovereign's stall between the installed knight and Ulster; after the obeisances were made, the premier knight assisted in putting on the sword, the collar, and mantle of the order, and delivered him the cap, when he returned to his stall, and was saluted by the sovereign and the other knights. After the same ceremony of installation had been gone through with each knight, and all seated in full habit of the order, Te Deum was celebrated by the band, when the procession left the choir in the same manner they entered, only the knights wore their swords, mantles, collars, and caps. A guard of 300 volunteers mounted in the cathedral, and were drawn up on each side of the south and center aisles, in lines three deep, through which the procession moved, and were received by the whole with presented arms.

Three troops of volunteer horse were drawn up in Patrick's Close during the installation.

Gardiner's horse dismounted, did duty in the choir, and were placed as guards at the altar and entrance.

### *The CEREMONIAL of the INSTALLATION.*

On the proper precaution having been taken to guide the line  
of

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of carriages and of spectators, and the streets being lined with the regiments on Dublin duty, his excellency, preceded by his own carriages, containing his household, the esquires of the sovereign, and the peer who bears the sword of state, and attended by a squadron of cavalry, set forward from the castle, and followed by the knights companions, each in a coach attended by their esquires; and no other carriage, save those of the knights, were allowed to move in this procession.

At the door of the cathedral of St. Patrick his excellency was met by the officers of the church and of the order, who attended him to the robeing-room. His excellency alone being in the full mantle, habit, and collar of the order, the other knights in the surcoat only, and with their caps and feathers in their hands; their mantles, collars and swords having been previously sent to the chapter-room.

As soon as his excellency notified his pleasure, the procession was made to the choir in the following manner, viz.

Singing men.  
 Prebends.  
 Messengers.  
 Kettle drums.  
 Trumpets.  
 Pursuivants.  
 Pages.  
 Gentlemen at large.  
 Gentlemen of the bed-chamber.  
 Gentlemen of horse, chamberlain,  
 and gentleman usher.  
 Steward and comptroller.  
 Esquires.  
 Heralds.  
 Knights.  
 Ulster, register, and usher.

Genealogist, chancellor, secretary.  
 Prelate.

Sword of state, carried by senior peer.

Aid de  
Camp

Lord lieutenant.

Aid de  
Camp

Peers sons.

Train bearer.

Colonel of battle-axes.

Battle-axe guards.

Upon entering the choir the trumpets, pursuivants, and other officers attending the procession, proceeded to their proper places, as well as his excellency's suite. The esquires, three a-breast, made their reverence to the altar when they came opposite to the stall of their knight, and then wheeled off to their respective places; the knights entered two and two, and after the same reverences proceeded to their stalls, where they remained standing till his excellency was seated, when they bowed all together, and seated themselves. The choir then performed the coronation anthem; after which the usher, king of arms, heralds, and pursuivants, attended with the three esquires of the senior knight, went out with the usual reverences for the insignia of the order, with which they returned in the following manner, viz.

The principal esquire bearing the banner furled.

The two other esquires bearing the mantle and the sword.

Ulster carrying the great collar of the order upon a blue velvet cushion.

When they had proceeded to the center of the choir, they remained there while the four great officers of the order proceeded to the



## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [285

the stall of the said senior knight, after the usual reverences to the sovereign's stall : the knight then descended into the middle of the choir, where he was invested with the sword, the mantle, and the collar, by the chancellor and register, after reading the admonitions prescribed, viz.

Upon putting on the sword :—  
 "Take this sword to the increase of your honour ; and in token and sign of the most illustrious order, which you have received, wherewith you being defended may be bold strongly to fight in the defence of those rights and ordinances to which you be engaged, and to the just and necessary defence of those who be oppressed and needy."

Upon putting on the mantle ;  
 "Receive this robe and livery of this most illustrious order, in augmentation of thine honour, and wear it with the firm and steady resolution, that by your character, conduct, and demeanour, you may approve yourself a true servant of the Almighty God ; and a worthy brother and knight companion of this most illustrious order."

Upon putting on the collar ;  
 "Sir, the loving company of the order of St. Patrick hath received you their brother, lover, and fellow, and in token and knowledge of this, they give you and present you this badge, the which God will that you receive and wear from henceforth to his praise and pleasure, and to the exaltation and honour of the said illustrious order, and yourself."

They conducted him to his stall, with the usual reverences to the sovereign ; and he seated himself

with his cap upon his head ; immediately after which the esquire unfurled the banner, and the knights standing up uncovered, Ulster repeated his style in English, and a procession was made to the altar, of the register and officers of arms, attended by the esquires with the banner, which was delivered to Ulster, who presented it to the register, who placed it within the rails of the altar. After which, with the usual reverences, the esquires proceeded to their places, and the officers of arms proceeded with the esquires of the second knight in like manner as before. And when these ceremonies were finished, the choir performed the Te Deum ; after which a procession was made in like manner as before to the chapter-room, and from thence to the castle, where the knights reposed themselves till dinner was served ; when a procession was again made from the presence-chamber to St. Patrick's-hall, where the knights took their seats covered, viz. the grand master in the center, the prince's chair on his left hand, the prelate and the chancellor at the two ends of the sovereign's table, and the knights on each side ; and the esquires remained standing till after grace was said, when they retired to the seats prepared for them.

Towards the end of the first course, when his excellency stood up uncovered, the knights rose uncovered, and the king of arms proclaimed by the sound of trumpet, that the grand master and knights companions of the most illustrious order of St. Patrick drank the sovereign's health. The

second

and critical an emergency. Colonel Macleod had not delivered the papers, as supposed by the general; he had only on his arrival, as mentioned in a former paragraph, given in a memorial, assigning his reasons for quitting the army, and stating, with candour and moderation, the circumstances of his own rank and services, and the complaints of his majesty's troops, which had rendered it impossible for him to continue to serve under the command of Brigadier General Matthews.—These circumstances, as well as our resolutions in consequence, will be communicated by a future conveyance, only deeming it material to mention at present, that being of opinion the services of an officer of the colonel's ability and experience were absolutely requisite at so critical a period, we had made a request to him on the 7th of March, to continue to serve on this coast till we could receive the determination of the governor general and council, or General Coote, regarding his case; giving him assurances that we would endeavour in the mean time to place him on a footing that might be satisfactory, in any practicable manner he could point out.

Colonel Macleod shewed a readiness in complying with our request that entitled him to every mark of attention from the company. He recalled to our attention his difficulties in serving with General Matthews; still, however, offering to serve wherever and in whatever shape we might command; but in order to avoid all disputes relating to the king's and company's troops, and to

enable him to serve with more efficacy, he suggested the necessity of bestowing company's rank upon him.

In consequence of the general's reference, we called upon Colonel Macleod the 18th of March, for the papers alluded to, who in return demanded from our justice an extract of the general's letter, in which those disputes on his conduct were mentioned.

Colonel Macleod being furnished with the desired extract, delivered the papers required, accompanied with a letter from himself in vindication of his own character, and of the other officers involved in one general accusation. These papers are of too great a length to be sent by an overland dispatch; but they contain imputations against the general of a very serious nature, and supported by strong testimony.

Our want of information from General Matthews laid us under the necessity of applying to Colonel Macleod to furnish us with a detail of the operations of the army from their leaving Cundapore to the surrender of Bednure, and any information he could afford respecting the nature of the treaty with Hyat Saib, and the proceedings in consequence.

Colonel Macleod in consequence sent in the journals kept by himself and Colonel Humberstone, and gave us all the information in his power relative to the surrender of Bednure and the treaty with Hyat Saib. When the respective details of these gentlemen and General Matthews of the same event shall come before you, you will doubtless make due comparison.

We

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We are informed the general notwithstanding the capitulation immediately on getting possession of Bednure, confined Hyat Saib a close prisoner, and that many bad consequences resulted from the alarm and impression given by this proceeding. That very great treasures were found in the Durbar, amounting to fourteen lacks and upwards, besides much other treasure and jewels not exposed, which were at first publicly shewn to the officers by the general, and declared to be the property of the army. That the breach between the general and Hyat Saib was soon after made up; and in a few days the army were astonished to hear that Hyat Saib had claimed all this money, which evidently belonged to the government of the country, as his private property, and that the general had restored it to him on that plea. Colonel Macleod had been detached at this time; but this transaction reviving a discontent and suspicion occasioned by a former affair at Onore, some of the other principal officers were carried to Hyat Saib by the general, who prevailed upon him to make a donation to the army of half a lack of pagodas.

We took the general's conduct and the state of the army under consideration, on the 27th of March, and now transmit a copy of our proceedings on this very difficult and disagreeable occasion.

Feeling the strongest conviction that the service could not prosper in his hands, we thought it our indispensable duty not to continue him any longer in command of the army in the Bednure coun-

try; and we accordingly came to a resolution to remove him therefrom, and to suspend him from the honourable company's service until he can clear up the several charges against him.

We appointed Lieutenant Colonel Macleod, of his majesty's forces, the officer first in rank upon this coast, and who had distinguished himself by the defeat of Tippo Saib at Panany, to succeed General Matthews in the command of the army in the Bednure country; and we also desired Lieutenant Colonel Humberstone and Major Shaw to rejoin the army.

We had some days before, on the 17th of March, received advice from Mr. Anderson, in a letter dated the 20th of February, of the Mahratta treaty having arrived at Poonah.

The peace had been duly proclaimed at Bombay, and every necessary step taken on our part for the performance of the treaty. The Ranger had sailed the 5th of April with Colonels Macleod and Humberstone, Major Shaw, and other officers, to join the army. Lieutenant Pruett, the commander of the vessel, having been previously apprized of the peace, and furnished with the same orders as had been circulated to all the marine, not to commit hostilities against the Mahrattas; when on the 18th of April we were alarmed by an account given by a Lascar, who had escaped, that the Ranger had been attacked on the 8th, three days after leaving Bombay, by the Mahratta fleet, and after a most desperate resistance of near five hours, was obliged to

submit to superior force, and, with the whole convoy of boats, had been carried in to Gheriah.

We were under great anxiety and uncertainty for a considerable time regarding the fate of Colonel Macleod and the other officers, which was not entirely removed till the 23d of May, when the president received a letter from him, dated at Gheriah the 5th of that month. In this letter the colonel mentions he had made several unsuccessful attempts to convey advice of his misfortune, and then relates some circumstances of the engagement, referring for a more particular account to Lieutenant Pruett. The account Colonel Macleod gives is, that on the morning of the 8th of April, they found themselves near the Mahratta fleet belonging to Gheriah, which, without speaking or ceremony, attacked the Ranger with great fury. Lieutenant Pruett fought his vessel with the greatest courage. Their defence was desperate, and ceased not till they were almost all killed or wounded. Major Shaw was shot dead; Colonel Humberstone was shot through the lungs: Lieutenant Stuart of the 100th regiment, was almost cut to pieces on boarding: Lieutenant John Taylor, of the Bombay troops, was shot through the body: Lieutenant Seaton, of the Bombay artillery, and Lieutenant Pruett, commander of the vessel, were wounded with swords on boarding. In the beginning of the action Colonel Macleod received two wounds in his left hand and shoulder; and, a little before it was over, a musket ball

passed through his body, which pierced his lungs and spleen. Lieutenant Pruett's account likewise proves, that the Mahrattas began the attack, and that he received a number of shot before he returned a gun. Their force consisted of two large ships, a ketch, and eight gallivats, with which the Ranger, carrying only twelve guns twelve pounders, sustained a close engagement of four hours and a half; and for the last half hour the two ships and the ketch were lashed along side of the Ranger, in which situation the engagement was continued with musketry only; and the brave defence of the officers and crew prevented the enemy from entering the vessel, till, from the number of killed and wounded, and most of the muskets being rendered unserviceable, the force of the Ranger was so much reduced, that the commander was under the necessity of striking; and the instant the colours were down, the enemy rushed on-board, and cruelly cut and wounded several of the officers and men, while others jumped overboard, to avoid immediate death. The same night the Ranger was carried into Gheriah, where the Subedar and officers disowning all knowledge of the peace, had refused to release the vessel and officers without orders from Poonah.

We are concerned to add, that Colonel Humberstone died at Gheriah the 30th of April, of the wound he received in the action. Colonel Macleod's recovery was long thought impossible, but he is now perfectly restored to health. Lieutenant Stuart, Taylor,

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Taylor, Seton, and Pruett, are also recovered.

The Ranger, with Colonel Macleod and the other surviving officers arrived here the 29th of May, having been released from Gheriah the 27th, in too disabled and despoiled condition to make her way to the southward.

Our last letter from Mr. Anderson is dated the 18th of May, upon receipt of the intelligence of the capture of the Ranger, which he immediately communicated to Mhadajee Scindia, and required him in strong terms to give some explanation with regard to this outrage, and the measures he intended to pursue in vindication of his own honour, which was thus brought into question; Scindia declared, that none of his late letters from the minister gave him the least reason to apprehend any sinister intentions of the Mahratta government, and he assured Mr. Anderson, that he had written in strong terms to the minister to punish with death the person who committed this act of hostility, and to make full restitution of the stores and effects taken; that if they complied with these requisitions, he would undertake to reconcile the English government; but if they refused, they must take the consequences: that for his part, since so enormous an outrage had been committed after the conclusion of the treaty, he must consult and adopt the inclinations of the English.

So far from punishing the officer who committed the act of hostility, we are assured by Colonel Macleod that he received from the minister public marks of approbation and honorary rewards for

his conduct. Colonel Macleod was invited to the ceremony held upon this occasion, and some of the officers were actually present when the Subedar exhibited in public darbar, according to the custom of the country, the honorary ornaments which had been sent to him from Poonah.

By this time matters to the southward had taken a very unfavourable turn. The latter end of April we received advice from the Select Committee at Madras, in a letter dated the 12th of March, that Tippe had sent the greatest part of his army out of the Carnatic through Changamah Pass, and that they concluded he himself would soon follow, in order to use his utmost efforts to endeavour to recover his valuable possessions in the Bednure country.

General Matthews sent repeated advice of the enemy's approach in force, and requisitions for reinforcement. Under the 20th of March he writes from Mangalore of a body of 25,000 men, with 25 pieces of cannon, being to the eastward of Bednure, and that he should set off for that place next day, where he said he may possibly collect 12,000 Sepoys, 400 Europeans, with five pieces of cannon to meet the enemy in the field. His next letter is dated the 27th, at Cundapore, in which he repeats his intelligence, and requests for a reinforcement, without which he observes it will be next to a miracle if he can keep his footing. He then mentions as a certainty, that a very large force was arrived within 35 miles of Bednure. His next letter and the last we have received from him, was dated

the 1st of April, at Bednure, and advised, that Tippo Saib, with 1000 French, 12,000 horse, and as many infantry, with a few guns, were arrived within 45 miles, and purposed pushing on without delay. We soon after received an account from Captain Matthews, the general's brother, dated at Cundapore, of a smart action having happened, in which the company's troops gained considerable advantage. This account was not distinct, and only collected from the country people.

Our next accounts informed us of the loss of the two posts the general had established at the Gauts, by which the communication between Bednure and the sea coast was cut off. The principal post, which had been represented as very strong, appears to have been lost after a very slight defence, by the misconduct of the officer in command. The fugitives who escaped from the Gauts communicated such disorder and panic to the garrison at Cundapore, that little else but an escape was thought of, in attempting which numbers of men and horses were drowned. Large magazines of stores and provisions which were deposited at Cundapore, were immediately set fire to in the confusion, and a large field of artillery disabled or left to the enemy, who, it is to be observed, had not even made their appearance, when this shameful flight and destruction of a post said to be tenable took place. A part of the garrison escaped to Onore, which is under the command of Captain Torriano, who, by his resolute and prudent conduct, prevented the panic from infecting

his garrison, and made an effort to recover the post at Cudapore, in which he did not succeed.

These accounts were soon followed by others still more unfavourable, of the loss of Bednure; and that part of the army which was above the Gauts under the command of General Matthews in person. The most authentic information we have received of this disaster is from Major Campbell at Mangalore, and the particulars given by him are as follows: "The 12th of May, the Intrepid had hardly sailed, when a Sepoy arrived from Bednure with the distressing accounts of the general, after six days employed in settling the articles of capitulation, having marched out of the fort the 3d instant with his whole garrison, with all the honours of war, in expectation of being allowed in the same manner to come here; but, as naturally might be expected from an enemy by whom faith is so seldom kept, the brave but unfortunate garrison was no sooner got out of the gates, than they were surrounded by both horse and foot, and forced to lay down their arms, and are now detained prisoners. The melancholy account is again confirmed by another person, a Sepoy, who was also in Bednure Fort when it was given up: he corroborates every part respecting it; both Sepoys agree that there was a considerable quantity of water and provisions in the fort."

Under the 19th of May, Major Campbell writes, "I have nothing further to add to my last dispatches than a painful confirmation of the surrender of Bednure,



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nure, the cause unknown, but the consequence is, that Tippu Saib is now encamped with his whole army in our front, his rear is just arrived, so that I expect an attack to-morrow morning. A Madras soldier has come into us, and says the number of the French Tippu has with him does not exceed 300: the rest of his army not less than 100,000 fighting men."

The force General Mathews had with him at Bednure, and the posts above the Gauts, consisted of detachments of the 98th and 102d regiments, and of the 100th regiment of his majesty's troops, the greater part of the Bombay infantry, originally 300 rank and file, the 2d grenadier battalion of Sepoys, and the 3d, 11th, and 15th battalions, except some detachments from them, and the Bombay Europeans, which were at Onore and other forts. According to Colonel Macleod's computation, for we have no returns to guide us, our loss in this unhappy affair, amounts to about 600 Europeans and 1600 Sepoys. We before mentioned the force the general supposed he should be able to collect.

It was some relief to us in this misfortune, and gave us confidence and hopes of retrieving it that just at this time we received advice by the way of Bassora, of the preliminaries of a general peace having been signed at Paris the 20th of January.

There is still a very respectable force remaining at Carwar, Onore and Mangalore. We are apprehensive for the safety of Onore, in case it should be vigorously at-

tacked, but trust the troops at Carwar and Mangalore will be preserved. At Carwar, and the posts dependant, there is one battalion of Sepoys; and at Mangalore, the 42d regiment, and some small detachments from other regiments, and company's troops, amounting all together to about 400 men, besides artillery, and upwards of four battalions of Sepoys, giving, on a return dated the 8th of May, near 3000 men. There is also a sufficient stock of provisions, and a number of able officers in the place, which is under the command of Major Campbell; and we have strong hopes that the strength of the garrison and the approach of the monsoon will baffle the attempts of the enemy.

This force will prove a good foundation for a new army; and we trust, notwithstanding our late loss, we shall be able, with proper assistance of money, and a body of European infantry, to renew and continue a powerful diversion on this coast (Malabar) against the dominions of Tippu Saib. The peace in Europe, and with the Mahrattas, will now enable this presidency, without danger, to furnish a strong body of Sepoys and a respectable detachment of artillery, in addition to those now to the southward.

Left you should not have received advice of the early return of the French fleet to the other coast and an account of their proceedings, we think it right to insert a paper transmitted to us by the select committee at Madras, with their letter of the 12th of March, being intelligence given

by Captain Light, whose vessel had been made a prize of by M. Suffrein.

"The French fleet, consisting of 11 sail of the line, and the *La Fine* and *Bellona* frigates, left Acheen the 20th of December; the *Hannibal* and *Bellona* were sent to cruize off the Braces. The 6th of January the fleet arrived at Ganjam; the 10th ditto the *Coventry* was taken; she had spoke with the *Blandford* that morning, who informed Captain Wolfesley that in the night he had engaged a privateer. The *Coventry* seeing a ship at anchor at Ganjam Roads, supposed it to be the privateer, and ran close in before she discovered the rest of the fleet. On the 11th, the *Blanchard* was taken by the *Coventry*. On the 18th, the *Blake* was taken by the *Coventry*. On the 20th and 21st, three small vessels in ballast were taken and sunk."

We have not heard of any material captures made by the French fleet except the *Coventry* and *Blandford*.

We have the pleasure to acquaint you that the fleet under Vice Admiral Hughes arrived at Madras the 13th of April. The admiral saw nothing of the French fleet in the passage, and it seems doubtful whether they were to the northward or to the southward. The *Bristol* and her convoy arrived the 17th of April, and soon after the company's ship *Duke of Athol* had the misfortune to blow up, by which a number of lives were lost. The *Fairford* was destroyed by fire in this harbour on the 5th instant, as you will be advised by the board.—The grand

army had marched to the southward upon an expedition against Cuddalore.—The fleet was at Madras the 30th of April, and, we understand, was soon to proceed to the southward, to co-operate with the army against Cuddalore.

We are much concerned to acquaint you, that we have private advice, that Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote died at Madras the 26th of April, the day after his arrival from Bengal in the *Resolution* country ship.

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*Copy of a Letter from Mr. Hutchinson to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, &c.*

Gentlemen,

THE hon. the president of Bombay having directed the commander of the *Viper* cutter, proceeding with dispatches for Bassora, to touch here for intelligence, I embrace the opportunity of acquainting you with the most recent occurrences in the Carnatic, which have come to my knowledge.

General Stuart, with a powerful army, was before Cuddalore, when information was received of a treaty of peace having being concluded at London the 9th of February between the belligerent powers; in consequence of which a cessation of hostilities immediately took place. It is imagined the garrison must have shortly submitted, as we had succeeded in the attack on their lines, and had carried their redoubts. In effecting this service, a very heavy loss was sustained on the part

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part of the British forces, computed at 616 Europeans, and 356 Sepoys, killed, wounded, and missing. This happened on the 13th ult. On the 25th, the enemy made a sally from the fort, and advanced close up to our works, commencing and supporting the assault with great spirit and intrepidity; but they were repulsed, with the loss of about 200 Europeans, and their Colonel D'Aquitaine taken prisoner.

On or about the 20th ult. there was an engagement between the British and French fleets near Pondicherry, but I do not learn any decisive blow was struck by either side. Monsieur Suffrein returned to Cuddalore, and Sir Edward Hughes is supposed to have stood towards Madras, as it was reported he was in want of water, and his people were very sickly.

The southern army, acting in the Carnatic, under the command of Colonel Lang, had made an irruption into the Coimbatore country, subduing Caroor and Dindegul, when the colonel was recalled to join the grand army before Cuddalore, and Colonel Fullarton invested with the command, who with great

spirit and activity had pushed on to Darampore, which fell to him the 21st ult. He was then within six days march only of Paliagacheri, towards which place his farther progress was totally barred, by an order from General Stuart, to move back to Cuddalore. He is now on his return again to the Cuddalore country, strongly reinforced.

A detachment of 300 Europeans, together with a supply of powder and provisions, are sent from Madras to Mangalore in his majesty's ships Bristol and Isis. A farther reinforcement is destined for the same part, with an intention of enabling Colonel Campbell to take the field, in case it should be expedient.

No accounts are yet received of the expected fleet, which was to have left England in January last.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,

Gentlemen,

Your faithful and obedient  
humble servant,

JOHN HUTCHINSON.

Anjenjo, 19th July,  
1783.



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*Complete and authentic LIST of Men  
of War, both of France, Spain,  
Holland, and England, which  
have been either taken, or destroyed,  
during the late War. By*

T—s G—H.

## French Ships taken.

1778.

La Licorne  
La Pallas  
Le Sartine  
Le Coureur

Guns.

32  
32  
32  
10

1779.

La Fortuné  
La Prudente  
La Blanche  
La Danæ  
L'Oiseau  
L'Alcmene  
La Ellis  
Le Pilote  
Le Mutin

42  
36  
36  
34  
32  
32  
28  
14  
14

1780.

Le Prothée  
L'Artois\*  
La Nymphe  
La Belle Poule  
L'Esperance  
L'Avanture  
La Perle  
*Le Chevreul†*  
*Le ———‡*

64  
40  
40  
36  
32  
26  
18  
18  
16

1781.

*La Bellipotent*  
Le Neckar

40  
36

La Magicienne  
Le Rouen Soubise  
L'Abondance §  
Le Runtom ||

32  
22  
20

1782.

La Ville de Paris  
Le Glorieux  
L'Hector  
Le Pegase  
Le Caton  
Le Jason  
L'Actionnaire  
Le Dauphin  
Le Solitaire  
L'Hebé  
L'Aigle  
L'Aimable  
L'Aigle  
La Samca  
L'Espion  
Le Temeraire  
La Sylphide

110  
74  
74  
74  
64  
64  
64  
64  
64  
40  
40  
32  
22  
18  
16  
10  
4

1783.

La Sybelle  
La Concorde  
La Coquette  
Le ———

36  
36  
28  
16

## Spanish Ships taken.

1779.

La Santa Monica  
La Santa Margaritta

36  
36

1780.

El Phenix  
El Monarca  
El Diligente

80  
70  
70

\* Though she was fitted out by the states D'Artois, she received pay from the king, and was commanded by an experienced officer in his navy.

† Those in *Italick*, not quite certain.

‡ Taken in Charles Town Bay with L'Avanture, by Admiral Arbuthnot.

§ I believe she was a king's frigate armée en flute.

|| Taken by the Aurora in Mount's Bay.

La

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	Guns.		Guns.
La Princeffa	70	La Legere	36
La Santa Anna Gracia	16	1781.	
1781.		None	
La Santa Leocadia	40	1782.	
La Grana	30	Le César	74
El ———	12	Le Diademe	74
		L'Orient	74
		Le Scipion	74
1782.		1783.	
El San Miguel	72	None	
1783.		Spanish Ships destroyed.	
La Santa Catalina	22	1779.	
Dutch Ships taken.		None	
1781.		1780.	
Mars	60	El San Eugenio	70
Princess Caroline	54	El San Domingo	70
Rotterdam	50	1781.	
Mars	38	None	
St. Eustatia*	28	1782.	
1782.		La Santa Catalina	34
Ulrica Louisa	54	1783.	
1783.		None	
None	—	Dutch Ships destroyed.	
	2514	1781.	
French Ships destroyed.		Hollandia	68
1778.		1782.	
None		None	
1779.		1783.	
La Valenr	26	None	—
La Recluse	24		704
Le ——— †	20	English Ships taken by the French.	
Le Dieppe	16	1778.	
1780.		Active	28
La Capricieuse	44		

\* With these two frigates were taken four other smaller vessels of war, whose names and exact force are not mentioned.

† Driven on the rocks near Morlaix, with some armed vessels and a convoy, by the Quebec and Unicorn.



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	Guns.		Guns.
Fox	28	St. Firmin	16
Alert	10	1782.	
Thunder	8	None	
Folkstone	8	1783.	
1779.		None	
Experiment	50	<i>By the Dutch.</i>	
Montreal	32		
Ariel	24		
Weasel	16	1781.	
York	12	None	
Holderneffe	8	1782.	
		None	
1780.		1783.	
Fortune	18	None	
1781.			749
Romulus	44	<i>English Ships destroyed by the French.</i>	
Iris	32		
Richmond	32		
Crescent	28	1778.	
Guadaloupe	28	Flora	32
Cormorant	16	Lark	32
Fly	14	Juno	32
Loyalist	14	Orpheus	32
		Cerberus	28
1782.		Mermaid	28
Hannibal	50	Falcon	18
Oronoque	20	King's fisher	16
Sylph	18		
Barbuda	16	1779.	
Stormont	16	Quebec	32
Rodney	14	Rose	20
Aligator	14	Savannah	14
Racoon	14	1780.	
Resolution	14	None	
Raikes	14	1781.	
Flying fish	14	Charon	44
1783.		1782.	
Coventry	28	None	
		1783.	
<i>By the Spaniards.</i>		None	
1779.		<i>By the Spaniards.</i>	
None			
1780.		1779.	
Penelope	24	None	
1781.		1780.	
Port Royal	18	None	
			Mentor

# 300] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1783.

		Guns.			By the Dutch.	Guns.
		1781.			1781.	
Mentor		20				
Minorca		18	None			
		1782.			1782.	
None			None			
		1783.			1783.	
None.			None			
						366
French, Spanish, and Dutch guns						3218
English ditto						1106
						<hr/>
Balance against France, Spain, and Holland,						2112 as follows:
French, Spanish, and Dutch taken		2514	destroyed		704	
English taken		740	destroyed		366	
		<hr/>			<hr/>	
		1774			338	
					<hr/>	
			Total		2112	

# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [301

The following authentic Extracts from the Corn-Register, are taken from Accounts collected from the Custom-House Books, and delivered to Mr. John James Catherwood, by Authority of Parliament.

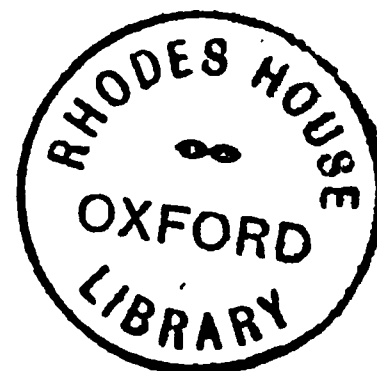
*An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from, and imported into England and Scotland, with the Bounties and Drawbacks paid, and the Duties received thereon, for one Year ended the 5th of January, 1784.*

## E X P O R T E D.

1783.		British Quarters.	Foreign Quarters.	Bounties and Drawbacks paid.
ENGLAND.				£. s. d.
Wheat	—	4 541	13,695	13,117 9 3½ Bo.
Wheat Flour	—	25,952	981	
Rye	—	431	2,873	
Barley.	—	5,395	1,321	
Malt	—	45,919	Nil	
Oats	—	7,978	2,405	461 11 3 Dr.
Oatmeal	—	1,193	Nil	
Beans	—	10,164	27	
Pease	—	2,701	Nil	
SCOTLAND.				
Wheat	—	4,869	— —	179 15 5 Bo.
Wheat Flour	—	1,904		
Rye	—	60		
Barley	—	1,383		
Barley Meal	—	47		
Oats	—	185		
Oatmeal	—	64		
Pease and Beans	—	67		

## I M P O R T E D.

1783.		Quarters.	Duties received.
ENGLAND.			£. s. d.
Wheat	—	484,921	17,062 9 2
Wheat Flour	—	20,240	
Rye	—	74,465	
Rye Flour	—	124	
Barley	—	87,884	
Oats	—	166,222	
Oatmeal	—	9	
Beans	—	17,435	
Pease	—	1,087	
Indian Corn	—	2	



SCOT.

302] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1783.

1783.	Quarters.	Duties received.
SCOTLAND:		
Wheat —	78,844	£. s. d.
Wheat Flour —	178	
Rye —	6,706	
Barley —	57,030	
Barley Meal —	12	3,547 4 3
Oats —	61,504	
Oatmeal —	1,207	
Pease and Beans —	13,093	

The following is an account of the average prices of corn in England and Wales, by the standard Winchester bushel, for the year 1783.

Wheat	Rye	Barley	Oats	Beans.
s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
6 7	4 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 5 $\frac{3}{4}$	4 4 $\frac{1}{2}$

N. B. The prices of the finest and coarsest sorts of grain generally exceed and reduce the average price as follows, viz.

	Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.
Per bushel,	6d.	3d.	3d.	3d.	6d.

PRICES

# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [303

PRICES OF STOCK, FOR THE YEAR 1783.  
*N. B. The highest and lowest Prices which each Stock bore during the Course of any Month, are put down opposite to that Month.*

	Bank Stock	3 prCt Reduc.	3 prCt Conf.	4 prCt Conf.	Long Ann.	30 Yrs 1778.	S. Sea Stock	Ditto O An.	Ditto. N. An.	India Stock.	Ditto Ann.	Ditto Bonds.	Navy Bills.	Excheq. Bills.	Omn. Prem.
Jan.	121½	61¾	60¾	87¾	18¾	12¾	—	68¾	—	140	—	—	7¼	4s a 5s dif.	—
Feb.	135½	70¾	70¾	87¾	20½	141½	—	68¾	—	140½	—	3 dif.	9¾	2 a 3 dif.	—
March	133¾	68¾	67¾	85¾	20½	13¾	—	—	—	145¾	—	—	9½	—	—
	135	69¾	68¾	86¾	20½	13¾	75¾	67¾	—	141¾	—	—	9½	—	—
April	133¾	68¾	67¾	87¾	20½	141¾	76	67¾	—	141¾	—	—	—	—	—
	134¾	68¾	69¾	87¾	20½	141¾	76	67¾	—	137¾	63¾	1 dif.	9½	2 dif.	6½
May	131	61¾	61¾	85	19½	13¾	75	—	—	138½	63¾	10 p.	11	12	7½
	133¾	67¾	67¾	85	20½	141¾	76	—	—	138½	65¾	12 p.	9¾	1 a 4 dif.	4½
	130¾	65¾	65¾	88	20½	141¾	76	—	—	138½	67¾	5 dif.	10½	—	8½
June	133¾	67¾	66¾	83¾	20½	141¾	75	—	—	137¾	61¾	1 a 6 dif.	9¾	1 a 3 dif.	3
	129¾	65¾	66¾	85	20½	141¾	75	—	—	139¾	62¾	—	11¾	—	5¾
July	131¾	65¾	67¾	80¾	20½	141¾	—	—	—	132	57	2 dif.	10¾	4 dif.	1 par.
	123¾	61¾	61¾	84	19	13¾	—	—	—	138½	61	35 p.	12¾	—	3½ dif.
August	128¾	65¾	66¾	84	20¾	13¾	70	—	—	133¾	60	8 dif.	11¾	2	½ par.
	126¾	64¾	62¾	82¾	19¾	13¾	71	—	—	139	59	22 p.	12	10	½ par.
Sept.	128¾	65¾	64¾	84¾	19¾	12¾	71	—	—	139	59	16 d.	11½	3 a 8 dif.	6 dif.
	126¾	64¾	64¾	82¾	18¾	13¾	—	—	—	143	61¾	28 d.	14	—	½ par.
Oct.	116	56¾	57¾	75	17¾	12¾	—	56¾	—	138½	55	7 a 32 dif.	12	9 a 14 dif.	—
	127	59¾	60¾	80¾	18¾	13¾	65½	—	—	143	58¾	9 a 28 dif.	13¾	7 a 12 dif.	—
Nov.	117	57¾	57¾	75¾	17¾	12¾	—	57¾	—	120	54¾	—	12¾	—	—
	118¾	60¾	60¾	77¾	18¾	13¾	68	59¾	—	139	56¾	26	13¾	4	—
Dec.	112¾	55¾	56¾	71¾	17¾	12¾	69	55¾	—	120	52¾	80	13¾	10	—
	115¾	57¾	58¾	75¾	17	13	—	57¾	—	127	54¾	—	17¾	—	—

SUPPLIES

# SUPPLIES granted by Parliament, for the Year 1783.

DECEMBER 11, 1782.

**T**HAT there be 110,000 men, including 25,291 marines, for sea-service for 1783, at the rate of 4l. per man per month for maintaining them

£.	s.	d.
5,406,000	0	0

DECEMBER 18, 1782.

Towards defraying the extraordinary expences of land forces, and other services incurred since January 21, 1782, and not provided for by parliament

623,021	13	6½
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FEBRUARY 5, 1783.

1. Towards defraying the extraordinary expences of land forces, and other services incurred between January 31, 1782, and December 6 following

296,507	14	3½
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2. Towards defraying ditto between the 9th of April, 1782, and November 9 following

340,346	5	9
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FEBRUARY 28.

Towards defraying extraordinaries of the army between July 31, 1782, and February 1, 1783

1,356,919	10	2½
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MARCH 3.

1. To pay off exchequer bills made out pursuant to act of last session

1,500,000	0	0
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2. To pay off ditto pursuant to another act

1,495,000	0	0
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3. To pay off ditto made out pursuant to vote of credit last session

1,000,000	0	0
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4. The charge of 54678 men for guards and garrisons in Great-Britain, Jersey, and Guernsey, for 121 days, from December 25, 1782, to April 24, 1783

456,904	19	9
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5. For the charge of forces in the Plantations, Africa and Gibraltar, for ditto time

310,623	16	6
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6. For



# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [304

6. For general and staff officers for ditto time	£. s. d. 15,561 17 2
7. For the pay necessary to be advanced to one regiment of light dragoons, and seven battallions of foot, for service in the East-Indies, for 1783	15,074 10 0
8. For the charge of embodied militia in South-Britain, and of four regiments of fencibles in North-Britain, for 90 days, from December 25, 1782, to March 24, 1783	165,418 10 0
9. For the charge of four regiments of foot from Ireland, and of several additional to his majesty's forces from their establishments, to December 24, 1782	41,140 16 2
10. For the charge of five principal corps formed in North-America for 121 days, from December 25, 1782, to April 24, 1783	25,126 3 1
11. For the out pensioners of Chelsea hospital for 1783	96,972 17 11
12. For the charge of three Hanoverian battalions of foot at Gibraltar, for 1783	28,017 11 0½
13. For the charge of 13,472 men, the troops of Hesse Cassel, and subsidy	367,203 9 10
14. For ditto of 2257 men, the troops of Hanau, and subsidy	65,158 12 8½
15. For ditto of 4309 men, the troops of Brunswick, and ditto	93,947 15 8
16. For ditto of a regiment of foot of Waldeck, and subsidy	17,498 3 2¾
17. For ditto of 1781 men, troops of Brandebourgh Anspach, and subsidy	51,501 19 1½
18. For ditto of 933 men, troops of Anhalt Zerbst, and subsidy	23,818 11 11½
19. To make good a deficiency in sums voted for the troops of Hesse-Cassel, being the charge of an augmentation to the said troops from March 1, 1782, to December 24 following	3317 14 9½
20. To make good a deficiency of sums voted for the troops of Brandebourgh-Anspach, being the charge of an augmentation to the said troops from March 1, 1782, to December 24 following	6419 9 9
21. For the charge of artillery for the foreign troops for 1783	27,683 14 0

## MARCH 10,

1. For defraying the expence of services performed by the office of ordnance for land service, and not provided for in 1782	819,259 2 9
2. Towards the charge of the office of ordnance for land service for 1783	630,612 12 10

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APRIL 9.

1. For the charge of 41,755 men for guards and gar- risons from April 25, 1783, to 24th of June fol- lowing	£.	s.	d.
	188,891	1	6
2. For forces in the plantations, Africa, and Gib- raltar, for ditto time	155,868	14	6
3. For the charge of two Hanoverian battalions of foot in Great-Britain, from December 25, 1782, to June 24, 1783.	9320	13	6

APRIL 14.

For paying off exchequer bills issued since February 25, 1783, pursuant to act of last session	405,000	0	0
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MAY 9.

1. For completing the rebuilding of Newgate	10,000	0	0
2. To the Turkey company	5000	0	0

MAY 12.

1. To make good deficiency on July 5, 1782, of fund for paying annuities granted by act 31 G. II. towards the supply for 1758	46,444	0	11
2. To make good ditto, granted by act 18 G. III. for 1778	160,191	8	8½
3. To make good ditto, granted by act 19 G. III. for 1779	63,888	8	7½
4. To make good ditto, granted by act 20 G. III. for 1780	141,871	7	7¼
5. To make good ditto, granted by act 22 G. III. for 1782	138,682	17	4
6. To make good deficiency of grants for 1782	282,502	8	2
7. For the ordinary of the navy, including halfpay to sea and marine officers, for 1783	451,989	12	11
8. Towards buildings and repairs of ships, and other extra works, for 1783	311,843	1	4

JUNE 7.

1. For the civil establishment of Nova-Scotia	5943	9	5
2. For ditto of East-Florida	3950	0	0
3. For defraying the salaries due to the civil of- ficers of West-Florida to June 24, 1783	4970	4	1
4. For the civil establishment of the island of St. John	3150	0	0
5. For salaries of civil officers of Georgia to June 24, 1783	3340	0	0
6. For ditto of Senegambia to ditto	2450	0	0

JUNE

# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [307

## JUNE 13.

1. For the charge of 17,483 men, including 2030 invalids, for guards, garrisons, and other land forces in Great Britain, Guernsey, and Jersey, from June 25, 1783, to December 24 following, — — —	£.	s.	d.
	308,277	6	2.
2. For the charge of eight battalions of foot for ditto time — — — — —	40,241	14	0
3. Upon account, for defraying the charge of forces serving abroad, exceeding the proposed establishment, for ditto time — — — — —	136,888	11	6
4. For the charge of five provincial corps formed in North America, from April 25, 1783, to October 24 following — — — — —	38,000	14	3
5. For maintaining forces in the plantations and Africa, including the Hessian garrison at Gibraltar, from June 25 to December 24, 1783, — — —	205,542	12	0
6. For the charge of full pay to the commissioned officers reduced, with the ninth and tenth companies of several regiments, for ditto time — — —	8,037	8	0
7. For the pay of the general and general staff officers in Great Britain, for ditto time — — —	8,131	13	8

## JUNE 18.

1. For compensation to proprietors of lands near Chatham, purchased to secure his majesty's docks, &c. — — — — —	4,949	11	5
2. Upon account, towards defraying the charge of 200 letter-men of Chelsea hospital, from June 25 to December 24, 1783 — — — — —	1,830	0	0

## JUNE 25.

Towards enabling his majesty to make a separate establishment for the Prince of Wales — — —	60,000	0	0
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## JUNE 27.

1. To make good money issued pursuant to addresses — — — — —	11,236	4	0
2. To make good ditto issued for the expence of confining and employing convicts on the river Thames	14,452	17	3
3. Towards carrying on the buildings at Somerset-house, for the year 1783 — — — — —	25,000	0	0
4. To the commissioners of public accounts — — —	7,500	0	0
5. To the officers of the board of works, for their trouble and expences in surveying the losses occasioned by the riots in the year 1780 — — —	1,006	15	0

[U] 2

6. To

# 308] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1783.

6. To make good money issued to American sufferers	— — — — —	£.	s.	d.
		76,849	16	6
7. For new paving certain streets in St. Margaret's and St. John's parish	— — — — —	800	0	0
8. Upon account of half-pay to certain provincial corps	— — — — —	15,000	0	0
9. For support of African forts and settlements	— — — — —	13,000	0	0
10. For the pay of general and general staff officers in Great Britain, from April 25, 1783, to June 24 following	— — — — —	2,760	11	3
11. Upon account of the reduced officers of land forces and marines for the year 1783.	— — — — —	77,985	5	10
12. For allowances to officers and private gentlemen of reduced horse guards	— — — — —	574	18	4
13. Upon further account of reduced officers of land forces	— — — — —	47,500	0	0
14. Upon account of several officers late in the service of the states-general	— — — — —	3,513	9	0
15. For Scotch roads	— — — — —	5,329	10	6
16. Vote of credit	— — — — —	1,000,000	0	0
Total of supplies		19,788,863	19	4

## *Ways and Means for raising the above Supplies granted to his Majesty.*

1. Land tax	— — — — —	2,000,000	0	0
2. Malt duty	— — — — —	750,000	0	0

FEBRUARY 28, 1783.

That one million be raised by loans and exchequer bills, to be charged upon the first aids to be granted next session	— — — — —	1,000,000	0	0
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APRIL 16.

That 12,000,000l. be raised by annuities, and 480,000l. by a lottery	— — — — —	12,480,000	0	0
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JUNE 30.

1. That there be raised by exchequer bills	— — — — —	1,500,000	0	0
2. That there be applied out of the sinking fund	— — — — —	2,200,000	0	0
3. That the sum remaining in the hands of the paymaster-general of the forces, out of the savings of the sums voted for the charge of eighty independent companies, be applied towards defraying the extraordinary expences of the army	— — — — —	68,745	0	0
4. That the sum remaining in the hands of ditto, of ditto, be applied towards ditto	— — — — —	8,647	15	4

g. Paid

# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [309

5. Paid into the exchequer by Sir R. Taylor, being the sum which remained in his hands of 5200l. granted in 1781, for making good damages sustained by the riots in 1780

£. s. d.  
1843 11 10

Total of ways and means	20,009,236	7	2
Ditto of supplies	19,788,863	19	4
Excess of ways and means	220,372	7	10

## TAXES for the Year 1783.

1. Stamp-duty on bills of exchange, for 1782, doubled	56,000	0	0
2. The same extended to foreign bills, promissory notes, &c.	44,000	0	0
3. Additional stamp-duties on probates of wills and legacies	40,000	0	0
4. Ditto on bonds, law proceedings, admissions to the inns of court, &c.	60,000	0	0
5. Ditto on stage coaches and diligences	25,000	0	0

## NEW TAXES.

1. A stamp-duty of 2d. upon receipts for 2l. and not amounting to 20l. and of 4d. if amounting to or exceeding 20l.	250,000	0	0
2. Ditto of 6s. upon every agreement, of 2s. 6d. upon any inventory or catalogue, and of 5s. upon every award	10,000	0	0
3. Duty on turnpike roads and inclosure bills	20,000	0	0
4. A stamp duty of 3d. upon entry of any burial, marriage, births, or christenings	15,000	0	0
5. Ditto 2cs. for every licence to enable all persons (except such as have served a regular apprenticeship to any surgeon, apothecary, or chymist) to vend medicines; and 3d. upon every box, packet, or bottle of medicines, under the value of 2s 6d.; 6d. when of the value of 2s. 6d.; and 1s. when of the value of 5s. and upwards, sold by persons taking out such licence	15,000	0	0
6. A duty of 4s. annually upon every waggon, or other carriage, with three or four wheels, and of 2s. annually upon every carriage with two wheels	25,000	0	0

Total of taxes	560,000	0	0
Interest of the loan of 12,000,000	560,000	0	0

[U] 3

S T A T E

# STATE PAPERS.

*His Majesty's most gracious Speech to both \* Houses of Parliament, on the closing of the Session, July 11, 1782.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

**T**HE unwearied assiduity with which you have persevered in the discharge of your duty in parliament, during so long a session, bears the most honourable testimony to your zeal and industry in the service of the public; for which you have provided with the clearest discernment of its true interests; anxiously opening every channel for the return of peace; and furnishing with no less vigilance the means of carrying on the war, if that measure should be unavoidable.

The extensive powers with which I find myself invested to treat for reconciliation and amity with the colonies which have taken arms in North America, I shall continue to employ in the manner most conducive to the attainment of those objects, and with an earnestness suitable to their importance.

The zeal which my subjects in Ireland have expressed for the

public service, shows that the liberality of your proceedings towards there is felt there as it ought; and has engaged their affections, equally with their duty and interest, in the common cause.

The diligence and ardour, with which you have entered upon the consideration of the British interests in the East-Indies, are worthy of your wisdom, justice, and humanity. To protect the persons and fortunes of millions in those distant regions, and to combine our prosperity with their happiness, are objects which amply repay the utmost labour and exertion.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons.

I return you my particular thanks for the very liberal supplies which you have granted with so much cheerfulness and zeal for the service of the current year. I reflect with extreme regret upon the heavy expence which the circumstances of public affairs unavoidably call for. It shall be my care to husband your means to the best advantage; and, as far as de-

\* This speech ought to have been inserted in the State Papers of the Annual Register for 1782, but was by mistake omitted.



pende on me, to apply that œconomy which I have endeavoured to set on foot in my civil establishment, to those more extensive branches of public expenditure, in which still more important advantages may be expected.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The important successes, which, under the favour of Divine Providence, the valour of my fleet in the West Indies hath obtained, promise a favourable issue to our operations in that quarter. The events of war in the East Indies have also been prosperous. Nothing however can be more repugnant to my feelings, than the long continuance of so complicated a war.

My ardent desire of peace has induced me to take every measure which promised the speediest accomplishment of my wishes; and I will continue to exert my best endeavours for that purpose. But if, for want of a corresponding disposition in our enemies, I should be disappointed in the hope I entertained of a speedy termination of the calamities of war, I rely on the spirit, affection, and unanimity of my parliament and people to support the honour of my crown, and the interests of my kingdoms; not doubting that the blessing of heaven, which I devoutly implore upon our arms, employed as they are in our just and necessary defence, will enable me to obtain fair and reasonable terms of pacification. The most triumphant career of victory would not excite me to aim at more; and I have the satisfaction to be able to add, that I see no reason which

should induce me to think of accepting less.

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*His Majesty's most gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament, on the opening of the Session, December 5, 1782.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

SINCE the close of the last session I have employed my whole time in the care and attention which the important and critical conjuncture of public affairs required of me.

I lost no time in giving the necessary orders to prohibit the further prosecution of offensive war upon the continent of North America. Adopting, as my inclination will always lead me to do, with decision and effect, whatever I collect to be the sense of my parliament and my people; I have pointed all my views and measures, as well in Europe as in North America, to an entire and cordial reconciliation with those colonies.

Finding it indispensable to the attainment of this object, I did not hesitate to go the full length of the powers vested in me, and offered to declare them free and independent states, by an article to be inserted in the treaty of peace. Provisional articles are agreed upon, to take effect whenever terms of peace shall be finally settled with the court of France.

In thus admitting their separation from the crown of these kingdoms, I have sacrificed every consideration of my own to the wishes

wishes and opinion of my people. I make it my humble and earnest prayer to Almighty God, that Great Britain may not feel the evils which might result from so great a dismemberment of the empire; and, that America may be free from those calamities which have formerly proved in the mother country how essential monarchy is to the enjoyment of constitutional liberty.—Religion—language—interest—affections, may, and I hope will yet prove a bond of permanent union between the two countries: to this end, neither attention nor disposition shall be wanting on my part.

While I have carefully abstained from all offensive operations against America, I have directed my whole force by land and sea against the other powers at war, with as much vigour, as the situation of that force, at the commencement of the campaign, would permit. I trust that you feel the advantages resulting from the safety of the great branches of our trade. You must have seen with pride and satisfaction the gallant defence of the governor and the garrison of Gibraltar; and my fleet, after having effected the object of their destination, offering battle to the combined force of France and Spain on their own coasts; those of my kingdoms have remained at the same time perfectly secure, and your domestic tranquillity uninterrupted. This respectable state, under the blessing of God, I attribute to the entire confidence which subsists between me and my people, and to the readiness which has been shewn by my subjects in my city of London, and in other parts of

my kingdoms, to stand forth in the general defence. Some proofs have lately been given of public spirit in private men, which would do honour to any age, and any country.

Having manifested to the whole world, by the most lasting examples, the signal spirit and bravery of my people, I conceived it a moment not unbecoming my dignity, and thought I should regard due to the lives and services of such brave and gallant men, to shew myself ready on my part to embrace fair and honourable terms of accommodation with all the powers at war.

I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that negotiations to this effect are considerably advanced, the result of which, as soon as they are brought to a conclusion, shall be immediately communicated to you.

I have every reason to hope and believe, that I shall have it in my power in a very short time to acquaint you, that they have ended in terms of pacification, which, I trust, you will see just cause to approve. I rely however with perfect confidence on the wisdom of my parliament, and the spirit of my people, that if any unforeseen change in the dispositions of the belligerent powers should frustrate my confident expectations, they will approve of the preparations I have thought it advisable to make, and be ready to second the most vigorous efforts in the further prosecution of the war.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have endeavoured, by every measure in my power, to diminish the

the burthens of my people. I lost no time in taking the most decided measures for introducing a better economy into the expenditure of the army.

I have carried into strict execution the several reductions in my civil list expences, directed by an act of the last sessions. I have introduced a further reform into other departments, and suppressed several superfluous places in them. I have, by this means, so regulated my establishments, that my expences shall not in future exceed my income.

I have ordered the estimate of the civil list debt, laid before you last sessions, to be completed. The debt proving greater than could be then correctly stated, and the proposed reduction not immediately taking place, I trust you will provide for the deficiency, securing, as before, the repayment out of my annual income.

I have ordered enquiry to be made into the application of the sum voted in support of the American sufferers; and I trust that you will agree with me, that a due and generous attention ought to be shewn to those who have relinquished their properties or profession from motives of loyalty to me, or attachment to the mother country.

As it may be necessary to give stability to some regulations by act of parliament, I have ordered accounts of the several establishments, incidental expences, fees, and other emoluments of office, to be laid before you. Regulations have already taken place in some, which it is my intention to extend to all, and which, besides expediting all public business, must

produce a very considerable saving, without taking from that ample encouragement, which ought to be held forth to talents, diligence, and integrity, wherever they are to be found.

I have directed an enquiry to be made into whatever regards the landed revenue of my crown, as well as the management of my woods and forests, that both may be made as beneficial as possible, and that the latter may furnish a certain resource for supplying the navy, our great national bulwark, with its first material.

I have directed an investigation into the department of the Mint, that the purity of the coin, of so much importance to commerce, may be always adhered to; that by rendering the difficulty of counterfeiting greater, the lives of numbers may be saved, and every needless expence in it suppressed.

I must recommend to you an immediate attention to the great objects of the public receipts and expenditure, and above all, to the state of the public debt. Notwithstanding the great increase of it during the war, it is to be hoped that such regulations may be still established, such savings made, and future loans so conducted, as to promote the means of its gradual redemption by a fixed course of payment. I must, with particular earnestness, distinguish for your serious consideration, that part of the debt which consists of navy, ordnance, and victualling bills: the enormous discount upon some of these bills shews this mode of payment to be a most ruinous expedient.

I have ordered the several estimates, made up as correctly as the present

present practice admits, to be laid before you. I hope that such further corrections as may be necessary, will be made before the next year. It is my desire, that you should be apprised of every expence before it is incurred, as far as the nature of each service can possibly admit. Matters of account can never be made too public.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The scarcity, and consequent high price of corn, requires your instant interposition.

The great excess to which the crimes of theft and robbery, in many instances accompanied with personal violence, particularly in the neighbourhood of this metropolis, has called of late for a strict and severe execution of the law. It were much to be wished that these crimes could be prevented in their infancy, by correcting the vices become prevalent in a most alarming degree.

The liberal principles adopted by you, concerning the rights and the commerce of Ireland, have done you the highest honour, and will, I trust, ensure that harmony, which ought always to subsist between the two kingdoms. I am persuaded, that a general increase of commerce throughout the empire, will prove the wisdom of your measures with regard to that object. I would recommend to you a revision of our whole trading system upon the same comprehensive principles, with a view to its utmost possible extension.

The regulation of a vast territory in Asia, opens a large field for your wisdom, prudence, and foresight. I trust that you will be

able to frame some fundamental laws, which may make their connection with Great Britain a blessing to India; and that you will take therein proper measures to give all foreign nations, in matters of foreign commerce, an entire and perfect confidence in the probity, punctuality, and good order of our government. You may be assured that whatever depends upon me, shall be executed with a steadiness, which can alone preserve that part of my dominions, or the commerce which arises from it.

It is the fixed object of my heart to make the general good, and the true spirit of the constitution, the invariable rule of my conduct, and on all occasions to advance and reward merit in every profession.

To ensure the full advantage of a government conducted on such principles, depends on your temper, your wisdom, your disinterestedness, collectively and individually.

My people expect these qualifications of you; and I call for them.

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*The humble Address of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled.*

*Die Jovis 5<sup>o</sup> Decembris, 1782.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

**W**E, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your majesty our humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

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It is with the sincerest gratitude we acknowledge the sacrifice which your majesty has been graciously and affectionately pleased to make to the wishes and opinions of your people, fully convinced that your majesty's own conduct has always been actuated by a similar disposition; we acknowledge likewise your majesty's constant care and attention to the true interests of your people, and the critical state of public affairs since the last session of parliament; and in a particular manner for your majesty having been graciously pleased to direct your measures towards promoting a cordial reconciliation between Great Britain and America.

Permit us, Sir, to express our great satisfaction that your majesty, in the exercise of the powers which were vested in you, has laid the foundation of a peace with that country, and that you have actually agreed upon articles to take effect when the terms with the court of France shall be finally settled, thereby affording to your people a reasonable expectation of being delivered from the burdens of a most expensive war; as well as to unite our hopes with your majesty's, that religion, language, interests, and affection may yet be the means of effecting a permanent union between the two countries; to obtain which purpose, so highly laudable, our earnest endeavours shall not be wanting.

Your majesty may be assured we are sensible of the important advantages resulting from the successful exertions of your majesty's fleets, owing to the skill and bra-

very of your officers, and those serving under them, in protecting your distant colonies and settlements, as well as the great branches of our trade; and that we are impressed with a due sense of what is owing to the spirit and good conduct of your majesty's governor and garrison of Gibraltar.

We set a just value on the continuance of our domestic tranquillity, and shall always reflect with peculiar satisfaction on the signal instances of public spirit called forth by the occasion.

We learn with great joy that a considerable progress is made in the negotiations for a general peace, at a moment so suitable to your majesty's dignity; and we cannot omit to acknowledge the paternal regard your majesty has shewn for the lives and fortunes of your brave and gallant subjects.

We return your majesty our hearty thanks for your gracious promise, to communicate to us the terms with the several belligerent powers as soon as they are concluded; and we give your majesty the strongest assurances, that if any unforeseen change in the dispositions of those powers should disappoint your majesty's confident expectations of peace, we will most cheerfully exert our utmost endeavours to assist your majesty in a vigorous prosecution of the war.

We will not omit, on our parts, to apply ourselves, with the most unremitting attention, to the several important points which your majesty has been pleased to mention, and to consider of the most effectual means for remedying the evils which may be apprehended from

from the present scarcity of corn; and for preventing, as far as possible, the crimes of theft and robbery, which have lately prevailed to a very alarming height.

We beg leave to express our satisfaction at the measures which have been adopted with respect to Ireland, for securing its rights and commerce, which, we trust, will have the effect of ensuring that harmony which ought always to subsist between the two kingdoms; and we do assure your majesty we shall be ready to direct our attention to a revision of our whole trading system, guided by the same liberal principles which your majesty has been graciously pleased to commend.

We are deeply impressed with a sense of the important subject which the state of our national concerns in the East Indies offers for our most serious deliberation; and your majesty may be persuaded, we have a due impression of your royal goodness in thus extending your anxious regard to the good government of the distant territories in Asia, and to the welfare and happiness of the people there: we will, in return, shew ourselves zealous to answer your majesty's gracious expectations, by assisting to frame some fundamental laws which may make their connection with Great Britain a blessing to India, and may give to other nations, in matters of foreign commerce, an entire confidence in the probity, justice, and good order of the British government.

Allow us to express, in the most fervent and grateful manner, our warmest gratitude for your ma-

jesty's gracious assurances that you will make the general good, and the true spirit of the constitution, the invariable rule of your majesty's conduct, and that you will, on all occasions, advance and reward merit in every profession.

Your majesty may rely with the utmost confidence, that every measure will be adopted on our part, to secure the full advantages of a government conducted on such principles.

*His Majesty's most gracious Answer.*

My Lords,

This very affectionate and loyal address affords me the highest satisfaction.

Your approbation of the foundation I have laid for the peace between Great Britain and America, and of the measures I have taken towards a general pacification, as well as the earnest zeal which you have so unanimously expressed for carrying on the war with vigour, if the negotiations should unexpectedly break off, must be attended with the best effects, both at home and abroad.

Your affectionate acknowledgment of my constant disposition to make my own conduct conformable to the wishes and opinions of my people, touches me most sensibly.

Upon that principle, I can never regret the sacrifice I make of every consideration of my own.

I accept with pleasure, your assurances of support to a government, conducted on principles equally agreeable to my own honour, and the public good.

*Gbe*



*The humble Address of the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, Dec. 5, 1782.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

**W**E, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, return your majesty the thanks of this house, for your most gracious speech from the throne.

We beg leave to acknowledge, with sincere and hearty thanks, your majesty's royal care and attention to the important and critical state of public affairs since the last session, and particularly for having been graciously pleased to direct your measures to promote a cordial reconciliation between Great Britain and America.

Permit us to express to your majesty our satisfaction that your majesty, in the exercise of the powers which were vested in your majesty, has laid the foundation of a peace with that country, and has actually agreed upon articles to be concluded whenever terms are finally settled with the court of France. We most ardently wish, that religion, language, interests, and affection, may yet prove the bond of permanent union between the two countries.

We are impressed with a due sense of the advantages resulting from the safety of the great branches of our trade, and of the happy success which we owe to the spirit of your majesty's fleet: and we reflect with peculiar pleasure on the uninterrupted continuance of our domestic tranquillity, and the signal instances of public spirit which the situation of the country has called forth.

We rejoice to learn that advances have been made towards a general pacification, at a moment so suitable to your majesty's dignity, and to your gracious and parental regard to the lives of your majesty's brave and gallant subjects.

We desire to thank your majesty for having promised to acquaint us, as soon as the terms are concluded; and to assure your majesty of our resolution to take every measure to second the most vigorous efforts in the further prosecution of the war, if any unforeseen change in the dispositions of the belligerent powers should frustrate your majesty's confident expectations of peace.

We are anxious to offer the warmest return of gratitude to your majesty, for your gracious disposition to diminish the burthens of your people; and to assure your majesty that your faithful Commons will, as they ought, most zealously co-operate in such measures as may be necessary to give stability to regulations for that purpose. We will cheerfully provide for the deficiency of the sum granted last year for the discharge of the debt on your majesty's civil list.

We will apply ourselves, with the most serious attention, to the many important points which your majesty is pleased to recommend to our consideration: we will do every thing in our power to remedy the evils which may be apprehended from the general scarcity of corn; to put a stop to the alarming excess of theft and robbery, and the causes from which those crimes originate; and to lay the foundation of a gradual redemption

demption of the public debt, by a fixed course of payment.

We recollect, with great satisfaction, those liberal measures adopted with regard to the rights and commerce of Ireland, which will, we trust, insure the harmony which ought always to subsist between the two kingdoms. And we shall be ready to consider of such a general revision of our trading system, as may, in the present circumstances, be wise and expedient.

We are truly sensible of the necessity of framing such regulations as are adapted to the situation of affairs in the East Indies. And we beg leave to assure your majesty, that it will be our great object, in all our deliberations, to manifest that temper and those principles which your majesty is pleased to inculcate, and which are required of us by the duty we owe to your majesty, to our constituents, and to ourselves.

*His Majesty's most gracious Answer.*

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I return you thanks for this loyal and dutiful address.

I am happy to receive your assurances of satisfaction on being acquainted that articles have been agreed upon with America, to take effect whenever terms of peace shall be finally settled with the court of France; and that while you rejoice to learn, that advances have been made towards a general pacification, you are at the same time resolved to second the most vigorous efforts in the farther prosecution of the war, if

any unforeseen change in the disposition of the belligerent powers should frustrate my confident expectations of peace.

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*His Majesty's Speech at the closing the Session July 16, 1783.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE advanced season of the year requires some remission from your long and laborious attention to the public service. The exigencies of that service may oblige me to call you together again at an early period; and I persuade myself, from my uniform experience of your affection to me, and your zeal for the public good, that you will cheerfully submit to a temporary inconvenience, for the permanent advantage of your country.

The consideration of the affairs of the East Indies will require to be resumed as early as possible; and to be pursued with a serious and unremitting attention.

I expected to have the satisfaction of acquainting you, before the end of the session, that the terms of pacification were definitively settled; but the complicated state of the business in discussion has unavoidably protracted the negotiation. I have, however, every reason to believe, from the dispositions shewn by the several powers concerned, that they are perfectly well inclined to such a conclusion as may secure the blessings of peace, so much and so equally to be desired by all parties.

Gen-

Gentlemen of the House of Commons, *Provinces. Signed at Paris, the 2d of September, 1783.*

I thank you for the supplies you have so liberally granted for the public service ; for facilitating my arrangements towards a separate establishment for the Prince of Wales ; and for enabling me, without any new burthen on my people, to discharge the debt which remained on my civil list.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I earnestly recommend to you an attention towards promoting among my people, in your several counties, that spirit of order, regularity, and industry, which is the true source of revenue and power in this nation ; and without which all regulations for the improvement of the one, or the increase of the other, will have no effect.

Then the Earl of Mansfield, lord chief justice of the court of King's Bench, speaker of the House of Lords, by his majesty's command, said :

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is his majesty's royal will and pleasure, that this parliament be prorogued to Tuesday the ninth day of September next, to be then here holden : and this parliament is accordingly prorogued to Tuesday the 9th day of September next.

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*Preliminary Articles\* of Peace between his Britannic Majesty and the States General of the United*

In the Name of the Most Holy Trinity.

**T**HE king of Great Britain, and the States General of the United Provinces, animated with an equal desire to put an end to the calamities of war, have already authorized their respective ministers plenipotentiary to sign mutual declarations for a suspension of arms ; and being willing to re-establish union and good understanding between the two nations, as necessary for the benefit of humanity in general, as for that of their respective dominions and subjects, have named for this purpose ; to wit, on the part of his Britannic majesty, the most illustrious and excellent Lord George Duke and Earl of Manchester, Viscount Mandeville, Baron of Kimbolton, &c. his ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to his most Christian majesty ; and on the part of their high mightinesses the States General, the most excellent Lords Matthew Lestevenon de Berkenroode, and Gerard Brantsen, respectively their ambassador, and ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiaries : who, after having duly communicated their full powers in good form, have agreed upon the following preliminary articles.

Art. I. As soon as the preliminaries shall be signed and ratified, sincere and constant friendship shall be re-established between his

\* For the preliminary articles of Peace with France, Spain, and America, see State Papers of the Annual Register for 1782.

Britannic majesty, his kingdoms, dominions and subjects, and their high mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces, their dominions and subjects, of what quality or condition soever they be, without exception, either of places or persons; so that the high contracting parties shall give the greatest attention to the maintaining between themselves and their said dominions and subjects, this reciprocal friendship and intercourse, without permitting hereafter, on either part, any kind of hostilities to be committed, either by sea or by land, for any cause or under any pretence whatsoever: and they shall carefully avoid, for the future, every thing which might prejudice the union happily re-established, endeavouring, on the contrary, to procure reciprocally for each other, on every occasion, whatever may contribute to their mutual glory, interests and advantages, without giving any assistance or protection, directly or indirectly, to those who would do any injury to either of the high contracting parties. There shall be a general oblivion of every thing which may have been done or committed, before or since the commencement of the war which is just ended.

Art. II. With respect to the honours of the flag, and the salute at sea, by the ships of the republic towards those of his Britannic majesty, the same custom shall be respectively followed, as was practised before the commencement of the war which is just concluded.

Art. III. All the prisoners taken on either side, as well by land as

by sea and the hostages carried away or given during the war, and to this day, shall be restored, without ransom, in six weeks at latest, to be computed from the day of exchange of the ratifications of these preliminary articles; each power respectively discharging the advances which shall have been made, for the subsistence and maintenance of their prisoners, by the sovereign of the country where they shall have been detained, according to the receipts, attested accounts, and other authentic vouchers, which shall be furnished on each side; and sureties shall be reciprocally given for the payment of the debts which the prisoners may have contracted in the countries where they may have been detained until their entire release. And all ships, as well men of war as merchant ships, which may have been taken since the expiration of the terms agreed upon for the cessation of hostilities by sea, shall likewise be restored, *bona fide* with all their crews and cargoes: and the execution of this article shall be proceeded upon immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this preliminary treaty.

Art. IV. The States General of the United Provinces cede and guaranty, in full right to his Britannic majesty, the town of Negapatnam, with the dependencies thereof; but, in consideration of the importance which the States General of the United Provinces annex to the possession of the aforesaid town, the king of Great Britain, as a proof of his good-will towards the said states, promises, notwithstanding this cession, to receive and treat with them for the

the restitution of the said town, in case the states should hereafter have an equivalent to offer to him.

Art. V. The king of Great Britain shall restore to the States General of the United Provinces, Trinque-male, as also all the other towns, forts, harbours, and settlements, which in the course of the present war have been conquered, in any part of the world whatever, by the arms of his Britannic majesty, or by those of the English East India company, and of which he might be in possession; the whole in the condition in which they shall be found.

Art. VI. The States General of the United Provinces, promise and engage not to obstruct the navigation of the British subjects in the eastern seas.

Art. VII. Whereas differences have arisen between the English African company, and the Dutch West India company, relative to the navigation on the coasts of Africa, as also on the subject of Cape Apollonia; for preventing all cause of complaint between the subjects of the two nations upon those coasts, it is agreed that commissaries shall be named, on each side, to make suitable arrangements on these points.

Art. VIII. All the countries and territories which may have been, or which may be conquered in any part of the world whatsoever, by the arms of his Britannic majesty, as well as by those of the States General, which are not included in the present treaty, neither under the head of cessions, nor under the head of restitutions, shall be restored without difficulty, and without requiring any compensation.

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Art. IX. As it is necessary to appoint a certain period for the restitutions and evacuations to be made, it is agreed that the king of Great Britain shall cause Trinque-male to be evacuated, as well as all the towns, forts, and territories which have been taken by his arms, and of which he may be in possession, excepting what is ceded to his Britannic majesty by those articles, at the same periods as the restitutions and evacuations shall be made between Great Britain and France. The States General shall restore at the same period the towns and territories which their arms may have taken from the English in the East Indies. In consequence of which, the necessary orders shall be sent by each of the high contracting parties, with reciprocal passports for the ships which shall carry them, immediately after the ratification of these preliminary articles.

Art. X. His Britannic majesty and their high mightinesses the aforesaid States General, promise to observe sincerely, and *bona fide*, all the articles contained and established in this present preliminary treaty; and they will not suffer the same to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their respective subjects: and the said high contracting parties guaranty to each other, generally and reciprocally, all the stipulations of the present articles.

Art. XI. The ratifications of the present preliminary articles, prepared in good and due form, shall be exchanged in this city of Paris, between the high contracting parties, in the space of one month, or sooner, if it can be done

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done, to be computed from the day of the signature of the present articles.

In witness whereof, we the underwritten, their ambassadors and plenipotentiaries, have signed with our hands, in their names, and by virtue of our full powers, the present preliminary articles, and have caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereunto.

Done at Paris, the second day of September, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

*Lestevenon van Berkenmode.* (L. S.)  
*Manchester.* (L. S.)  
*Brantzen.* (L. S.)

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*The Definitive Treaty of Peace and Friendship, between his Britannic Majesty, and the Most Christian King. Signed at Versailles, the 3d of September, 1783.*

*As published by Authority.*

In the Name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. So be it.

**B**E it known to all those whom it shall or may concern. The most serene and most potent prince George the Third, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Duke of Brunswick and Lunenburg, arch-treasurer and elector of the holy Roman empire, &c. and the most serene and most potent Prince Lewis the Sixteenth, by the grace of God, most Christian King, being equally desirous to put an end to the war, which for several years past afflicted their respective dominions, accepted the offer which their majesties the emperor of the

Romans, and the empress of all the Russias, made to them, of their interposition, and of their mediation; but their Britannic and most Christian majesties, animated with a mutual desire of accelerating the re-establishment of peace, communicated to each other their laudable intention; which Heaven so far blessed, that they proceeded to lay the foundations of peace, by signing preliminary articles at Versailles, the 20th of January in the present year. Their said majesties the king of Great Britain and the most Christian king, thinking it incumbent upon them to give their imperial majesties a signal proof of gratitude for the generous offer of their mediation, invited them, in concert, to concur in the completion of the great and salutary work of peace, by taking part, as mediators, in the definitive treaty to be concluded between their Britannic and most Christian majesties. Their said Imperial majesties having readily accepted that invitation, they have named, as their representatives, viz. his majesty the emperor of the Romans, the most illustrious and most excellent Lord Florimond, Count Mercy-Argenteau, viscount of Loo, baron of Crichegnee, knight of the Golden Fleece, chamberlain, actual privy counsellor of state to his Imperial and royal Apostolic majesty, and his ambassador to his most Christian majesty; and her majesty the empress of all the Russias, the most illustrious and most excellent lord, Prince Iwan Bariatsinskoy, lieutenant general of the forces of her Imperial majesty of all the Russias, knight of the orders of St. Anne, and of the Swedish



Swedish sword, and her minister plenipotentiary to his most Christian majesty ; and the Lord Arcadi de Marcoff, counsellor of state to her Imperial majesty of all the Russias, and her minister plenipotentiary to his most Christian majesty. In consequence, their said majesties the king of Great Britain, and the most Christian king, have named and constituted for their plenipotentiaries, charged with the concluding and signing of the definitive treaty of peace, viz. the king of Great Britain, the most illustrious and most excellent Lord George, duke and earl of Manchester, Viscount Mandeville, baron of Kimbolton, lord lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the county of Huntingdon, actual privy counsellor to his Britannic majesty, and his ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to his most Christian majesty ; and the most Christian king, the most illustrious and most excellent Lord Charles Gravier, Count de Vergennes, baron of Welferding, &c. the king's counsellor in all his councils, commander in his orders, president of the royal council of finances, counsellor of state military, minister and secretary of state, and of his commands and finances : who, after having exchanged their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles.

Art. I. There shall be a christian, universal, and perpetual peace, as well by sea as by land, and a sincere and constant friendship shall be re-established between their Britannic and most Christian majesties, and between their heirs and successors, kingdoms, dominions, provinces, countries,

subjects and vassals, of what quality or condition soever they be, without exception either of places or persons ; so that the high contracting parties shall give the greatest attention to the maintaining between themselves, and their said dominions and subjects, this reciprocal friendship and intercourse, without permitting hereafter, on either part, any kind of hostilities to be committed, either by sea or by land, for any cause, or under any pretence whatsoever : and they shall carefully avoid, for the future, every thing which might prejudice the union happily re-established, endeavouring, on the contrary, to procure reciprocally for each other, on every occasion, whatever may contribute to their mutual glory, interests, and advantage, without giving any assistance or protection, directly or indirectly, to those who would do any injury to either of the high contracting parties. There shall be a general oblivion and amnesty of every thing which may have been done or committed, before or since the commencement of the war which is just ended.

Art. II. The treaties of Westphalia of 1648 ; the treaties of peace of Nimeguen of 1678, and 1679 ; of Ryswick of 1697 ; those of peace and of commerce of Utrecht of 1713 ; that of Baden of 1714 ; that of the triple alliance of the Hague of 1717 ; that of the quadruple alliance of London of 1718 ; the treaty of peace of Vienna of 1738 ; the definitive treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle of 1748 ; and that of Paris of 1763, serve as a basis and foundation to the peace, and to the present treaty ;

and for this purpose they were all renewed and confirmed in the best form, as well as all the treaties in general which subsisted between the high contracting parties before the war, as if they were herein inserted word for word; and so they are to be exactly observed for the future in their full tenor, and religiously executed by both parties, in all the points which shall not be derogated from by the present treaty of peace.

Art. III. All the prisoners taken on either side, as well by land as by sea, and the hostages carried away or given during the war, and to this day, shall be restored, without ransom, in six weeks at latest, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty; each crown respectively discharging the advances which shall have been made, for the subsistence and maintenance of their prisoners, by the sovereign of the country where they shall have been detained, according to the receipts and attested accounts, and other authentic vouchers, which shall be furnished on each side: and sureties shall be reciprocally given for the payment of the debts which the prisoners may have contracted in the countries where they may have been detained until their entire release. And all ships, as well men of war as merchant ships, which may have been taken since the expiration of the terms agreed upon for the cessation of hostilities by sea, shall likewise be restored *bona fide*, with all their crew and cargoes. And the execution of this article shall be proceeded upon immediately

after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty.

Art. IV. His majesty the king of Great Britain is maintained in his right to the island of Newfoundland, and to the adjacent islands, as the whole were assured to him by the thirteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht; excepting the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, which are ceded in full right by the present treaty to his most Christian majesty.

Art. V. His majesty the most Christian king, in order to prevent the quarrels which have hitherto arisen between the two nations of England and France, consents to renounce the right of fishing, which belongs to him in virtue of the aforesaid article of the treaty of Utrecht, from Cape Bonavista to Cape St. John, situated on the eastern coast of Newfoundland, in fifty degrees north latitude; and his majesty the king of Great Britain consents on his part, that the fishery assigned to the subjects of his most Christian majesty, beginning at the said Cape St. John, passing to the north, and descending by the western coast of the island of Newfoundland, shall extend to the place called Cape Raye, situated in forty-seven degrees, fifty minutes latitude. The French fishermen shall enjoy the fishery which is assigned to them by the present article, as they had the right to enjoy that which was assigned to them by the treaty of Utrecht.

Art. IV. With regard to the fishery in the gulf of St. Laurence, the French shall continue to exercise it conformably to the fifth article of the treaty of Paris.

Art. VII.

Art. VII. The king of Great Britain restores to France the island of St. Lucia, in the condition it was in when it was conquered by the British arms: and his Britannic majesty cedes and guaranties to his most Christian majesty the island of Tobago. The Protestant inhabitants of the said island, as well as those of the same religion, who shall have settled at St. Lucia, whilst that island was occupied by the British arms, shall not be molested in the exercise of their worship: and the British inhabitants, or others who may have been subjects of the king of Great Britain in the aforesaid islands, shall retain their possessions upon the same titles and conditions by which they have acquired them; or else they may retire in full security and liberty, where they shall think fit, and shall have the power of selling their estates, provided it be to subjects of his most Christian majesty, and of removing their effects, as well as their persons, without being restrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatsoever, except on account of debt, or of criminal prosecutions. The term limited for this emigration is fixed to the space of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty. And for the better securing the possessions of the inhabitants of the aforesaid island of Tobago, the most Christian king shall issue letters patent, containing an abolition of the droit d'aubaine in the said island.

Art. VIII. The most Christian king restores to Great Britain the islands of Grenada, and the Gre-

nadines, St. Vincent's, Dominica, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat; and the fortresses of these islands shall be delivered up in the condition they were in when the conquest of them was made. The same stipulations inserted in the preceding article shall take place in favour of the French subjects, with respect to the islands enumerated in the present article.

Art. IX. The king of Great Britain cedes, in full right, and guaranties to his most Christian majesty, the river Senegal, and its dependencies, with the forts of St. Louis, Podor, Galam, Arguin, and Portendic; and his Britannic majesty restores to France the island of Goree, which shall be delivered up in the condition it was in when the conquest of it was made.

Art. X. The most Christian king, on his part, guaranties to the king of Great Britain the possession of Fort James, and of the river Gambia.

Art. XI. For preventing all discussion in that part of the world, the two high contracting parties shall, within three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, name commissaries, who shall be charged with the settling and fixing of the boundaries of the respective possessions. As to the gum trade, the English shall have the liberty of carrying it on, from the mouth of the river St. John, to the bay and fort of Portendic inclusively. Provided that they shall not form any permanent settlement, of what nature soever, in the said river St. John, upon the coast, or in the bay of Portendic.

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Art. XII

Art. XII. As to the residue of the coast of Africa, the English and French subjects shall continue to resort thereto, according to the usage which has hitherto prevailed.

Art. XIII. The king of Great Britain restores to his most Christian majesty all the settlements which belonged to him at the beginning of the present war, upon the coast of Oriza, and in Bengal, with liberty to surround Chander-nagore with a ditch for carrying off the waters; and his Britannic majesty engages to take such measures as shall be in his power for securing to the subjects of France in that part of India, as well as on the coast of Oriza, Coromandel, and Malabar, a safe, free, and independent trade, such as was carried on by the French East India company, whether they exercise it individually, or united in a company.

Art. XIV. Pondicherry shall be in like manner delivered up and guaranteed to France, as also Karikal: and his Britannic majesty shall secure, for an additional dependency to Pondicherry, the two districts of Velanour and Bahour; and to Karikal, the Four-Magans bordering thereupon.

Art. XV. France shall re-enter into the possession of Mahe, as well as of its factory at Surat; and the French shall carry on their trade, on this part of India, conformably to the principles established in the thirteenth article of this treaty.

Art. XVI. Orders having been sent to India by the high contracting parties, in pursuance of the sixteenth article of the preliminaries, it is further agreed, that

if, within the term of four months, the respective allies of their Britannic and most Christian majesties shall not have acceded to the present pacification, or concluded a separate accommodation, their said majesties shall not give them any assistance, directly or indirectly, against the British or French possessions, or against the ancient possessions of their respective allies, such as they were in the year 1776.

Art. XVII. The king of Great Britain, being desirous to give to his most Christian majesty a sincere proof of reconciliation and friendship, and to contribute to render solid the peace re-established between their said majesties, consents to the abrogation and suppression of all the articles relative to Dunkirk, from the treaty of peace concluded at Utrecht in 1713, inclusive, to this day.

Art. XVIII. Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications, the two high contracting parties shall name commissaries to treat concerning new arrangements of commerce between the two nations, on the basis of reciprocity and mutual convenience; which arrangements shall be settled and concluded within the space of two years, to be computed from the first of January, in the year 1784.

Art. XIX. All the countries and territories which may have been, or which may be conquered in any part of the world whatsoever, by the arms of his Britannic majesty, as well as by those of his most Christian majesty, which are not included in the present treaty, neither under the head of cessions, nor under the head of restitutions, shall be restored without

out difficulty, and without requiring any compensation.

Art. XX. As it is necessary to appoint a certain period for the restitutions and evacuations to be made by each of the high contracting parties, it is agreed that the king of Great Britain shall cause to be evacuated the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, three months after the ratification of the present treaty, or sooner, if it can be done; St. Lucia, (one of the Charibee islands) and Goree in Africa, three months after the ratification of the present treaty, or sooner, if it can be done. The king of Great Britain shall in like manner, at the end of three months after the ratification of the present treaty, or sooner, if it can be done, enter again into the possession of the islands of Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Vincent's, Dominica, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat. France shall be put in possession of the towns and factories which are restored to her in the East Indies, and of the territories which are procured for her, to serve as additional dependencies to Pondicherry, and to Karikal, six months after the ratification of the present treaty, or sooner, if it can be done. France shall deliver up, at the end of the like term of six months, the towns and territories which her arms may have taken from the English, or their allies, in the East Indies. In consequence whereof, the necessary orders shall be sent by each of the high contracting parties, with reciprocal passports for the ships which shall carry them, immediately after the ratification of the present treaty.

Art. XXI. The decision of the prizes and seizures made prior to the hostilities shall be referred to the respective courts of justice; so that the legality of the said prizes and seizures shall be decided according to the law of nations, and to treaties, in the courts of justice of the nation which shall have made the capture, or ordered the seizures.

Art. XXII. For preventing the revival of the law-suits which have been ended in the islands conquered by either of the high contracting parties, it is agreed that the judgments pronounced in the last resort, and which have acquired the force of matters determined, shall be confirmed and executed according to their form and tenor.

Art. XXIII. Their Britannic and most Christian majesties promise to observe sincerely, and *bona fide*, all the articles contained and established in the present treaty; and they will not suffer the same to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their respective subjects: and the said high contracting parties guaranty to each other, generally and reciprocally, all the stipulations of the present treaty.

Art. XXIV. The solemn ratifications of the present treaty, prepared in good and due form, shall be exchanged in this city of Versailles, between the high contracting parties, in the space of a month, or sooner, if possible, to be computed from the day of the signature of the present treaty.

■ witness whereof, we the under-written ambassador extraordinary, and ministers plenipotentiary, have signed with our hands,

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## 328] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1783.

in their names, and in virtue of our respective full powers, the present definitive treaty, and have caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Versailles, the third day of September, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

*Gravier de Vergennes.* (L. S.)  
*Manchester.* (L. S.)

### SEPARATE ARTICLES.

Art. I. Some of the titles made use of by the contracting parties, whether in the full powers, and other instruments, during the course of the negociation, or in the preamble of the present treaty, not being generally acknowledged, it has been agreed that no prejudice should ever result therefrom to either of the said contracting parties; and that the titles taken or omitted, on either side, upon occasion of the said negociation, and of the present treaty, shall not be cited, or quoted as a precedent.

Art. II. It has been agreed and determined, that the French language, made use of in all the copies of the present treaty, shall not form an example which may be alledged, or quoted as a precedent, or, in any manner, prejudice either of the contracting powers; and that they shall conform, for the future, to what has been observed, and ought to be observed, with regard to, and on the part of powers, who are in the practice and possession of giving and receiving copies of like treaties in a different language from the French; the present

treaty having, nevertheless, the same force and virtue as if the aforesaid practice had been therein observed.

In witness whereof, we the under-written ambassador extraordinary, and ministers plenipotentiary of their Britannic and most Christian majesties, have signed the present separate articles, and have caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Versailles, the third of September, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

*Gravier de Vergennes.* (L. S.)  
*Manchester.* (L. S.)

### DECLARATION.

THE king having entirely agreed with his most Christian majesty upon the articles of the definitive treaty, will seek every means which shall not only ensure the execution thereof, with his accustomed good faith and punctuality, but will besides give, on his part, all possible efficacy to the principles which shall prevent even the least foundation of dispute for the future.

To this end, and in order that the fishermen of the two nations may not give cause for daily quarrels, his Britannic majesty will take the most positive measures for preventing his subjects from interrupting, in any manner, by their competition, the fishery of the French, during the temporary exercise of it which is granted to them, upon the coasts of the island of Newfoundland; and he will, for this purpose, cause the fixed settlements, which shall be formed there, to be removed.

His



His Britannic majesty will give orders, that the French fishermen be not incommoded, in cutting the wood necessary for the repair of their scaffolds, huts, and fishing vessels.

The thirteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht, and the method of carrying on the fishery which has at all times been acknowledged, shall be the plan upon which the fishery shall be carried on there; it shall not be deviated from by either party; the French fishermen building only their scaffolds, confining themselves to the repair of their fishing vessels, and not wintering there; the subjects of his Britannic majesty, on their part, not molesting, in any manner, the French fishermen, during their fishing, nor injuring their scaffolds during their absence.

The king of Great Britain, in ceding the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon to France, regards them as ceded for the purpose of serving as a real shelter to the French fishermen, and in full confidence that these possessions will not become an object of jealousy between the two nations; and that the fishery between the said islands, and that of Newfoundland, shall be limited to the middle of the channel.

With regard to India, Great Britain having granted to France every thing that can ascertain and confirm the trade which the latter requires to carry on there, his majesty relies with confidence on the repeated assurances of the court of Versailles, that the power of surrounding Chandernagore with a ditch for carrying off the waters, shall not be exercised in such a

manner as to make it become an object of umbrage.

The new state in which commerce may perhaps be found, in all parts of the world, will demand revisions and explanations of the subsisting treaties; but an entire abrogation of those treaties, in whatever period it might be, would throw commerce into such confusion as would be of infinite prejudice to it.

In some of the treaties of this sort there are not only articles which relate merely to commerce, but many others which ensure reciprocally, to the respective subjects, privileges, facilities for conducting their affairs, personal protections, and other advantages, which are not, and which ought not to be of a changeable nature, such as the regulations relating merely to the value of goods and merchandize, variable from circumstances of every kind.

When therefore the state of the trade between the two nations shall be treated upon, it is requisite to be understood, that the alterations which may be made in the subsisting treaties are to extend only to arrangements merely commercial; and that the privileges and advantages, mutual and particular, be not only preserved on each side, but even augmented, if it can be done.

In this view, his majesty has consented to the appointment of commissaries, on each side, who shall treat solely upon this object.

In witness whereof, we his Britannic majesty's ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, being thereto duly authorized, have signed the present declaration,

claration, and caused the seal of our arms to be set thereto.

Given at Versailles, the third of September, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

*Manchester.* (L. S.)

#### COUNTER DECLARATION.

THE principles which have guided the king, in the whole course of the negotiations which preceded the re-establishment of peace, must have convinced the king of Great Britain, that his majesty has had no other design than to render it solid and lasting, by preventing, as much as possible, in the four quarters of the world, every subject of discussion and quarrel. The king of Great Britain undoubtedly places too much confidence in the uprightness of his majesty's intentions, not to rely upon his constant attention to prevent the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon from becoming an object of jealousy between the two nations.

As to the fishery on the coasts of Newfoundland, which has been the object of the new arrangements settled by the two sovereigns upon this matter, it is sufficiently ascertained by the fifth article of the treaty of peace signed this day, and by the declaration likewise delivered to-day, by his Britannic majesty's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary; and his majesty declares, that he is fully satisfied on this head.

In regard to the fishery between the island of Newfoundland, and those of St. Pierre and Miquelon,

it is not to be carried on, by either party, but to the middle of the channel; and his majesty will give the most positive orders, that the French fishermen shall not go beyond this line. His majesty is firmly persuaded that the king of Great Britain will give like orders to the English fishermen.

The king's desire to maintain the peace comprehends India as well as the other parts of the world; his Britannic majesty may therefore be assured, that his majesty will never permit that an object so inoffensive, and so harmless, as the ditch, with which Chandernagore is to be surrounded, should give any umbrage to the court of London.

The king, in proposing new arrangements of commerce, had no other design than to remedy, by the rules of reciprocity and mutual convenience, whatever may be defective in the treaty of commerce signed at Utrecht, in one thousand seven hundred and thirteen.—

The king of Great Britain may judge from thence, that his majesty's intention is not in any wise to cancel all the stipulations in the above-mentioned treaty; he declares, on the contrary, from henceforth, that he is disposed to maintain all the privileges, facilities, and advantages expressed in that treaty, as far as they shall be reciprocal, or compensated by equivalent advantages. It is to attain this end, desired on each side, that commissaries are to be appointed to treat upon the state of the trade between the two nations, and that a considerable space of time is to be allowed for compleating their work. His majesty hopes that this object will be pursued with the

the same good faith, and the same spirit of conciliation, which presided over the discussion of all the other points comprised in the definitive treaty; and his said majesty is firmly persuaded, that the respective commissaries will employ the utmost diligence for the completion of this important work.

In witness whereof, we the underwritten minister plenipotentiary of his most Christian majesty, being thereto duly authorized, have signed the present counter-declaration, and have caused the seal of our arms to be fixed thereto.

Given at Versailles, the third of September, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

*Gravier de Vergennes.* (L. S.)

WE, ambassador plenipotentiary of his Imperial and royal apostolic majesty, having acted as mediator in the work of pacification, declare that the treaty of peace signed this day at Versailles, between his Britannic majesty and his most Christian majesty, with the two separate articles thereto annexed, and of which they form a part, as also with all the clauses, conditions and stipulations which are therein contained, was concluded by the mediation of his Imperial and royal Apostolic majesty. In witness whereof, we have signed these presents with our hand, and have caused the seal of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Versailles, the third of September, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

*Le Comte de Mercy Argenteau.* (L. S.)

WE, ministers plenipotentiary of her Imperial majesty of all the Russias, having acted as mediators in the work of pacification, declare that the treaty of peace, signed this day at Versailles, between his Britannic majesty, and his most Christian majesty, with the two separate articles thereto annexed, and of which they form a part, as also with all the clauses, conditions and stipulations which are therein contained, was concluded by the mediation of her Imperial majesty of all the Russias. In witness whereof, we have signed these presents with our hands, and have caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Versailles, the third of September, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

*Prince Iwan Bariatinoskoy.* (L. S.)  
*A. Marcaff.* (L. S.)

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*The definitive Treaty of Peace, and Friendship between his Britannic Majesty, and the most Catholic King. Signed at Versailles, the 3d Day of September, 1783.*

*As published by Authority.*

In the Name of the Most Holy and undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. So be it.

**B**E it known to all those whom it shall or may in any manner concern. The most serene and most potent prince George the Third, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Duke of Brunswick and Lunenbourg, arch-treasurer and elector of the holy Roman empire,

empire, &c. and the most serene and most potent prince Charles the Third, by the grace of God, king of Spain, and of the Indies, &c. being equally desirous to put an end to the war, which for several years past afflicted their respective dominions, accepted the offer which their majesties the emperor of the Romans, and the empress of all the Russias, made to them, of their interposition, and of their mediation : But their Britannic and Catholic majesties, animated with a mutual desire of accelerating the re-establishment of peace, communicated to each other their laudable intention ; which Heaven so far blessed, that they proceeded to lay the foundations of peace, by signing preliminary articles at Versailles, the 20th of January in the present year. Their said majesties the king of Great Britain, and the Catholic king, thinking it incumbent upon them to give their imperial majesties a signal proof of their gratitude for the generous offer of their mediation, invited them, in concert, to concur in the completion of the great and salutary work of peace, by taking part, as mediators, in the definitive treaty to be concluded between their Britannic and Catholic majesties. Their said Imperial majesties having readily accepted that invitation, they have named as their representatives, viz. his majesty the emperor of the Romans, the most illustrious and most excellent Lord Florimond, Count Mercy-Argenteau, viscount of Loo, baron of Crichegnee, knight of the Golden Fleece, chamberlain, actual privy councillor of state to his Imperial and

royal Apostolic majesty, and his ambassador to his most Christian majesty ; and her majesty the empress of all the Russias, the most illustrious and most excellent lord, Prince Iwan Bariatiniskoy, lieutenant-general of the forces of her Imperial majesty of all the Russias, knight of the orders of St. Anne and of the Swedish sword, and her minister plenipotentiary to his most Christian Majesty, and the Lord Arcadi de Marcoff, counsellor of state to her Imperial majesty of all the Russias, and her minister plenipotentiary to his most Christian majesty. In consequence, their said majesties the king of Great Britain, and the most Christian king, have named and constituted for their plenipotentiaries, charged with the concluding and signing of the definitive treaty of peace, viz. the king of Great Britain, the most illustrious and most excellent Lord George, duke and earl of Manchester, viscount Mandeville, baron of Kimbolton, lord-lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the county of Huntingdon, actual privy councillor to his Britannic majesty, and his ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to his most Christian majesty ; and the Catholic king, the most illustrious and most excellent Lord Peter Paul Abarca de Bolea Ximenes d'Urrea, &c. count of Aranda and Castel Florido, marquis of Torres, of Villanan and Rupit, viscount of Rueda and Yoch, baron of the baronies of Gavin, Sietamo, Clamosa, Eripol Trazmoz, La Mata de Castil Viejo, Antillon La Almolda, Cortes, Jorva, St. Genis, Rabovillet, Arcau, and Ste. Colome de Farnes,

nes, lord of the Tenance and honour of Alcalatem, the valley of Rodella, the castles and towns of Maella, Mesones, Tiurana, and Villa Plana, Taradel, and Viladran, &c. Rico-Hombre in Aragon by descent, grandee of Spain of the first class, knight of the order of the Golden Fleece, and of that of the Holy Ghost, gentleman of the king's chamber in employment, captain general of his forces, and his ambassador to the most Christian king; who, after having exchanged their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles.

Art. I. There shall be a christian, universal and perpetual peace, as well by sea as by land, and a sincere and constant friendship shall be re-established, between their Britannic and Catholic majesties, and between their heirs and successors, kingdoms, dominions, provinces, countries, subjects, and vassals, of what quality or condition soever they be, without exception either of places or persons; so that the high contracting parties shall give the greatest attention to the maintaining between themselves, and their said dominions and subjects, that reciprocal friendship and intercourse, without permitting hereafter, on either part, any kind of hostilities to be committed, either by sea or by land, for any cause or under any pretence whatsoever: and they shall carefully avoid, for the future, every thing which might prejudice the union happily re-established, and endeavouring on the contrary, to procure reciprocally for each other, on every occasion, whatever may contribute to their mutual glory,

interests, and advantage, without giving any assistance or protection, directly or indirectly, to those who would do any injury to either of the high contracting parties. There shall be a general oblivion and amnesty of every thing which may have been done or committed, before or since the commencement of the war which is just ended.

Art. II. The treaties of Westphalia of 1648; those of Madrid of 1667, and of 1670; those of peace and of commerce of Utrecht of 1713; that of Baden of 1714; of Madrid of 1715; of Seville of 1729; the definitive treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle of 1748; the treaty of Madrid of 1750; and the definitive treaty of Paris of 1763, serve as a basis and foundation to the peace, and to the present treaty; and for this purpose they are all renewed and confirmed in the best form, as well as all the treaties in general which subsisted between the high contracting parties before the war, and particularly all those which are specified and renewed in the aforesaid definitive treaty of Paris, in the best form, and as if they were herein inserted word for word: so that they are to be exactly observed for the future in their full tenor, and religiously executed, by both parties, in all the points which shall not be derogated from by the present treaty of peace.

Art. III. All the prisoners taken on either side, as well by land as by sea, and the hostages carried away or given, during the war, and to this day, shall be restored, without ransom, in six weeks at latest, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the present

sent treaty ; each crown respectively discharging the advances which shall have been made for the subsistence and maintenance of their prisoners, by the sovereign of the country where they shall have been detained, according to the receipts, attested accounts, and other authentic vouchers, which shall be furnished on each side : and sureties shall be reciprocally given for the payment of the debts which the prisoners may have contracted in the countries where they may have been detained, until their entire release. And all ships, as well men of war as merchant ships, which may have been taken since the expiration of the terms agreed upon for the cessation of hostilities by sea, shall likewise be restored, *bona fide*, with all their crews and cargoes. And the execution of this article shall be proceeded upon immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty.

Art. IV. The king of Great Britain cedes, in full right to his Catholic majesty, the island of Minorca. Provided that the same stipulations inserted in the following article shall take place in favour of the British subjects, with regard to the above-mentioned island.

Art. V. His Britannic majesty likewise cedes and guarantees, in full right to his Catholic majesty, East Florida as also West Florida. His Catholic majesty agrees that the British inhabitants, or others who may have been subjects of the king of Great Britain in the said countries, may retire in full security and liberty, where they shall think proper, and may sell

their estates, and remove their effects, as well as their persons, without being restrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatsoever, except on account of debts, or criminal prosecutions ; the term limited for this emigration being fixed to the space of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty : but if, from the value of the possessions of the English proprietors, they should not be able to dispose of them within the said term, then his Catholic majesty shall grant them a prolongation proportionate to that end. It is further stipulated, that his Britannic majesty shall have the power of removing from East Florida all the effects which may belong to him, whether artillery or other matters.

Art. VI. The intention of the two high contracting parties being to prevent as much as possible, all the causes of complaint and misunderstanding heretofore occasioned by the cutting of wood for dying, or logwood ; and several English settlements having been formed and extended, under that pretence, upon the Spanish continent ; it is expressly agreed, that his Britannic majesty's subjects shall have the right of cutting, loading and carrying away logwood, in the district lying between the rivers Wallis or Bellize, and Rio-Hondo, taking the course of the said two rivers for unalterable boundaries, so as that the navigation of them be common to both nations, to wit, by the river Wallis or Bellize, from the sea, ascending as far as opposite to a lake or inlet which runs into the land,



land, and forms an isthmus, or neck, with another similar inlet, which comes from the side of Rio-Nuevo or New-River; so that the line of separation shall pass strait across the said isthmus, and meet another lake formed by the water of Rio-Nuevo or New-River, at its current. The said line shall continue with the course of the Rio-Nuevo, descending as far as opposite to a river, the source of which is marked in the map, between Rio-Nuevo and Rio-Hondo, and which empties itself into Rio-Hondo; which river shall also serve as a common boundary as far as its junction with Rio-Hondo; and from thence descending by Rio-Hondo to the sea as the whole is marked on the map which the plenipotentiaries of the two crowns have thought proper to make use of, for ascertaining the points agreed upon; to the end, that a good correspondence may reign between the two nations, and that the English, workmen, cutters and labourers may not trespass from an uncertainty of the boundaries. The respective commissaries shall fix upon convenient places, in the territory above marked out, in order that his Britannic majesty's subjects, employed in the felling of logwood, may, without interruption, build therein houses and magazines necessary for themselves, their families, and their effects; and his Catholic majesty assures to them the enjoyment of all that is expressed in the present articles; provided that these stipulations shall not be considered as derogating in any wise from his rights of sovereignty. Therefore all the English, who may be dispersed in

any other parts, whether on the Spanish continent, or in any of the islands whatsoever, dependent on the aforesaid Spanish continent, and for whatever reason it might be, without exception, shall retire within the district which has been above described, in the space of eighteen months, to be computed from the exchange of the ratifications; and for this purpose, orders shall be issued on the part of his Britannic majesty; and on that of his Catholic majesty, his governors shall be ordered to grant to the English dispersed every convenience possible for their removing to the settlement agreed upon by the present article, or for their retiring wherever they shall think proper. It is likewise stipulated, that if any fortifications should actually have been heretofore erected within the limits marked out, his Britannic majesty shall cause them all to be demolished; and he will order his subjects not to build any new ones. The English inhabitants, who shall settle there for the cutting of logwood, shall be permitted to enjoy a free fishery for their subsistence, on the coasts of their district above agreed on, or of the islands situated opposite thereto, without being in any wise disturbed on that account; provided they do not establish themselves, in any manner, on the said islands.

Art. VII. His Catholic majesty shall restore to Great Britain the islands of Providence, and the Bahamas, without exception, in the same condition they were in when they were conquered by the arms of the king of Spain. The same stipulations inserted in the fifth article

article of this treaty shall take place in favour of the Spanish subjects, with regard to the islands mentioned in the present article.

Art. VIII. All the countries and territories, which may have been, or which may be conquered in any part of the world whatsoever, by the arms of his Britannic majesty, as well as by those of his Catholic majesty, which are not included in the present treaty, neither under the head of cessions, nor under the head of restitutions, shall be restored without difficulty, and without requiring any compensation.

Art. IX. Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications, the two high contracting parties shall name commissaries to treat concerning new arrangements of commerce between the two nations, on the basis of reciprocity and mutual convenience; which arrangements shall be settled and concluded within the space of two years, to be computed from the first of January, 1784.

Art. X. As it is necessary to appoint a certain period for the restitutions and evacuations to be made by each of the high contracting parties, it is agreed, that the king of Great Britain shall cause East Florida to be evacuated three months after the ratification of the present treaty, or sooner, if it can be done. The king of Great Britain shall in like manner enter again into possession of the islands of Providence, and the Bahamas, without exception, in the space of three months after the ratification of the present treaty, or sooner, if it can be done. In consequence whereof, the necessary orders shall be sent by each

of the high contracting parties, with reciprocal passports for the ships which shall carry them, immediately after the ratification of the present treaty.

Art. XI. Their Britannic and Catholic majesties, promise to observe sincerely, and *bona fide*, all the articles contained and established in the present treaty; and they will not suffer the same to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their respective subjects: and the said high contracting parties guaranty to each other, generally and reciprocally, all the stipulations of the present treaty.

Art. XII. The solemn ratifications of the present treaty, prepared in good and due form, shall be exchanged in this city of Versailles, between the high contracting parties, in the space of one month, or sooner, if possible, to be computed from the day of the signature of the present treaty. In witness whereof, we the underwritten ambassadors extraordinary, and ministers plenipotentiary, have signed with our hands, in their names, and by virtue of our respective full powers, the present definitive treaty, and have caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Versailles, the third day of September, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

*Le Compts d'Aranda.* (L. S.)  
*Manchester.* (L. S.)

#### SEPARATE ARTICLES.

Art. I. Some of the titles made use of by the contracting parties, whether in the full powers, and  
other

other instruments, during the course of the negociation, or in the preamble of the present treaty, not being generally acknowledged, it has been agreed that no prejudice should ever result therefrom to either of the said contracting parties; and that the titles taken or omitted, on either side, upon occasion of the said negociation, and of the present treaty, shall not be cited, or quoted as a precedent.

Art. II. It has been agreed and determined, that the French language, made use of in all the copies of the present treaty, shall not form an example which may be alledged, or quoted as a precedent, or, in any manner, prejudice either of the contracting powers; and that they shall conform, for the future, to what has been observed, and ought to be observed, with regard to, and on the part of powers, who are in the practice and possession of giving and receiving copies of like treaties in a different language from the French; the present treaty having, nevertheless, the same force and virtue as if the aforesaid practice had been therein observed.

In witness whereof, we the under-written ambassador extraordinary, and ministers plenipotentiary, of their Britannic and Catholic majesties, have signed the present separate articles, and have caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Versailles; the third of September, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

*Le Comte d'Aranda.* (L. S.)

*Manchester.* (L. S.)

VOL. XXVI.

# DECLARATION.

THE new state in which commerce may perhaps be found, in all parts of the world, will demand revisions and explanations of the subsisting treaties; but an entire abrogation of those treaties, in whatever period it might be, would throw commerce into such confusion as would be of infinite prejudice to it.

In some of the treaties of this sort there are not only articles which relate merely to commerce, but many others which ensure reciprocally, to the respective subjects, privileges, facilities for conducting their affairs, personal protections, and other advantages, which are not, and which ought not to be of a changeable nature, such as the regulations relating merely to the value of goods and merchandize, variable from circumstances of every kind.

When therefore the state of the trade between the two nations shall be treated upon, it is requisite to be understood, that the alterations which may be made in, the subsisting treaties are to extend only to arrangements merely commercial; and that the privileges and advantages, mutual and particular, be not only preserved on each side, but even augmented, if it can be done.

In this view, his majesty has consented to the appointment of commissaries, on each side, who shall treat solely upon this object.

Done at Versailles, the third of September, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

*Manchester.* (L. S.)

[r]

COUNTER

## COUNTER DECLARATION.

THE Catholic king, in proposing new arrangements of commerce, has had no other design than to remedy, by the rules of reciprocity and mutual convenience, whatever may be defective in preceding treaties of commerce. The king of Great Britain may judge from thence, that the intention of his Catholic majesty is not in any manner to cancel all the stipulations contained in the above-mentioned treaties; he declares, on the contrary, from henceforth, that he is disposed to maintain all the privileges, facilities and advantages expressed in the old treaties, as far as they shall be reciprocal, or compensated by equivalent advantages. It is to attain this end, desired on each side; that commissaries are to be named to treat upon the state of trade between the two nations, and that a considerable space of time is to be allowed for completing their work. His Catholic majesty hopes that this object will be pursued with the same good faith, and with the same spirit of conciliation, which have presided over the discussion of all the other points included in the definitive treaty; and his said majesty is equally confident, that the respective commissaries will employ the utmost diligence for the completion of this important work.

Done at Versailles, the third of September, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

*Le Comte D'Aranda.* (L. S.)

WE, ambassador plenipotentiary of his Imperial and royal apostolic

majesty, having acted as mediator in the work of pacification, declare that the treaty of peace signed this day at Versailles, between his Britannic majesty and his Catholic majesty, with the two separate articles thereto annexed, and of which they form a part, as also with all the clauses, conditions, and stipulations which are therein contained, was concluded by the mediation of his Imperial and royal apostolic majesty.

In witness whereof, we have signed these presents with our hand, and have caused the seal of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Versailles, this third of September, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

*Le Comte de Mercy Argenteau.* (L. S.)

WE, ministers plenipotentiary of her Imperial majesty of all the Russias, having acted as mediators in the work of pacification, declare that the treaty of peace, signed this day at Versailles, between his Britannic majesty and his Catholic majesty, with the two separate articles thereto annexed, and of which they form a part, as also with all the clauses, conditions, and stipulations which are therein contained, was concluded by the mediation of her Imperial majesty of all the Russias.

In witness whereof, we have signed these presents with our hands, and have caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Versailles, the third of September, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

*Prince Iwan Bariatsinsky.* (L. S.)  
*A. Marcaff.* (L. S.)

*The definitive Treaty of Peace and Friendship, between his Britannic Majesty, and the United States of America, signed at Paris the 3d Day of September, 1783.*

In the Name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity.

**I**T having pleased the divine Providence to dispose the hearts of the most serene and most potent prince George the Third, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, Duke of Brunswick and Lunenburg, arch-treasurer and prince elector of the holy Roman empire, &c. and of the United States of America, to forget all past misunderstandings and differences that have unhappily interrupted the good correspondence and friendship which they mutually wish to restore, and to establish such a beneficial and satisfactory intercourse between the two countries upon the ground of reciprocal advantages and mutual convenience as may promote and secure to both perpetual peace and harmony; and having for this desirable end already laid the foundation of peace and reconciliation by the provisional articles signed at Paris on the 30th of November, 1782, by the commissioners empowered on each part, which articles were agreed to be inserted in and to constitute the treaty of peace proposed to be concluded between the crown of Great Britain and the said United States, but which treaty was not to be concluded until terms of peace should be agreed upon between Great Britain and France, and his Britannic majesty should be ready

to conclude such treaty accordingly: and the treaty between Great Britain and France having since been concluded, his Britannic majesty and the United States of America, in order to carry into full effect the provisional articles above-mentioned, according to the tenor thereof, have constituted and appointed, that is to say, his Britannic majesty on his part, David Hartley, Esq. member of the parliament of Great Britain; and the said United States on their part, John Adams, Esq. late a commissioner of the United States of America at the court of Versailles, late delegate in congress from the state of Massachusetts, and chief justice of the said state, and minister plenipotentiary of the said United States to their high mightinesses the States General of the United Netherlands; Benjamin Franklin, Esq. late delegate in congress from the state of Pennsylvania, president of the convention of the said state, and minister plenipotentiary from the United States of America at the court of Versailles; and John Jay, Esq. late president of congress, and chief justice of the state of New York, and minister plenipotentiary from the said United States at the court of Madrid; to be the plenipotentiaries for the concluding and signing the present definitive treaty; who after having reciprocally communicated their respective full powers, have agreed upon and confirmed the following articles:

Art. I. His Britannic majesty acknowledges the said United States, viz. New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and

and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, to be free, sovereign, and independent states; that he treats with them as such, and for himself, his heirs and successors, relinquishes all claims to the government, propriety, and territorial rights of the same, and every part thereof.

II. And that all disputes which might arise in future on the subject of the boundaries of the said United States may be prevented, it is hereby agreed and declared, that the following are and shall be their boundaries, viz. From the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, viz. that angle which is, formed by a line drawn due north from the source of St. Croix river to the Highlands, along the said Highlands, which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Laurence, from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean, to the north-westernmost head of Connecticut river; thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude; from thence by a line due west on said latitude, until it strikes the river Iroquois or Cataraugy; thence along the middle of said river into Lake Ontario; through the middle of said lake until it strikes the communication by water between that lake and Lake Erie; thence along the middle of the said communication into Lake Erie, through the middle of said lake, until it arrives at the water communication between that lake and Lake Huron; thence through the middle of said lake

to the water communication between that lake and Lake Superior; thence through Lake Superior northward of the Isles Royal and Philapeaux to the Long Lake; thence through the middle of said Long Lake and the water communication between it and the Lake of the Woods, to the said Lake of the Woods; thence through the said lake to the most north-westernmost point thereof, and from thence on a due west course to the river Mississippi; thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the said river Mississippi until it shall intersect the northernmost part of the thirty-first degree of north latitude. South, by a line to be drawn due east from the determination of the line last mentioned in the latitude of thirty-one degrees north of the equator, to the middle of the river Apalachicola or Catahouche; thence along the middle thereof to its junction with the Flint River; thence straight to the head of St. Mary's River, and thence down along the middle of St. Mary's River to the Atlantic ocean. East, by a line to be drawn along the middle of the river St. Croix from its mouth in the Bay of Fundy to its source, and from its source directly north to the afore-said highlands which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic ocean from those which fall into the river St. Laurence, comprehending all islands within twenty leagues of any part of the shores of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due east from the points where the afore-said boundaries between Nova Scotia on the one part, and East Florida on the other, shall respectively



tively touch the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic ocean, excepting such islands as now are or heretofore have been within the limits of the said province of Nova Scotia.

Art. III. It is agreed that the people of the United States shall continue to enjoy unmolested the right to take fish of every kind on the Great Bank, and on all the other banks of Newfoundland; also in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and at all other places in the sea where the inhabitants of both countries used at any time heretofore to fish. And also that the inhabitants of the United States shall have liberty to take fish of every kind on such part of the coast of Newfoundland as British fishermen shall use (but not to dry or cure the same on that island), and also on the coasts, bays, and creeks, of all other of his Britannic majesty's dominions in America; and that the American fishermen shall have liberty to dry and cure fish in any of the unsettled bays, harbours, and creeks of Nova Scotia, Magdalen islands and Labrador, so long as the same shall remain unsettled; but so soon as the same or either of them shall be settled, it shall not be lawful for the said fishermen to dry or cure fish at such settlement, without a previous agreement for that purpose with the inhabitants, proprietors, or possessors of the ground.

Art. IV. It is agreed that the creditors on either side shall meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value in sterling money of all *bona fide* debts heretofore contracted.

Art. V. It is agreed that con-

gress shall earnestly recommend it to the legislatures of the respective states, to provide for the restitution of all estates, rights, and properties, which have been confiscated, belonging to real British subjects; and also of the estates, rights, and properties, of persons resident in districts in the possession of his majesty's arms, and who have not borne arms against the said United States; and that persons of any other description shall have free liberty to go to any part or parts of any of the thirteen United States, and therein to remain twelve months unmolested in their endeavours to obtain the restitution of such of their estates, rights, and properties, as may have been confiscated; and that congress shall also earnestly recommend to the several states a reconsideration and revision of all acts or laws regarding the premises, so as to render the said laws or acts perfectly consistent not only with justice and equity, but with that spirit of conciliation which on the return of the blessings of peace should universally prevail; and that congress shall also earnestly recommend to the several states, that the estates, rights, and properties, of such last mentioned persons, shall be restored to them, they refunding to any persons who may be now in possession of the *bona fide* price (where any has been given), which such persons may have paid on purchasing any of the said lands, rights, or properties, since the confiscation.

And it is agreed that all persons who have any interest in confiscated lands, either by debts, marriage settlements, or otherwise,

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wife, shall meet with no lawful impediment in the prosecution of their just rights.

Art. IV. That there shall be no future confiscations made, nor any prosecutions commenced against any person or persons for or by reason of the part which he or they may have taken in the present war; and that no person shall on that account suffer any future loss or damage either in his person, liberty, or property, and that those who may be in confinement on such charges at the time of the ratification of the treaty in America, shall be immediately set at liberty, and the prosecutions so commenced be discontinued.

Art. VII. There shall be a firm and perpetual peace between his Britannic majesty and the said United States, and between the subject of the one and the citizens of the other; wherefore all hostilities both by sea and land shall from henceforth cease; all prisoners on both sides shall be set at liberty, and his Britannic majesty shall, with all convenient speed, and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any negroes or other property of the American inhabitants, withdraw all his armies, garrisons, and fleets, from the said United States, and from every post, place and harbour, within the same; leaving in all fortifications the American artillery that may be therein; and shall also order and cause all archives, records, deeds, and papers belonging to any of the said states, or their citizens, which in the course of the war may have fallen into the hands of

his officers, to be forthwith restored and delivered to the proper states and persons to whom they belong.

Art. VIII. The navigation of the river Mississippi, from its source to the ocean, shall for ever remain free and open to the subjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States.

Art. IX. In case it should so happen that any place or territory belonging to Great Britain, or to the United States, should have been conquered by the arms of either from the other, before the arrival of the said provisional articles in America, it is agreed that the same shall be restored without difficulty, and without requiring any compensation.

Art. X. The solemn ratifications of the present treaty, expedited in good and due form, shall be exchanged between the contracting parties in the space of six months, or sooner, if possible, to be computed from the day of the signature of the present treaty.

In witness whereof we the undersigned, their ministers plenipotentiary, have in their name, and in virtue of our full powers, signed with our hands the present definitive treaty, and caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Paris, this third day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

<i>David Hartley.</i>	(L. S.)
<i>John Adams.</i>	(L. S.)
<i>B. Franklin.</i>	(L. S.)
<i>John Jay.</i>	(L. S.)

*Treaty*

*Treaty of perpetual Friendship and Alliance between the Honourable East India Company and the Peshwa Madhoo Row Pundit Purdhan, settled by Mr. David Anderson on the Part of the Honourable Company, in Virtue of the Powers delegated to him for that Purpose, by the Honourable the Governor General and Council, appointed by the King and Parliament of Great Britain, to direct and controul all the political Affairs of the Hon. English East India Company in India; and by Maha Rajah Subadar Maadho Row Scindia, as Plenipotentiary on the Part of the Peshwa Madhoo Row Pundit Purdhan, Ballajee Pandit Nana Furnavese, and the whole of the Chiefs of the Mahratta Nation, agreeably to the following Articles, which shall be for ever binding on their Heirs and Successors, and the Conditions of them to be invariably observed by both Parties.*

Art. I. **I**T is stipulated and agreed to between the Hon. the English East India company and the Peshwa, through the mediation of Madhoo Row Scindia, that all countries, places, cities, and forts, including Basseen, &c. which have been taken from the Peshwa, during the war that has arisen since the treaty settled by Colonel Upton, and have come into the possession of the English, shall be delivered up to the Peshwa. The territories, forts, cities, &c. to be restored, shall be delivered within the space of two months from the period when this treaty shall become complete (as, hereafter described) to such persons as the Peshwa, or

his minister Nana Furnavese shall appoint.

Art. II. It is agreed between the English company and the Peshwa, that Sallette, and three other islands, viz. Elephanta, Caranja, and Hog; which are included in the treaty of Colonel Upton, shall continue for ever in the possession of the English. If any other islands have been taken in the course of the present war, they shall be delivered up to the Peshwa.

Art. III. Whereas it was stipulated in the 4th article of the treaty of Col. Upton, "That the Peshwa and all the chiefs of the Mahratta state do agree to give the English company for ever all right and title to the city Baroach, as full and complete as ever they collected from the Moguls or otherwise, without retaining any claim of Chout, or any other claims whatever; so that the English company shall possess it without participation or claim of any kind." This article is accordingly continued in full force and effect.

Art. IV. The Peshwa having formerly, in the treaty of Colonel Upton, agreed, by way of friendship, to give up the English a country of three lacks of rupees near Baroach, the English do now, at the request of Madhoo Row Scindia, consent to relinquish their claim to the said country in favour of the Peshwa.

Art. V. The country which Seeajee and Furry Sing Gwickwar gave to the English, and which is mentioned in the 7th article of the treaty with Col. Upton, being therein left in a state of suspense; the English, with a view

view to obviate all future disputes; now agree, that it shall be restored, and it is hereby settled, that, if the said country be a part of the established territory of the Gwickwar, it shall be restored to the Gwickwar; and if it shall be a part of the Peshwa's territories, it shall be restored to the Peshwa.

Art. VI. The English engage, that having allowed Ragonaut Row a period of four months, from the time which this treaty shall become complete, to fix on a place of residence, they will not after the expiration of the said period afford him any support, protection, or assistance, nor supply him with money for his expences: and the Peshwa on his part engages, that if Ragonaut Row will voluntarily, and of his own accord, repair to Maha Rajah Madhoo Row Scindia, and quietly reside with him, the sum of 25,000 rupees per month shall be paid him for his maintenance, and no injury whatever shall be offered to him by the Peshwa, or any of his people.

Art. VII. The Hon. English East India company and the Peshwa being desirous that their respective allies shall be included in this peace, it is hereby mutually stipulated, that each party shall make peace with the allies of the other in the manner herein after specified.

Art. VIII. The territory which has long been the established jagheer of Seeajee Gwickwar, and Kutty Sing Gwickwar, that is to say, whatever territory Fatty Sing Gwickwar possessed at the commencement of the present war, shall hereafter for ever remain on

the usual footing in his possession; and the said, Fatty Sing shall, from the date of this treaty being complete, pay for the future to the Peshwa the tribute as usual, previous to the present war; and shall perform such services, and be subject to such obedience as have long been established, and customary. No claims shall be made on the said Fatty Sing, by the Peshwa, for the period that is past.

Art. IX. The Peshwa engages, that whereas the nabob Hyder Ally Cawn, having concluded a treaty with him, hath disturbed and taken possession of territories belonging to the English and their allies, he shall be made to relinquish them, and they shall be restored to the company, and the nabob Mahomed Ally Cawn. All prisoners that have been taken on either side during the war, shall be released, and Hyder Ally Cawn shall be made to relinquish all such territories belonging to the English company, and their allies, as he may have taken possession of since the ninth of the month Ramzan, in the year 1180, being the date of his treaty with the Peshwa; and the said territories shall be delivered over to the English, and the nabob Mahomed Ally Cawn, within six months after this treaty being complete: and the English in such case agreed, that so long as Hyder Ally Cawn shall afterwards abstain from hostilities against them and their allies, and so long as he shall continue in friendship with the Peshwa, that they will, in no respect, act hostilely towards him.

Art. X. The Peshwa engages on

on his own behalf, as well as on behalf of the nabob Nizam Ally Cawn, Ragojee Boufala, Syna Saheb Souba, and the nabob Hyder Ally Cawn, that they shall in every respect maintain peace towards the English and their allies the nabob Asophul Dowlah Behader, and the nabob Mahomed Ally Cawn Behader, and shall in no respect whatever give them any disturbance. The English engage on their own behalf, as well as on the behalf of their allies the nabob Asophul Dowlah, and the nabob Mahomed Ally Cawn, that they shall in every respect maintain peace towards the Peshwa, and his allies the nabob Nizam Ally Cawn, Ragojee Boufala, and Syna Saheb: and the English further engage on their own behalf, as well as on the behalf of their allies, that they will maintain peace also towards the nabob Hyder Ally Cawn, under the conditions specified in the 9th article of this treaty.

Art. XI. The Hon. the East India company, and the Peshwa mutually agree, that the vessels of each shall offer no disturbance to the navigation of the vessels of the other; and the vessels of each shall be allowed access to the ports of the other, where they shall meet with no molestation, and the fullest protection shall be reciprocally afforded.

Art. XII. The Peshwa, and the chiefs of the Mahratta state, hereby agree, that the English shall enjoy the privilege of trade as formerly, in the Mahratta territories, and shall meet with no kind of interruption: and in the same manner, the East India com-

pany agree, that the subject of the Peshwa shall be allowed the privileges of trade without interruption in the territories of the English.

Art. XIII. The Peshwa hereby engages, that he will not suffer any factories of other European nations to be established in his territories, or those of the chiefs dependent on him, excepting only such as are already established by the Portuguese; and he will hold no intercourse of friendship with any other European nations: and the English on their part agree, that they will not afford assistance to any nation of Decan, or Hindostan, at enmity with the Peshwa.

Art. XIV. The English and the Peshwa mutually agree, that neither will afford any kind of assistance to the enemies of the other.

Art. XV. The Hon. the governor-general and council of Fort William engage, that they will not permit any of the chiefs, dependents, or subjects of the English, the gentlemen of Bombay, Surat, or Madras, to act contrary, at any place, to the terms of this treaty. In the same manner the Peshwa Madhoo Row Pundit Purdhan engages, that none of the chiefs or subjects of the Mahratta state shall act contrary to them.

Art. XVI. The honourable East India company, and the Peshwa Madhoo Row Pundit Purdhan, having the fullest confidence in Maha Rajah Subadar Madhoo Row Scindia Behadar, they have both requested the said Maha Rajah to be the mutual guarantee for the perpetual and invariable adherence of both parties to the conditions

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conditions of this treaty; and the said Madhoo Row Scindia, from a regard to the welfare of both states, hath taken upon himself the mutual guarantee. If either of the parties shall deviate from the conditions of this treaty, the said Maha Rajah will join the other party, and will to the utmost of his power, endeavour to bring the aggressor to a proper understanding.

Art. XVII. It is hereby agreed, that whatever territories, forts or cities in Guzzerat, were granted by Ragonant Row to the English, previous to the treaty of Col. Upton, and have come into their possession, the restitution of which was stipulated in the 7th article of the said treaty, shall be restored, agreeable to the terms of the said treaty.

This treaty, consisting of seventeen articles, is settled at Salbey, in the camp of Maha Rajah Subadar Madhoo Row Scindia, on the 4th of the month Jemmad ul Saany, in the year 1187 of the Hiegera, corresponding with the 17th of May, 1782, of the Christian æra, by the said Maha Rajah, and Mr. David Anderson. A copy hereof shall be sent, by each of the above-named persons, to their respective principals at Fort William, and Poonah: and on both copies being returned, the one under the seal of the Hon. the East India company, and signature of the Hon. governor-general and council of Fort William, shall be delivered to Maha Rajah Madhoo Row Scindia Behader, and the other under the seal of the Peshwa Madhoo Row Pundit Purdhan, and the signature of Ballagee Pundit Nana

Furnavese, shall be delivered to Mr. Anderson; this treaty shall be deemed complete and ratified, and the articles herein contained shall become binding on both the contracting parties.

(Written in the Mahratta character, by Ragoo Phow Dewan.)

“In all 17 articles, on the 4th of Jemmad ul Akher, or the 5th of Jeyt Adeck, in the Shukul Pattah, in the year 1182.”

Subscribed in the Mahratta character, by Mahajee Scindia, on the same day.

Agreed to what is above written,  
(Signed) D. ANDERSON.

Witnesses,  
JAS. ANDERSON,  
WM. BLAIN,

A true translation,

J. ANDERSON.  
Assistant to the Embassy.

“Subscribed in the hand-writing of Nana Furnavese.” Done by me Ballajee Inardine, on the 15th of Mohurram, in the year 1183 (December 20, 1782) under the small seal of the Peshwa, ratified also by Scinda, the 21st of Rabbie ul Owai; counterpart subscribed by Mr. Anderson, the 24th of February, 1783.

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*Transcript of the Treaty between France and the United States of America, together with the Ratification of the same by Congress.*

THE United States, assembled in congress, to all who shall see these presents greeting. Whereas Benjamin Franklin, our minister plenipotentiary, by virtue of full powers vested in him, has



has made, with Charles Gravier de Vergennes, counsellor of the king in all his councils, commander of his orders, minister and secretary of state, vested also with full powers by his most Christian majesty for that purpose, concluded and signed a contract between his said most Christian majesty and the United States of North America, in the terms following :

*Contract between the King and the thirteen United States of North America, concluded by Mr. de Vergennes and Dr. Franklin.*

As it has pleased the king to comply with the requests made to him in the name, and on the part of the United Provinces of North America, by assisting them in the war and invasion under which they have groined during several years ; and his majesty, after having concluded a treaty of amity and commerce with the said confederated provinces, on the 6th of February, 1778. having had the goodness to succour them, not only by his sea and land forces, but also by means of advancing them money, as bountifully as in its consequence efficaciously, at a time when their affairs were in a very critical situation ; it has been judged proper and necessary to fix the exact amount of these advances, the conditions upon which the king has made them, the different periods at which the congress of the United States have agreed to pay them into his majesty's royal treasury ; and finally, to regu-

late this matter so, that no difficulties may hereafter arise to interrupt that good harmony which his majesty is resolved to support on his part with the United States. For the purpose, therefore, of accomplishing so desirable an end, and with a view of strengthening those bonds of amity and commerce which subsist between his majesty and the United States : we Charles Gravier de Vergennes, &c. counsellor to the king and all his councils, commander of his orders, minister and secretary of state to his command and finances, vested with full powers by his majesty ; and we Benjamin Franklin, minister plenipotentiary of the United States of North America, vested equally with full powers by the congress of the said states, after having each communicated our respective powers, have agreed upon the following articles :

Art. 1. It is agreed upon and certified, that the sums advanced by his majesty to the congress of the United States, under the title of a loan, in the years 1778, 1779, 1780, 1781, and in the present year 1782, amount together to the sum of eighteen millions of livres, of French money, as appears by the twenty-one receipts following, signed by the said minister of the congress, and given by virtue of his full powers ; namely,

1.—28 Feb. 1778	750,000
2.—19 May . . .	750,000
3.— 3 Aug. . . .	750,000
4.— 1 Nov. . . .	750,000
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	3,000,000
	<hr/>
5.—10 June	

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5.—10 June, 1779	250,000
6.—16 Sept. .	250,000
7.— 4 Oct. .	250,000
8.—21 Dec. .	250,000
	1,000,000
9.—29 Feb. 1780	750,000
10.—27 May .	750,000
11.—21 June .	750,000
12.— 3 Oct. .	1,000,000
13.—27 Nov. .	750,000
	4,000,000
14.—15 Feb. 1781	750,000
15.—15 May .	750,000
16.—15 Aug. .	750,000
17.— 1 Oct. .	1,000,000
18.—15 Nov. .	750,000
	4,000,000
19.—10 April, 1782	1,500,000
20.— 2 July .	1,500,000
21.— 5 .	3,000,000
	6,000,000
Total	18,000,000

By which receipts, the said minister has promised, in the name of the congress, on the part of the thirteen United States to cause to be paid and reimbursed to the king's royal treasury, on the 1st of January, 1788, at the house of his principal banker at Paris, the above sum, with the interest due thereon, at the rate of five per cent. per annum.

Art. II. Upon consideration, however, that the payment of so large a capital at one stipulated period, namely, the 1st of January, 1788, may be exceedingly

inconvenient to the finances of the congress of the United States, and that it might, perhaps, be even impracticable, it has pleased his majesty on that account to release them from the tenor of those receipts given by their minister for the eighteen millions of livres, Tournois, mentioned in the preceding article; and he has consented that the reimbursement of the capital in yearly money to his royal treasury shall be made in twelve equal payments, of 1,500,000 livres each, and in twelve years, to begin the third year after the peace.

Art. III. Although the receipts of the minister of the congress of the United States, mention, that "the 18,000,000 of livres above mentioned, shall be paid into the royal treasury with five per cent. interest;" his majesty, desirous of giving a fresh proof to the said United States, of his friendship, has been pleased to make them a present of the arrears of interest to this day, and also to remit it from this time to the day of the date of the treaty of peace; a favour which the minister of congress acknowledges as proceeding purely from the king's bounty, and which he accepts in the name of the United States with the most profound and lively gratitude.

Art. IV. The payment of the said 18,000,000 of livres shall be made in ready money to his majesty's royal treasury at Paris, in twelve equal payments, and at the period stated in the second article above. The interest on the said sum, at the rate of five per cent. to run from the date of the treaty of peace; the payment of it

it shall be made at the time of each of the partial reimbursements of the capital, and shall diminish in proportion in the reimbursements; the congress are nevertheless at liberty to free themselves from this obligation sooner, by anticipating payments, in case the state of their finances should permit.

Art. V. Although the loan of 5,000,000 of the Dutch florins, granted by the States General of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, on the terms of the obligation passed on the 5th of November, 1781, has been made in his majesty's name, and he has pledged himself for the payment of it; it is nevertheless acknowledged by these presents, that the said loan has been made in reality on account of, and for the service of the United States of North America; and that the capital amounting, according to a moderate valuation, to the sum of 10,000,000 livres Tournois, has been paid to the United States, agreeable to receipt given for the payment of the said sum by the undersigned minister of congress, on the 7th of last June.

Art. VI. By the said convention of the 5th of November, 1781, it has pleased the king to promise and to engage himself to furnish and to pay to the general office of the States General of the Netherlands the capital of the said loan, together with the interest of five per cent. without any charge or deduction whatsoever to the lenders, so that the said capital be entirely reimbursed within the space of five years, the payments to be made at ten equal periods, the first to

begin the sixth year after the date of the loan, and from that time, during every year till the final payment of the said sum; but it is likewise acknowledged by the present act, that this engagement has been entered into by the king, on the entreaty of the, undersigned ministers of the United States, and upon the promise made by him in the name of the congress, and on the part of the thirteen United States to reimburse and pay into the royal treasury of his majesty at Paris, the capital, interest, and expences of the said loan, agreeable to the conditions and terms, fixed by the convention of the 5th of November, 1781.

Art. VII. It has been agreed upon and regulated in consequence, that the said sum of ten millions of livres Tournois, making, at a moderate estimate, five millions of Dutch florins as above mentioned, shall be reimbursed and paid into his majesty's royal treasury at Paris, with the interest at five per cent. in ten equal payments of one million each, and at the several periods, the first of which shall be made on the 5th of November, 1787, and thus from year to year till the final payment of the said sum of ten millions, the interest diminishing in proportion with the partial payments of the capital. But from the regard which his majesty bears to the United States, he has been pleased to take upon himself the expence of the commission, and of banking, attending the said loan, of which expence his majesty makes a present to the said United States; and their undersigned minister accepts, with

with thanks, in the name of the congress, as an additional proof of his majesty's generosity, and of his friendship for the United States.

Art. VIII. With respect to the interest on the said loan, as the king had engaged to pay, during the five years preceding the first reimbursement of the capital, four per cent. on the whole, into the general office of the States General of the Netherlands, annually, from the 5th of November, 1781, agreeable to the convention entered into on that day, the minister of congress acknowledges, that the reimbursements of the said interest is due to his majesty from the United States; and he engages, in the name of the said states, to cause the payment thereof to be made at the same rate into the royal treasury of his majesty; the interest of the first year to be paid on the 4th of next November, and so on annually during the five years preceding the first payment of the capital, fixed on as above, for the 5th of November, 1787.

The high contracting parties reciprocally bind themselves to the faithful observance of this contract, the ratifications of which shall be exchanged within the space of nine months from the date hereof, if possible. In faith of which, we the said plenipotentiaries of his most Christian majesty, and of the thirteen United States of North America, by virtue of our respective powers, have signed these presents, and have thereto put the seal of our arms.

Given at Versailles, the 16th of July, 1782.

(Signed)

C. G. DE VERGENNES. (L. S.)  
B. FRANKLIN. (L. S.)

Be it known to all and every one, that we the said United States assembled in congress, penetrated with the most lively ideas of the generosity and affection manifested by his most Christian majesty in the above contract, have ratified and confirmed it; and by these presents we do ratify and confirm the said contract, and every article and clause therein. And we do by these presents authorize our minister plenipotentiary at the court of Versailles, to remit our present act of ratification, in exchange for the ratification of the said contract on the part of his most Christian majesty.

In faith of which we have caused our seal to be affixed hereunto, in presence of his excellency Elias Bourdimot, president, this 22d of January, in the year of grace, 1783, and the 7th of our sovereignty and independence.

### *The PETITION of the People called QUAKERS.*

*To the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament.*

Sheweth,

**T**HAT your petitioners met in this their annual assembly, having solemnly considered the state of the enslaved negroes, conceive themselves engaged in religious duty, to lay the suffer-  
ing

ing situation of that unhappy people before you, as a subject loudly calling for the humane interposition of the legislature.

Your petitioners regret that a nation professing the Christian faith, should so far counteract the principles of humanity and justice as, by a cruel treatment of this oppressed race, to fill their minds with prejudices against the mild and beneficent doctrines of the gospel.

Under the countenance of the laws of this country, many thousands of these our fellow-creatures, entitled to the natural rights of mankind, are held, as personal property, in cruel bondage; and your petitioners being informed, that a bill for the regulation of the African trade is now before the house, containing a clause which restrains the officers of the Africa company from exporting negroes: your petitioners, deeply affected with a consideration of the rapine, oppression, and bloodshed attending this traffick, humbly request that this restriction may be extended to all persons whatsoever, or that the house would grant such other relief in the premises, as in its wisdom may seem meet.

Signed in and on behalf of our yearly meeting, held in London, the 16th day of 6th month, 1783.

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*Warrant by the Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland, for the Settlement of the Genevese in that Kingdom.*

(L.S.)

(Signed) NUGENT TEMPLE.

To the Earl of Tyrone, — The Right Hon. John Beresford, — The Right Hon. Sir John Blaquiere, K. B. — The Right Hon. Henry Theophilus Clements, — The Right Hon. John Forster, — The Right Hon. Luke Gardiner, — The Right Hon. Williams Wyndham Grenville, — The Right Hon. James Cuffe, — David La Touche, Esq. jun., — Andrew Caldwell, Esq. — Travers Hartley, Esq. — Alexander Jaffray, Esq. — And Messrs. G. Ringler, — E. Claviere, — Du Roveray, — E. Gase, — Grenus, — and D'Ivernois.

WHEREAS the sieur D'Ivernois did, by his memorial of the 27th of September last, represent unto us, that, in consequence of certain alterations which had taken place in the political constitution and government of the state of Geneva, a considerable number of the citizens and inhabitants, attached to the blessings of a free government, were disposed, under assurances of the enjoyment of certain privileges and protection, to settle themselves in this kingdom, to bring with them their property, and to establish here those manufactures which had rendered the citizens of that state so wealthy; and that the sum of fifty thousand pounds sterling, British money, would be necessary to enable the first thousand emigrants to effect their purposes, of which a sum, not exceeding one half, to be applied to defray the expence of their journey, and the carriage of their effects; and the remainder to be applied in the building or providing houses for their

their reception: and whereas we did lay the said memorial before the lords of his majesty's privy council, who, by their resolution of the 27th day of September last, expressive of the importance of the object, and the advantages to be secured to this kingdom by the accession of a body of respectable citizens, and to its commerce by the introduction of a manufacture so extensive and beneficial, and by the immediate acquisition of a very material addition to the national wealth, did unanimously request, that his majesty would be graciously pleased to take the same into his royal consideration, and to adopt such measures in this case as to his majesty's great wisdom should seem meet: and we having transmitted the said memorial and resolution to be laid before the king, his majesty hath been graciously pleased to signify his royal approbation of the design aforesaid, founded upon principles so truly interesting to justice and humanity; and of his royal disposition to induce the said merchants, artists, and manufacturers, citizens, or inhabitants of Geneva, to settle in Ireland, under the conviction, that by their civil and religious principles, their industry, and their loyalty, they would materially contribute to the advantage of this kingdom:

These are, therefore, to pray and to empower you to consult together, and to report unto us what agreements, regulations, warrants, and authorities will, in your opinion, be necessary and proper for carrying his majesty's gracious intentions into execution, under the heads following, viz.

1st. For the grant of a sum of fifty thousand pounds to certain state-officers, and to certain of the nobility and gentry of this realm, together with the six commissioners now in this kingdom from the Genevans—The said sum to be granted to them in trust for the use of the Genevans settling in this country—whereof a sum, not exceeding one half, is to be applied to the charges of their journey, and the carriage of their effects; to be distributed by the said commissioners, in such proportion as they shall think equitable, upon the consideration of the circumstances, the character, and the talents of each emigrant; and the remainder to be expended in the building a town, and settling them therein.

2dly. To consider the rights, privileges, franchises, and immunities to be granted to the inhabitants of the said new intended town; and so soon as the said general system shall have been submitted to, and approved of by us, then to prepare a draught of a charter, which will be referred to the consideration of his majesty's law servants for their opinion, and afterwards submitted to his majesty for his royal approbation, granting to the said citizens of the New Geneva, the establishment of magistrates, councils, or assemblies, with powers for regulating their internal concerns in such manner as shall be most agreeable to the laws under which they lived happily in their own country, and as shall be agreeable to the customs and dispositions of the people; observing nevertheless, that, in no instance whatsoever, such municipal laws,



laws, or regulations, be repugnant to the laws of this kingdom; and, in case that it should be necessary to apply to parliament for farther powers for carrying such charters, or purposes into execution, then to prepare a draught, or scheme, of such bill, or bills, as may be necessary to be submitted to the legislature.

3dly. To consider in what manner a sufficient portion of land shall be secured to the said citizens of Geneva; to examine and recommend, with all expedition, a situation for their new town, and to consider and prepare every arrangement which may expedite the construction of it; and to report in what mode the persons arriving in this kingdom shall, from time to time, be accommodated, until the new town, or a sufficient portion thereof, shall be erected for their reception; as also, in what manner the said houses shall be distributed to individuals, or a sufficient ground to those who may wish to build at their own expence; and in what manner the freedom of the new town shall be secured to such persons (having been citizens or inhabitants of Geneva, and possessed of those qualifications of conduct and of morals upon which the success of this establishment must depend) as are not yet arrived or naturalized; so that, upon their arrival and naturalization, they shall be entitled to the benefits of the body corporate aforesaid.

And whereas young persons of rank and fortune, from all parts of Europe, resorted to the city of Geneva, to profit from the system of education established there, un-

der professors of eminence in useful and liberal studies and accomplishments; and whereas a school or academy formed upon the same principles in this kingdom would forward his majesty's gracious dispositions for the encouragement of religion, virtue, and science, by improving the education and early habits of youth, and would remove the inducements to a foreign education; and being conducted with that attention to morality and virtue which hath distinguished the establishments in that city, may attract foreigners to reside in this kingdom for the like purpose, we do farther pray and empower you to consider and digest a plan for a school and academy of education to be established in the new colony, and to make a part of the constitution thereof, under such institution and regulations, and with such privileges, as may best contribute to the ends hereby proposed.

And we do pray and empower you, that, after having given these subjects in general the fullest consideration, you do report unto us a particular detail of what shall be thought most fitting to be granted and ordered for the advantage and encouragement of the Genevans settling in this kingdom aforesaid, and for the welfare and prosperity of the new colony, that the necessary representations thereupon may be laid before his majesty, without loss of time; so that every facility may be given to the adoption of every measure calculated to give the said citizens of Geneva the fullest proofs of his majesty's royal protection and regard.

# 354] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1783.

Given, under our hand and seal of arms, at his majesty's castle of Dublin, the 4th day of April, 1783.

By his excellency's command,  
S. HAMILTON.

The following letter was received by Mr. D'Ivernois, from Mr. Secretary Hamilton:

*Dublin Castle, Aug. 18, 1783.*

Sir,

I am commanded by my Lord Lieutenant to acquaint you, that he has signed a warrant to the proper officers to make out the draught of a commission, to be submitted to his majesty for his royal signature, appointing the several noblemen and gentlemen who are to be entrusted with the settlement in this kingdom of the colony of Genevans, as also the draught of a royal letter, granting the sum of 50,000l. to those commissioners for that purpose.

His excellency has also given farther directions to the prime serjeant, attorney, and solicitor general, to prepare a draught of a grant of a charter of incorporation for the said colony, and draught of such bills to be laid before the parliament at their next meeting, as shall be requisite for effecting the several purposes desired.

His excellency has at the same time commanded me to assure you of his cordial disposition to the new settlement, and of his intention to forward every measure which shall be necessary for the

protection and encouragement of the colony, with as much dispatch as the necessary forms in a business of so much importance will admit.

I have the honour to be,  
With great regard,  
Sir,

Your's, &c.  
S. HAMILTON.

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*The humble Address of the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons, and Citizens of the City of Dublin, in Common Council assembled, presented March 11th, 1783, to the Lord Lieutenant\*.*

May it please your Excellency,  
**W**E, the lord mayor, sheriffs, commons, and citizens of the city of Dublin, in common council assembled, unanimously think it our indispensable duty at this time to approach your excellency with our sincere acknowledgments for your prudent and indefatigable regard to the honour and welfare of this country.

Your excellency's early attention to the removal of all doubts relative to the independency of the legislation, and jurisdiction of the parliament of Ireland, the general and economical reform introduced into several departments of the state, and the many great and apparent advantages we enjoy, and are likely to experience from your excellency's wise, firm, and virtuous administration, must at all times excite and demand the highest expressions of gratitude, and make us earnestly so-

\* Earl Temple.

licitous

licitous for the continuance of your government over a people affectionate to your person, and truly sensible of your honourable intentions.

It has been justly observed, that all nations have experienced a period of exaltation, as well as of depression.

From an ill-judging policy, this kingdom felt the latter; from the well-timed and liberal sentiments which prevail, it is likely to obtain the former.

We assure your excellency, that the citizens expect the consummation of this great business from a nobleman of independent fortune and principles, equally the friend of Great Britain and Ireland, and sensible their interests are the same; and they most firmly rely on your goodness, that nothing in your power will be wanting to secure to this nation the complete and perpetual enjoyment of constitutional and commercial freedom.

In that persuasion we cannot but represent to your excellency, that as the time is critical and important, no circumstances whatsoever should induce a change which might prejudice, but cannot benefit, this country; and your excellency must be convinced there are situations in which the yielding, even to the finer feelings of the mind (however amiable in private life) must be considered as political error, and a desertion of public duty.

Your excellency will please to receive this address, not as the ordinary and common compliment paid to persons in your high station, but as the language of freemen sensibly alarmed, who highly

approve of your conduct and revere your virtues, and who will not behold with indifference the moment which shall terminate your excellency's administration.

In testimony whereof we have caused the common seal of the said city to be hereunto affixed, this 7th day of March, 1783.

Which Address being presented to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, he was pleased to give the following Answer:

I am too sensible to this address of affectionate regard, to answer it in the common expressions of good-will; my heart is indeed too full; I truly feel an honest pride in receiving such a testimony of the sense which the city of Dublin entertain of my zeal to promote that first object of my wishes, the constitutional and commercial freedom of Ireland. To such an object I would gladly sacrifice every private feeling; and as long as I can flatter myself that my exertions are acceptable to his majesty, or may be serviceable to this kingdom, I will hope that no circumstances will prevent me from continuing to you that proof of my interest in your prosperity, which an unremitting attention to the great lines of an honest government can so truly give. But in every situation, I never can forget how much I owe to your affection; and my constant prayer, my constant object will be, that the honour, pride, and happiness of Ireland may be perpetual, and that it may be founded on the surest basis of a liberal and constitutional connexion with your sister kingdom.

*The Speech of his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant\* of Ireland to both Houses of Parliament, Oct. 14, 1783.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

**I**T is with more than ordinary satisfaction that in obedience to his majesty's commands I meet you, in full possession and enjoyment of those constitutional and commercial advantages which have been so firmly established in your last parliament. The sacred regard on the part of Great Britain to the adjustment made with Ireland at that period, has been abundantly testified by the most unequivocal proofs of sincerity and good faith.

It will ever be my wish, as it is my duty, to promote the mutual confidence of both kingdoms, and the uniting them in sentiments as they are in interest; such an union must produce the most solid advantages to both, and will give vigour and strength to the empire.

I sincerely congratulate you on the happy completion of his majesty's anxious endeavours to restore the blessings of peace to his faithful people. The establishment of public tranquillity is peculiarly favourable at this period, and will naturally give spirit and effect to your commercial pursuits. Both kingdoms are now enabled to deliberate with undivided attention on the surest means of increasing the prosperity, and reaping the certain fruits of reciprocal affection.

I have the highest satisfaction in acquainting you of the increase of his majesty's domestic happiness, by the birth of another prince.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the proper officers to lay the national accounts before you; from them you will be enabled to judge of the circumstances of the kingdom; and I rely on your wisdom and loyalty to make such provision as shall be fitting for the honourable support of his majesty's government.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The miseries of an approaching famine have been averted by the blessings of Divine Providence upon the measures which the Privy Council advised; the good effects of which were soon visible in the immediate reduction of the price of grain and the influx of a necessary supply to the market. Any temporary infringement of the laws to effect such salutary ends, will, I doubt not, receive a parliamentary sanction.

Among the many important objects which demand your attention, I recommend to your consideration laws for regulating the judicature of the court of admiralty, and for making a new establishment of the post-office.

The linen manufacture being the staple of your country, it is needless for me to recommend perseverance in the improvement of that most important article.

The fishery on your coasts will claim your attention as a promising source of wealth to this kingdom; and the encouragements granted to it will, no doubt, be regulated by you in the manner most likely to produce the best effect, and least subject to fraud and imposition.

The

The Protestant charter schools, an institution founded in wisdom and humanity, are also almost eminently intitled to your care.

I recommend likewise to your attention the proposals adopted by government for providing an asylum for the distressed Genevans. It well becomes the generosity of the people of Ireland to extend their protection to the ingenious and industrious men, who may prove a valuable acquisition to this country, which they have preferred to their own. But in forming this establishment, you will doubtless consider it as a part of your duty to avoid unnecessary expence, and ultimately to secure the utmost advantages to your country.

I anticipate the greatest national benefits from the wisdom and temper of parliament, when I consider that the general election has afforded you an opportunity of observing the internal circumstances of the country, and of judging by what regulations you may best increase its industry, encourage its manufactures, and extend its commerce.

In the furtherance of objects so very desirable to yourselves, I assure you of every good disposition on my part; sensible that in no manner I can better fulfil the wishes and commands of our gracious sovereign, than by contributing to the welfare and happiness of his loyal subjects. With an honest ambition of meriting your good opinion, and with the warmest hope of obtaining it, I have entered upon my present administration; and with sentiments pure and disinterested towards you, I claim

your advice, and firmly rely upon your support.

*Dublin Castle, Oct. 16.*

The Houses of Lords and Commons having resolved upon humble addresses to his majesty, the same, together with addresses from both houses to the lord lieutenant, were this day presented to his excellency, and, with his excellency's answers, are as follow :

*To the King's most excellent Majesty:*

*The humble Address of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in parliament assembled, beg leave to return our most humble thanks to your majesty for those gracious expressions we have received from the throne, of that tender concern and parental regard for the happiness of this kingdom, which we have ever so happily experienced.

Impressed at all times with the deepest sense of your majesty's goodness, we most thankfully acknowledge, as a fresh instance of it, the placing us under the government of a nobleman, whose amiable character, whose integrity and abilities, afford every prospect of national prosperity to the country over which he is to preside.

The unequivocal proofs we have received from Great Britain of her sacred regard for the adjustment

ment of our constitution and commerce, made and established in the last parliament, not only afford us the fullest security of our constitutional and commercial rights, but must excite in us the warmest affection towards our sister country, and strengthen that union of sentiment, as well as of interest, between the two kingdoms, upon which the power and happiness of both so materially depend.

To contribute to give permanency to that union, we beg leave humbly to assure your majesty, it will ever be the first wish of our hearts, as it will be the first object of our endeavours.

We beseech your majesty to accept our warmest congratulations at the success which has attended your majesty's anxious exertions to restore the blessings of peace to your faithful people, which must naturally give spirit and effect to our commercial pursuits: And whilst it will enable both kingdoms to deliberate on the surest means of increasing our common prosperity, we shall give every attention in our power to promote such measures as shall effectually secure to us the solid benefits that must arise from reciprocal affection.

The happy increase of your majesty's royal family, by the birth of a princess, has afforded us all that heartfelt satisfaction, which we can never fail to experience upon every increase to your majesty's domestic happiness.

Conscious of the wisdom of those measures advised by the Privy Council, which through the mercy of Divine Providence, have averted from the people the mi-

series of impending famine, we shall gratefully concur in a parliamentary sanction of the means pursued by government to prevent so dreadful a calamity.

We shall also most cheerfully concur in regulating the judicature of the court of admiralty, as well as forming an establishment for the post-office.

The improvement of our linen manufacture must ever be a principal object of our regard.

We are too fully convinced of the extreme importance of the fishery on our coasts, both to our national wealth and industry, not to bestow upon it every attention on our part, which may best encourage so valuable a branch of our commerce, and best prevent those frauds and impositions, which are so fatal to every infant undertaking.

We shall likewise consider the Protestant charter schools, from the humanity as well as wisdom of the institution, highly deserving of our care.

We conceive the liberal intentions of government to provide an asylum to the industrious and distressed Genevans, demand both our acknowledgments and warmest concurrence in every measure that may promote the settlement in this kingdom of so useful a body of men. But whilst we shall endeavour to procure every advantage to our country from that settlement, we are likewise bound to prevent as far as possible every unnecessary expence with which the measure might be attended.

We trust that the present parliament will be distinguished in the annals of their country for their wisdom, temper, and moderation,



deration, and for the efficacy of their regulations, to increase the industry, encourage the manufactures, and extend the commerce of this kingdom.

Whilst we shall endeavour to promote such valuable and important objects to ourselves, we shall most cordially consider the interests of Great Britain as immediately connected with our own; and ever having experienced the paternal beneficence of our most gracious sovereign, we beseech your majesty to accept the tribute of hearts deeply impressed with gratitude in earnestly imploring the divine goodness long to continue your majesty's auspicious reign over a loyal, happy, and united people.

W. WATTS GAYER, } Cler. Parl.  
EDW. GAYER,

*His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant's Answer.*

I will take the earliest opportunity of transmitting this dutiful and loyal address to be laid before his majesty.

*To the King's most excellent Majesty.*

*The humble Address of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses, in Parliament assembled.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Ireland, in parliament assembled, beg leave to approach your majesty with sentiments of the most unfeigned attachment to your royal person and government, and to offer to your ma-

jesty our grateful thanks for the appointment of a nobleman to the government of this kingdom, whose justice, integrity, and abilities, afford the best founded expectations of national happiness and prosperity under his administration.

The sincerity and good faith of Great Britain, so abundantly testified by the sacred regard shewn on her part to the adjustment of our constitution and commerce, demand our warmest acknowledgments, while we enjoy the full possession of those constitutional and commercial advantages which were so firmly established in the last parliament.

We shall earnestly concur in any measure that may confirm and strengthen the mutual confidence of both kingdoms, and their union, in sentiment as well as in interest. From thence the most solid advantages must arise to both kingdoms, and vigour will be added to the strength of the empire.

Already we feel the blessings of peace; and we intreat your majesty to accept our humble thanks for the happy completion of your anxious endeavours to restore that inestimable blessing to your faithful people. We hope now to reap the fruits of our extended commerce, and in our deliberations, we shall look upon the increasing prosperity of Great Britain with that regard, which must be the effect of reciprocal affection.

As affectionate subjects, deeply interested in the happiness of our beloved sovereigns, we learn with the highest satisfaction the increase of that happiness in the birth of another princess.

We must immediately inspect the national accounts; and, happy in your majesty's just reliance upon our loyalty, we will make such provision as shall be fitting for the honourable support of your majesty's government, consistently with the abilities of the nation.

We adore the mercy of Divine Providence in averting from this people the miseries of impending famine; and we will cheerfully concur in a parliamentary sanction of those wise and salutary measures, which government pursued by the advice of the Privy Council.

We shall lose no time in the necessary manner for regulating the judicature of the court of admiralty, and for making a new establishment of the post-office.

We shall industriously persevere in the improvement of our linen manufacture; nor shall we omit an attention to the fishery, that promising source of industry and wealth; and we shall endeavour to regulate the encouragements granted to it, so as to produce the best effects, and to prevent fraud and imposition.

We shall likewise extend our care to the Protestant charter schools.

We shall readily forward the liberal intentions of government to provide an asylum for the distressed Genevans. Ingenious men have a claim to the protection of a generous nation.—But our own country is no less entitled to that care, which it is our duty to exert in avoiding unnecessary expence, and securing the utmost advantages from the settlement of the emigrants.

We trust that the wisdom and temper of this parliament will be manifested in all its proceedings; and we shall endeavour to profit by every opportunity which circumstances have afforded us of observing the internal state of the country, and judging what regulations may best encourage and extend its industry, manufactures and commerce.

Having constantly experienced the beneficence of our most gracious sovereign in contributing to the welfare and happiness of his faithful subjects, we lay at your majesty's feet the tribute of grateful hearts, earnestly beseeching the divine goodness long to continue the blessings of your majesty's auspicious reign over a happy, united, and loyal people.

T. ELLIS, Cler. Parl. Dom. Com.

*His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant's Answer.*

I will take the first opportunity of transmitting this dutiful and loyal address to be laid before his majesty.

*To his Excellency Robert Earl of Northington, Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland.*

*The humble Address of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled.*

May it please your Excellency,

WE, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in parliament assembled, present to your excellency our warmest thanks for your most excellent speech from the throne.

We

We beg leave to congratulate your excellency and ourselves upon your appointment to the government of this kingdom, at a period peculiarly auspicious to Ireland.

In the fullest reliance upon your excellency's wisdom, justice, and integrity, we anticipate the advantages this kingdom must derive from your excellency's administration; and consider your excellency's appointment to preside in it as a fresh instance of his majesty's paternal regard for the happiness of his faithful people.

We are highly grateful for the warmth with which your excellency signifies your satisfaction at meeting us in the full possession and enjoyment of those constitutional and commercial rights, which were so firmly established in the last parliament.

We trust that the unequivocal proofs given by Great Britain of her sacred regard to the adjustment then made with Ireland, cannot fail to cement the union, and strengthen the mutual confidence between two kingdoms, the true interests of which are and must ever be inseparable.

We beg leave to share with your excellency the satisfaction you express at the success of his majesty's endeavours to restore the blessings of peace to his faithful people.

We shall, in pursuance of your excellency's wise and seasonable advice, shew our readiness to deliberate upon the measures pointed out by your excellency, as well for regulating the judicature of the court of admiralty, and the new establishment of the post-

office, as for promoting our commercial pursuits, and reaping the advantages to be derived from the restoration of public tranquillity. Permit us to add, that the recommendation of those measures by your excellency, affords the most convincing evidence of your respect for the rights, and your capacity to discern, and desire to promote the interests of Ireland.

The measures pursued by government, by the advice of the Privy Council, to avert the miseries of an impending famine, if not strictly conformable to law, will appear, we doubt not, to have been urged by necessity, and so essential to the public good as to merit parliamentary indemnification.

We enjoy the highest pleasure in every addition to the domestic happiness of our gracious sovereign, and participate in your excellency's satisfaction at the birth of another princess.

We trust our well known and most sincere loyalty to his majesty, our confidence in the sincerity and good faith of our sister kingdom, and the ample means we have lately acquired of becoming a great and commercial people, will dispose us to carry on our consultations for his majesty's honour and the good of our country, with that duty, temper, and unanimity, which can alone render them successful, and perpetuate the harmony between the two kingdoms: and with the firmest reliance on your excellency's pure and disinterested intentions towards us, we shall, to the utmost of our power, support the honour of his majesty's govern-

government, and the ease of your excellency's administration.

W. WATTS GAYER, } Cler. Parl.  
EDW. GAYER,

*His Excellency's Answer.*

I return your lordships my sincere thanks for the very honourable testimony of your good opinion, which it shall be my constant endeavour to improve. Be assured that my inclinations, as well as my duty, will ever interest me deeply in the prosperity and happiness of Ireland.

*To his Excellency Robert Henley,  
Earl of Northington, Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland,*

*The humble Address of the Knights,  
Citizens, and Burgesses, in Parliament assembled.*

May it please your Excellency,

WE, his majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Ireland, in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your excellency our sincere thanks for your excellent speech from the throne. We consider it as a strong proof of his majesty's gracious attention to the happiness and prosperity of Ireland, that he has been pleased to commit the government of this kingdom to your excellency, in whose firmness, justice, and integrity, we place the highest confidence that the powers of government will be directed to the true interests of the people.

We trust that your excellency

will lay before his majesty the faithful and affectionate duty of his loyal subjects of Ireland, and represent their cordial regard to Great Britain in its full light, thereby strengthening the mutual confidence of both kingdoms, and uniting them inseparably in sentiment, as they are in interest.

We will assiduously apply ourselves to the consideration of the many important objects which your excellency has recommended to our attention. And we cannot refrain from acknowledging with gratitude the interest which your excellency takes in the prosperity of this kingdom, when in the very nature of those objects we trace the just and generous spirit which points them out to us.

We will cheerfully grant such supplies, as after a proper investigation of the national accounts, shall appear to be fitting for the honourable support of his majesty's government, considering the abilities of the country.

Convinced of your excellency's disposition to promote the welfare and happiness of this kingdom, we shall prove ourselves not unworthy the confidence you are pleased to repose in us, by contributing our best endeavours to the ease and honour of your excellency's administration.

T. ELLIS, Cler. Parl. Dom. Com.

*His Excellency's Answer.*

I return you my cordial thanks for this very affectionate and obliging address. It is my earnest desire to merit your confidence, and I shall anxiously endeavour to justify the favourable opinion you entertain

entertain of me by an unremitting attention to the welfare and happiness of this kingdom.

*The following is a Translation of the Manifesto published by order of the Empress of Russia, upon the Occasion of her Troops entering the Peninsula of the Crimea, the Cuban, and the Island of Taman; which Countries are thereby declared to be annexed to her Imperial Majesty's Dominions.*

WE Catherine the Second, by the Grace of God, Empress and Sole Monarch of all the Russias, &c. &c. &c.

OUR last war against the Ottoman empire having been attended with the most signal successes, we had certainly acquired the right of re-uniting to the territories of our empire the Crimea, of which we were in possession; we, however, hesitated not to sacrifice that, with many other conquests, to our ardent desire of re-establishing the public tranquillity, and of confirming the good understanding and friendship between our empire and the Ottoman Porte. This motive induced us to stipulate for the freedom and independence of the Tartars, whom we had reduced by our arms; hoping to remove for ever, by this means, every cause of dissension, and even of coolness between Russia and the Ottoman Porte, exposed too often to these inconveniences by the form of government which then subsisted among the Tartars.

Great as were our sacrifices and efforts for realising those hopes,

they were soon, to our great regret, considerably diminished. The restlessness natural to the Tartars, fomented by insinuations, the source of which is not unknown to us, caused them easily to fall into a snare laid by foreign hands, which had sowed amongst them the seeds of disturbance and confusion to such a degree, as to induce them to labour for the weakening, and even the total ruin of an edifice which our beneficent cares had erected for the happiness of that nation, by procuring them liberty and independence, under the authority of a chief elected by themselves. Hardly was their khan established according to this new form of government, before he saw himself deprived of all authority, and even obliged to desert his country, to give place to an usurper, who would again subject the Tartars to the yoke of a dominion, from which our beneficence had released them. The greater part of them, as blind as they were ignorant, had submitted to that usurper; the rest, thinking themselves too weak to resist, would infallibly have yielded to his yoke; and thus we should have lost the fruits of our victories, and the principal recompence for the sacrifices which we willingly made at the last peace, if we had not instantly taken under our immediate protection such of the well-disposed Tartars, who, prizing the blessings of their new political existence, lamented their being forced to submit to the usurper who had expelled their lawful khan. By thus effectually protecting them, we furnished them with the power and the means

means of chusing a new khan, in the room of Sahib-Gheray, and of establishing an administration analogous to this state of affairs.— It was to attain this end that our military forces were put in motion; that a considerable body of our troops were ordered, notwithstanding the severity of the season, to enter the Crimea, where they were subsisted at our expence, and obliged to exert the power of our army for the support of the good cause, in order to recall such of the Tartars as were estranged from it by their revolt. The public is not ignorant that a rupture between Russia and the Ottoman Porte had very near ensued upon this occasion; but, thanks to the Divine assistance, we disposed matters in such a manner, that the Ottoman Porte again acknowledged the independence of the Tartars, and the validity of the election of Schaghin - Gheray, their lawful sovereign. Notwithstanding all the inconveniencies above-mentioned, as long as we were sustained and animated by the hope of re-establishing the repose necessary to the advantage and preservation of good neighbourhood with the Ottoman empire, we regarded the Crimea according to the tenour and letter of the treaties, as a free and independent country, confining ourself solely to appeasing the troubles which prevailed amongst them; from our love of peace we found in this conduct a sufficient recompence for the great expences incurred by it; but we were soon undeceived in this respect by the fresh revolt occasioned in the Crimea last year,

the encouragement of which always flowed from the same source. We have been obliged in consequence to have recourse again to considerable armaments, and to cause troops to enter into the Crimea and the Cuban, whose presence is become indispensable for maintaining tranquillity and good order in the adjacent countries. The sad experience of every day demonstrates more clearly, that if the sovereignty of the Ottoman Porte in the Crimea was a perpetual source of discord between our two empires, the independence of the Tartars expose us to subjects of contention no less numerous and important, since the long servitude to which that people have been accustomed, has rendered the greater part of the individuals incapable of valuing the advantages of the new situation procured for them by that independence of which we sought to give them the enjoyment; and which, laying us under the necessity of being always armed, occasions not only great expences, but also exposes our troops to inevitable and continual fatigues.

The efforts they made to extinguish the flame of discord, in succouring the well-intentioned of that nation, exposed them to the violences of the seditious and ill-intentioned, whom we were willing to leave unpunished, in order to avoid even the shadow of an act of sovereignty, so long as we could cherish the least hope of at length restoring good order, and preventing by this means the essential interests of our empire from being injured.

But to our great regret all these measures, dictated solely by our love



love of humanity, tended only to bring upon us losses and damages, which we have the more sensibly at heart, as they affected our subjects. The loss in men is not to be appreciated; we will not attempt to estimate it; that in money, according to the most moderate calculations, amounts to upwards of twelve millions of roubles. To these particulars is to be added another of the utmost importance, both in its object and with regard to its consequences: we have just been informed, that the Porte has began to lay claim to the exercise of sovereignty in the Tartar-dominions, by sending one of their officers, at the head of a detachment of troops, to the island of Taman, who has even proceeded to cause the officer to be publicly beheaded, who was sent to him by the khan Schaghin-Gheray, with a commission only to enquire of him what were the motives for his arrival in that island; and what evidently proves the nature of the mission of this commandant of the troops is, that he made no difficulty in declaring openly to the inhabitants of Taman, that he looked upon them as subjects of the Porte. This decisive, though unexpected step, convincing us of the inutility of the sacrifices we had made upon the last peace, annuls in consequence the engagements we had contracted, with the sole intention of firmly establishing the freedom and independence of the Tartars, and sufficiently authorizes us to enter again into the enjoyment of those rights which we had lawfully acquired by conquest; the more so, as it is the only means remaining

for us to secure hereafter a solid and permanent peace between the two empires. Animated therefore with a sincere desire of confirming and maintaining the last peace concluded with the Porte, by preventing the continual disputes which the affairs of the Crimea produced, our duty to ourself, and the preservation of the security of our empire, equally demand our taking the firm resolution to put an end, once for all, to the troubles in the Crimea; and for this purpose we reunite to our empire the peninsula of Crimea, the island of Taman, and all the Cuban, as a just indemnification for the losses sustained, and the expences we have been obliged to incur in maintaining the peace and welfare of these territories.

In declaring to the inhabitants of those countries by the present manifesto, that such is our Imperial pleasure, we promise them, for us and our successors in the Imperial throne of Russia, that they shall be treated upon an equality with our ancient subjects; and that, in taking them under our high protection, we will defend against all people their persons, their estates, their temples, and the religion they profess; that they shall enjoy the most absolute liberty of conscience; without the least restriction, in the public exercise of their worship and their ceremonies; and that not only the nation in general, but also each individual in particular, shall participate in all the advantages enjoyed by our ancient subjects. But we also expect, from the gratitude of our new subjects, that, touched

touched with these favours, they will be sensible of the value of this fortunate revolution, which removes them from a convulsed state of disturbances and dissensions to one of entire security and perfect tranquillity under the protection of the laws; and that, striving to imitate the submission, zeal, and fidelity of those who have long had the happiness of living under our government, they will render themselves worthy of our imperial favour, beneficence, and protection. Given at our imperial residence of St. Petersburg, the 8th of April, in the year of Grace 1783, and in the 21st year of our reign.

(Signed with her Imperial majesty's own hand)

CATHERINE. (L. S.)

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*Heads of the principal Acts of Parliament passed during the present Session.*

**A**N act for allowing the importation of goods from Europe in neutral ships into the islands of St. Christopher, Nevis, Montserrat, Dominica, St. Vincent, Grenada, and the Grenadines; and of goods the produce or manufacture of the said islands, and of Tobago and St. Lucia, from thence into this kingdom, in such ships, upon payment of the British plantation duties, for a limited time; for permitting certain goods, the produce of those islands, secured in warehouses in this kingdom, to be taken out, on payment of the British plantation duties, and to cancel certain bonds entered into for payment of the

duties due thereon; for further continuing certain temporary acts for the encouragement of trade; and to repeal an act, made in the 22d year of his majesty's reign, for allowing the importation of goods the growth of St. Christopher, Nevis, and Montserrat, into any of his Majesty's dominions in Europe or America.

An act to repeal so much of two acts, as prohibits trade and intercourse with the United States of America.

An act for removing and preventing all doubts which have arisen, or might arise, concerning the exclusive rights of the parliament and courts of Ireland, in matters of legislation and judicature; and for preventing any writ of error or appeal from any of his majesty's courts in that kingdom from being received, heard, and adjudged, in any of his majesty's courts in the kingdom of Great Britain.

An act to discharge and indemnify the united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, from all damages, interest, and losses, in respect to their not making regular payment of certain sums due, and to become due, to the public, and to allow further time for such payment; and to enable the company to borrow a certain sum of money; and to make a dividend of 4l. per cent. to the proprietors at Midsummer, 1783.

An act for preventing certain instruments from being required from ships belonging to the United States of America; and to give to his majesty, for a limited time, certain powers for the better carrying on trade and commerce between

tween the subjects of his majesty's dominions and the inhabitants of the said United States.

An act for the better regulation of the office of the paymaster-general of his majesty's forces, and the more regular payment of the army; and to repeal an act, intituled, "An act for the better regulation of the office of paymaster-general of his majesty's forces."

An act for appointing and enabling commissioners further to examine, take, and state the public accounts of the kingdom.

An act for the more effectual preventing the illegal importation of foreign spirits, and for putting a stop to the private distillation of British made spirituous liquors; for explaining such part of the act, imposing a duty upon male servants, as relates to the right of appeal from the justices of the peace; to amend and rectify a mistake in an act of the last session of parliament, with respect

to the removal of tea from one part of the kingdom to other parts thereof; and for preventing vexatious actions against officers of excise acting in pursuance of the authority given by excise statutes.

An act for establishing certain regulations in the receipt of his majesty's exchequer.

An act for granting relief to the united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, by allowing further time for the payment of certain sums due, and to become due to the public, and by advancing to the said company, on the terms therein mentioned, a certain sum of money to be raised by loans or exchequer bills; and to enable the said company to make a dividend of four pounds per cent. to the proprietors at Christmas, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three; and to regulate the future payment of debentures of drawbacks on East India goods.



# CHARACTERS.

*Character of Elizabeth, Queen of England; from the History of Philip the Third, King of Spain, by R. Watson, L.L.D. &c. &c.*

**T**HIS great princess, whose reign was so long and prosperous, had through her whole life enjoyed uninterrupted health, which she had been careful to preserve by regular exercise, and the strictest temperance. But towards the end of the preceding year, having been seized with a cold, which confined her for several days, she found her strength considerably impaired; and, in the hopes of deriving benefit from a change of air, she removed from Westminster to Richmond; but there she grew daily worse, could neither sleep nor eat as usual, and though her pulse was regular, she complained of a burning heat in her stomach, and a perpetual thirst. Both her looks and spirits had from the beginning been greatly affected; business of every kind had become an intolerable burthen to her; and at length she sunk into a deep melancholy, expressing the anguish of her mind by tears and groans, and obstinately refusing nourishment, as well as all the medicines which the physicians prescribed for her recovery.

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This melancholy might have entirely proceeded from her bodily indisposition, although, from some late discoveries, there is ground to believe that it was greatly heightened, if not principally occasioned, by remorse and grief conceived on account of her having ordered the execution of her favourite, the Earl of Essex. But to whatever cause her dejection of mind was owing, it preyed upon her exhausted frame, and in a few weeks put a period to her life, in the seventieth year of her age, and the forty-fifth of her reign.

It is not surprising that we meet with such contradictory descriptions of the character of this princess in the cotemporary historians, whose passions were too much inflamed to suffer them to judge impartially of her character: but it should seem impossible for any person, who is not blinded by prejudice, to refuse her a place among the most illustrious princes of whom we read either in ancient or in modern times.

She was not indeed exempt from the imperfections that are incident to humanity, and she was subject to several of those weaknesses which characterise her sex. She cannot be vindicated from the imputation of female vanity, and  
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the love of admiration on account of her exterior accomplishments. We should have loved her more if she had been more gentle and indulgent, less imperious and violent, or more candid and sincere. From natural temper, her passions of every kind were strong and vehement, and, among her courtiers, they sometimes betrayed her into improprieties; but they were almost never permitted to influence her public conduct, which was uniformly regulated by the principles of prudence, and a regard for the public good; even her ambition was controlled and governed by these principles; of which she gave a rare and signal proof, when she refused to accept of the sovereignty of the United Provinces. Her penetration and sagacity, her prudence and foresight, her intrepidity in the midst of danger, her activity and vigour, her steadiness and perseverance, and her wise œconomy, which prompted her to save every unnecessary expence, however small, while it permitted and enabled her to undergo the greatest, when necessity required; these qualities in her character, which are acknowledged by her enemies, as well as her admirers, no prince, of whom we read in history, appears to have possessed in a more eminent degree.

Few princes have been placed in so difficult circumstances, or have had so many, and such formidable enemies to oppose; yet almost no prince ever enjoyed a reign so long and prosperous. While the neighbouring nations were almost continually involved in the calamities of war, she was able, notwithstanding the unre-

mitted attempts of her foreign enemies, and her popish subjects, to preserve her dominions in almost uninterrupted peace. Nor did her own subjects only reap the fruits of her great abilities, but her friends were every where supported and protected by her power; while her enemies, though possessed of much greater resources, were either checked and restrained, or humbled and overcome: without her judicious interposition, the reformation in Scotland must have been extinguished; a race of popish princes must have inherited the crown of that kingdom; and the difference of religion there, and in England, joined to the hereditary right of the Scottish princes to the English throne, whilst it must have proved a copious source of discord, would long have prevented the union of two nations, which must have often been unhappy while they remained divided, and were, by nature, destined to be one. Nor were the benefits which mankind derived from her wise and active reign confined to Britain; but it is likewise probable, that without her aid and her exertions, the protestants in France must have been extirpated; the best and greatest of the French monarchs must have been excluded from the throne; France itself, must have sunk under the Spanish yoke; the republic of the United Provinces must have been crushed in its infancy; and an overgrown and enormous power established, which must have overwhelmed the liberties of Europe, and prolonged the reign of ignorance, bigotry, and superstition.

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*Characters of the Mareſchal Leſdiguières, from the ſame Author.*

**A**LTHOUGH fortune ſometimes raiſes the worthleſs and the weak to the higheſt offices, yet it muſt have been ſingular merit that, in times productive of great characters, could exalt a private gentleman of a very narrow fortune, to the firſt dignity of a great kingdom that can be enjoyed by a ſubject. Francis de Bonne, with a patrimony of fifty crowns a year, roſe to the ſtation of conſtable of France, in oppoſition to many rivals of noble birth and great power. He was of an agreeable aſpect, a mild temper, and eaſy manners; qualities which were not indeed very ſhining in themſelves, but which contributed not a little to raiſe the mareſchal Leſdiguières to ſituations in which he had opportunities of displaying the greateſt talents and virtues\*. His underſtanding was manly and ſolid; he poſſeſſed in an eminent degree the virtues of political and martial courage; and, though he was ſuſceptible both of friendſhip and love, his ruling paſſion was ambition. The Duke of Savoy cultivated the friendſhip of this man with common attention, and practiſed with unwearied diligence all his addreſs in order to gain ſo important an acquiſition. To the mareſchal Leſdiguières he ſhewed all the reſpect due to a crowned head. If he received him at Turin, it was with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence. If he addreſſed him in writing, he beſtowed on him the endearing and flattering

appellations of “ good neighbour, and faithful friend.” He conſulted him on every occaſion: and the mareſchal returned his confidence and aſſiduities with the ſincerest fidelity and affection. The attachment of Leſdiguières to Charles Emanuel was well known to the court of Spain, and they endeavoured to counteract its effects by operating on his natural ambition. The king and queen of France, at the inſtigations of the Spaniſh ambaffador, attempted to ſeduce him from the intereſts of Savoy, by calling him to court in order to be inveſted with the privileges and rank of a duke and peer. And, that he might be enabled to ſupport the magnificence of that character, the king of Spain offered him any ſum of money he ſhould be pleaſed to demand, to be paid in any part of Europe. Theſe allurements failing of ſucceſs, a ſupply of money was offered ſufficient to raiſe and maintain for a year, an army of forty thouſand men, with a ſuitable train of artillery, to be employed in making himſelf maſter of Savoy. Of this duchy the Duke of Monteleon, in name of the Spaniſh monarch, offered him the inveſtiture, on condition of his aſſiſting the Spaniards to conquer Piedmont. This temptation having been alſo reſiſted, Monteleon engaged Louis to tranſmit to the mareſchal the moſt peremptory orders to abſtain from levying troops, and on no pretext whatever to move to the aſſiſtance of the Duke of Savoy. Theſe orders were in vain reiterated and enforced, at the deſire of the feeble

\* Amelot de la Houſſaie.

court

court of Paris, by the authority of the parliament of Grenoble. Lefdiguières, in a letter to the king, represented to his majesty, in a firm though respectful tone, that his duty called him to restore the dignity of France in Italy, by fulfilling the engagements of that kingdom to the Duke of Savoy, and chastising the perfidy and insolence of Spain. And he added, that, however treacherous counsels might beguile the good intentions of his majesty for a time, he did not despair of his present conduct meeting one day with the approbation of his sovereign.

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*Character of the Spaniards; from the same Author.*

**A** WAR with the Saracens, prolonged, with few intervals, for eight hundred years, nourished in the Spaniards a vigour of character, a love of their country, and a passion for glory. The necessity of continually engaging, formed as many heroes as there were men in each city: military renown was the great object of their vows; and the tombs of the deceased were adorned with a number of obelisks equal to that of the enemy they had slain in battle\*. While they lived exposed to continual dangers they acquired that gravity of deportment, that deliberate valour, that perseverance and vigilance which still distinguish the

Spanish nation. Before the ambitious and warlike reigns of Ferdinand, the emperor, and Philip II. the sagacity and vigilance of the Spaniards appeared formidable to the other nations of Europe†. These reigns continued to call forth and exercise the spirit of the nation, and to support, if not to heighten, that national character which had been formed by the wars with the Moors. And this national character still shone forth with undiminished lustre after the imprudence of the court, and exhausted resources, had undermined the foundations of the grandeur of the empire. As prosperous war rouses the genius of a nation, the glory of letters would have corresponded to that of the Spanish arms, had not the progress of taste and knowledge been checked by the tyranny of the Inquisition, and that despotism which was introduced into the government. But although these circumstances have prevented among the Spaniards the growth of sound philosophy; in their poetry, history, romances, and even their commentaries on the sacred scriptures, as well as on Aristotle, whose metaphysical notions were deemed so orthodox by the Catholic church, we recognize that boldness and invention, that subtlety and refinement which were conspicuous for ages in the military and political conduct of Spain.

Thus, that power of genius and valour among his subjects, which

\* Johannes Genesius Sepulveda de Rebus Gestis, Caroli V. lib. 1.

† Machiavel says, in his Account of the State of France, that the French were afraid of the Spaniards on account of their sagacity and vigilance. It is true, that this account was written after Ferdinand had begun to reign; but it was before the exertions of that prince could have stamped on the minds of his subjects, a national character.

at once adorned and disgraced the feeble reign of Philip III., seems deducible from a train of moral causes, as obvious in their existence as powerful in their nature. But when the reader revolves what is left on record concerning ancient Spain, he will be inclined perhaps to subscribe to the opinion of an ingenious writer, that the characters of nations as well as families, are influenced by accidents antecedent to birth, and particularly by climate, acting either immediately with powerful energy on the fabric of their being, or as a local circumstance leading to a variety of action in the œconomy of civil life. At all times, valour and genius have ennobled the character of the Spaniards. Nor the robust German, impelled by the fury of a savage religion, displayed such enthusiasm in arms and contempt of death, as shone forth in the invincible resolution of the inhabitants of Numantia, Astapha, and Saguntum. A greater hero than Viriatus is not to be found in the history of ancient Rome†. Between the times of the Scipios and those of Augustus, there intervened a period of two hundred years. During this long space, Spain maintained a contest with the policy and disciplined valour of Rome: and it seemed uncertain which masters the world was to obey, the Spaniards or the Romans. The destiny of Rome to give law to the nations finally subdued all resistance, and Spain

had the glory of being the last that yielded to the Roman yoke. But it was the fortune of the vanquisher to receive literature and refinement from the conquerors of the world: and in return, Trajan added lustre to the Roman purple; and the names of Quintilian, Martial, Mela, Seneca, Lucan, and Florus, appeared in the list of Latin authors.

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*Character of King James the Second, from Mrs. M. Graham's History of England.*

IT was said by the witty Duke of Buckingham, that "Charles the Second might do well if he would," and that "James would do well if he could:" an observation which says little for the understanding of James, but a great deal for his heart; and with all the blemishes with which his public character is stained, he was not deficient in several qualities necessary to compose a good sovereign. His industry in business was exemplary, he was frugal of the public money, he cherished and extended the maritime power of the empire, and his encouragement of trade was attended with such success, that, according to the observation of the impartial historian Ralph, as the frugality of his administration helped to increase the number of malecontents, so his extreme attention to trade was not less alarming to the whole body of the Dutch than his

\* Essay on the History of Mankind, &c. by Dr. Dunbar.

† This man, who had resisted the Roman arms for twenty years, and who was deemed invincible, was at last insidiously cut off by the Romans, who bribed his body guards.

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resolution not to rush into a war with France was mortifying to their Stadtholder.

In domestic life, the character of James, though not irreproachable, was comparatively good: it is true, he was in a great measure tainted with that licentiousness of manners, which, at this time, pervaded the whole society, and which reigned triumphant within the circle of the court; but he was never carried into any excesses which trenched deeply on the duties of social life; and if the qualities of his heart were only to be judged by his conduct in the different characters of husband, father, master, and friend, he might be pronounced a man of a very amiable disposition. But those who know not how to forgive injuries, and can never pardon the errors, the infirmities, the vices, or even the virtues of their fellow-creatures, when in any respect they affect personal interest or inclination, will arm against them the sensibility of every humane mind, and can never expect from others that justice, and commiseration which themselves have never exercised. But whilst we execrate that rancorous cruelty with which James, in the short hour of triumph, persecuted all those who endeavoured to thwart his ambitious hopes, it is but justice to observe, that the rank vices of pride, malice, and revenge, which so deeply blacken his conduct, whilst he figured in the station of presumptive heir to the crown, and afterwards in the character of sovereign on the successful quelling the Monmouth rebellion, were thoroughly corrected by the chastening hand of affliction; that

the whole period of his life, from his return from Ireland to the day of his death, was spent in the exercise of the first christian virtues, viz. patience, fortitude, humility, and resignation. Brettonneau, his biographer, records, that he always spoke with an extreme moderation of the individuals who had acted the most successfully in his disfavour; that he reproved those who mentioned their conduct with severity; that he read, even with a stoical apathy, the bitterest writings which were published against him; that he regarded the loss of empire as a necessary correction for the misdemeanors of his life, and even rebuked those who expressed any concern for the issue of events which he respected as ordinations of the divine will. According to the same biographer, James was exact in his devotion, moderate even to abstinence; in his life, full of sentiments of the highest contrition for past offences; and, according to the discipline of the Romish church, was very severe in the austerities which he inflicted on his person. As this prince justly regarded himself as a martyr to the Catholic faith, as his warmest friends were all of this persuasion, as his conversation in his retirement at St. Germain's was entirely in a great measure confined to priests and devotees, it is natural that his superstition should increase with the increase of religious sentiment; and as he had made use of his power and authority, whilst in England, to enlarge the number of proselytes to popery, so in a private station he laboured incessantly by prayer, exhortation, and example, to confirm

firm the piety of his popish adherents, and to effect a reformation in those who still continued firm to the doctrines of the church of England. He visited the monks of la Trappe once a year, the severest order of religionists in France; and his conformity to the discipline of the convent was so strict and exact, that he impressed those devotees with sentiments of admiration at his piety, humility, and constancy. Thus having spent twelve years with a higher degree of peace and tranquillity than he had ever experienced in the most triumphant part of his life, he was seized with a palsy in September, 1701, and after languishing fifteen days, died in the sixty-eighth year of his age, having filled up the interval, between his first seizure and final exit, with the whole train of religious exercises enjoined on similar occasions by the church of Rome, with solemn and repeated professions of his faith, and earnest exhortations to his two children, the youngest of whom was born in the second year of his exile, to keep steadfast to the religion in which they had been educated. These precepts and commands have acted with a force superior to all the temptations of a crown, and have been adhered to with a firmness which obliges an historian to acknowledge the superiority which James's descendants, in the nice points of honour and conscience, have gained over the character of Henry the Fourth, who, at the period when he was looked up to as the great hero of the protestant cause, made no scruple to accept a crown on the

disgraceful terms of abjuring the principles of the reformation, and embracing the principles of a religion, which, from his early infancy, he had been taught to regard as idolatrous and prophane.

The dominion of error over the minds of the generality of mankind is irresistible. James, to the last hour of his life, continued as great a bigot to his political as his religious errors: he could not help considering the strength and power of the crown as a circumstance necessary to the preservation and happiness of the people; and, in a letter of advice, which he wrote to his son, whilst he conjures him to pay a religious observance to all the duties of a good sovereign, he cautions him against suffering any entrenchment on royal prerogative. Among several heads, containing excellent instructions on the art of reigning happily and justly, he warns the young prince never to attempt to disquiet his subjects in their property or their religion; and, what is very remarkable, to his last breath he persisted in asserting, that he never intended to subvert the laws, or procure more than a toleration and an equality of privilege to his catholic subjects. As there is great reason to believe this assertion to be true, it shews, that the delusion was incurable under which the king laboured, by the trust he had put in the knavish doctrines of lawyers and priests; and that neither himself, nor his protestant abettors, could fathom the consequences of that enlarged system of toleration which he endeavoured to establish.

# 8] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1783.

*Description of the Rejangs in the Island of Sumatra, extracted from the History of that Island, by W. Marsden, F. R. S. late Secretary to the President and Council of Fort Marlborough.*

THEY are placed in what may be called a central situation, not geographically, but with respect to the encroachments of foreign manners and opinions, introduced by the Malays, from the north, and Javans from the south; which gives them a claim to originality, superior to that of most others. They are a people whose form of government and whose laws extend, with very little variation, over a considerable part of the island, and principally that portion where the connexions of the English lie. There are traditions of their having formerly sent forth colonies to the southward; and in the country of Pafsummah, the site of their villages is still pointed out; which would prove that they have formerly been of more consideration than they can boast at present. They have a proper language, and a perfect written character, that is become of general use in many remote districts. These advantages point out the Rejang people as an eligible standard of description; and a motive equally strong that induces me to adopt them as such, is, that my situation and connexions on the island, led me to a more intimate and minute acquaintance with their laws and manners, than with those of any other class. I must premise however that the Malay customs having made their way, in a greater or less degree, to every part of

Sumatra, it will be totally impossible to discriminate, with entire accuracy, those which are original, from those which are borrowed; and of course, what I shall say of the Rejangs, will apply for the most part, not only to the Sumatrans in general, but may sometimes be, in strictness, proper to the Malays alone, and by them taught to the higher rank of country people.

The country of the *Rejangs* is divided, to the north-west, from the kingdom of *Anac Soongey* (of which *Moco Moco* is the capital) by the small river of *Oori*, near that of *Cattown*; which last, with the district of *Laboons* on its banks, bounds it on the north or inland side. The country of *Moosee*, where *Palembang* river takes its rise, forms its limit to the eastward. *Bencoolen* river, precisely speaking, confines it on the south-east; though the inhabitants of the district called *Lemba*, extending from thence to *Silebar*, are entirely the same people, in manners and language. The principal rivers, besides those already mentioned, are *Laye*, *Pally*, and *Soongeylamo*; on all of which the English have factories, the resident or chief being stationed at *Laye*.

The persons of the inhabitants of the island, though differing considerably in districts remote from each other, may in general be comprehended in the following description; excepting the *Ache-nese*, whose commixture with the Moors of the west of India, has distinguished them from the other Sumatrans.

They are rather below the middle stature; their bulk is in proportion;



portion; their limbs are for the most part slight, but well shaped, and particularly small at the wrists and ankles. Upon the whole they are gracefully formed, and I scarcely recollect to have ever seen one deformed person, of the natives\*. The women, however, have the preposterous custom of flattening the noses, and compressing the heads of children newly born, whilst the skull is yet cartilaginous, which increases their natural tendency to that shape. I could never trace the origin of the practice, or learn any other reason for moulding the features to this uncouth appearance, but that it was an improvement of beauty in their estimation. Captain Cook takes notice of a similar operation at the island of *Ulietea*. They likewise pull out the ears of infants, to make them stand erect from the head. Their eyes are uniformly dark and clear, and among some, especially the southern women, bear a strong resemblance to the Chinese, in the peculiarity of formation so generally observed of that people. Their hair is strong, and of a shining black; the improvement of both which qualities it probably owes, in great measure, to the constant and early use of cocoa-nut oil, with which they keep it moist. The men frequently cut their hair short, not appearing to take any pride in it; the women encourage

theirs to a considerable length, and I have known many instances of its reaching the ground. The men are beardless, and have chins so remarkably smooth, that were it not for the Malay priests displaying a little tuft, we should be apt to conclude that nature had refused them this token of manhood. It is the same in respect to other parts of the body, with both sexes; and this particular attention to their persons, they esteem a point of delicacy, and the contrary an unpardonable neglect. The boys, as they approach to the age of puberty, rub their chins, upper lips, and those parts of the body that are subject to superfluous hair, with *chunam*, (quick lime) especially of shells, which destroys the roots of the incipient beard. The few pilæ that afterwards appear, are plucked out from time to time with tweezers, which they always carry about them for that purpose. Were it not for the numerous and very respectable authorities, from which we are assured that the natives of America are naturally beardless, I should think that the common opinion on that subject had been rashly adopted, and that their appearing thus at mature age, was only the consequence of an early practice, similar to that observed among the Sumatrans. Even now I must confess that it would remove some small degree of doubt from my mind, could it

\* Ghirardini, an Italian painter, who touched at Sumatra on his way to China in 1698, observes of the Malays,

*Son di persona tanto ben formata  
Quanto mai finger san pittori industri.*

He speaks in high terms of the country, as being beautifully picturesque.

be ascertained that no such custom prevails\*. Their complexion is properly yellow, wanting the red tinge that constitutes a tawny or copper colour. They are in general lighter than the Mestees, or half breed, of the rest of India; those of the superior class, who are not exposed to the rays of the sun, and particularly their women of rank, approaching to a great degree of fairness. Did beauty consist in this one quality, some of them would surpass our brunettes in Europe. The major part of the females are ugly, and many of them even to disgust, yet there are those among them, whose appearance is strikingly beautiful; whatever composition of person, features, and complexion, that sentiment may be the result of.

The fairness of the Sumatrans, comparatively with other Indians, situated as they are, under a perpendicular sun, where no season of the year affords an alternative of cold, is, I think, an irrefragable proof, that the difference of colour in the various inhabitants of the earth, is not the immediate effect of climate. The children of Europeans born in this island are as fair, and perhaps in general fairer, than those born in the country of their parents. I have observed the same of the second generation, where a mixture with the people of the country has been avoided. On the other hand, the offspring

and all the descendants of the Guinea and other African slaves imported there, continue in the last instance as perfectly black as in the original stock. I do not mean to enter into the merits of the question which naturally connects with these observations; but shall only remark, that the fallow and adust countenances, so commonly acquired by Europeans who have long resided in hot climates, are more ascribable to the effect of bilious distempers, which almost all are subject to in a greater or less degree, than of their exposure to the influence of the weather, which few but seafaring people are liable to, and of which the impression is seldom permanent. From this circumstance I have been led to conjecture that the general disparity of complexions in different nations, might *possibly* be owing to the more or less copious secretion, or redundancy of that juice, rendering the skin more or less dark according to the qualities of the bile prevailing in the constitutions of each. But I fear such an hypothesis would not stand the test of experiment, as it must follow, that upon dissection, the contents of a negro's gall bladder, or at least the extravasated bile, should uniformly be found black. Persons skilled in anatomy will determine whether it is possible that the qualities of any animal secretion can so far affect the

\* It is allowed by travellers that the Patagonians have tufts of hair on the upper lip and chin. Captain Carver says, that among the tribes he visited the people made a regular practice of eradicating their beards with pincers. At Brussels is preserved, along with a variety of ancient and curious suits of armour, that of Montezuma king of Mexico, of which the vizor, or mask for the face, has remarkably large whiskers; an ornament which those Americans could not have imitated, unless nature had presented them with the model.

frame, as to render their consequence liable to be transmitted to posterity in their full force.

The small size of the inhabitants, and especially of the women, may be in some measure owing to the early communication between the sexes; though, as the inclinations which lead to this intercourse are prompted here by nature sooner than in cold climates, it is not unfair to suppose that being proportioned to the period of maturity, this is also sooner attained, and consequently that the earlier cessation of growth of these people, is agreeable to the laws of their constitution, and not occasioned by a premature and irregular appetite.

Persons of superior rank encourage the growth of their hand-nails, particularly those of the fore and little fingers, to an extraordinary length; frequently tinging them red, with the expressed juice of a shrub called *eeni*; as they do the nails of their feet also, to which, being always uncovered, they pay as much attention as to their hands. The hands of the natives, and even of the half breed, are always cold to the touch; which I cannot account for otherwise than by a supposition, that from the less degree of elasticity in the solids, occasioned by the heat of the climate, the internal action of the body, by which the fluids are put in motion, is less vigorous, the circulation is proportionably languid, and of course the diminished effect is most perceptible in the extremities and a coldness there is the natural consequence.

The natives of the hills, through the whole extent of the island, are

subject to those monstrous wens from the throat, which have been observed of the Vallaisans, and the inhabitants of those mountainous districts in Europe. It has been usual to attribute this affection to the badness, thawed state, mineral quality, or other peculiarity of the waters; many skilful men having applied themselves to the investigation of the subject. My experience enables me to pronounce without hesitation, that the disorder, for such it is, though it appears here to mark a distinct race of people (*orang gooning*), is immediately connected with the hilliness of the country, and of course, if the circumstances of the water they use contribute thereto, it must be only so far as the nature of the water is affected by the inequality or height of the land. But on Sumatra neither snow nor other congelation is ever produced, which militates against the most plausible conjecture that has been adopted concerning the Alpine goitres. From every research that I have been enabled to make, I think I have reason to conclude, that the complaint is owing, among the Sumatrans, to the fogginess of the air in the vallies between the high mountains, where, and not on the summits, the natives of these parts reside. I before remarked, that between the ranges of hills, the *caboot* or dense mist was visible for several hours every morning; rising in a thick, opaque and well defined body, with the sun, and seldom quite dispersed till after noon. This phenomenon, as well as that of the wens, being peculiar to the regions of the hills, affords a presumption that they may be

be connected; exclusive of the natural probability that a cold vapor, gross to an uncommon degree, and continually enveloping the habitations, should affect with tumors the throats of the inhabitants. I cannot pretend to say how far this solution may apply to the case of the goitres, but I recollect it to have been mentioned, that the only method of curing these people, is by removing them from the vallies to the clear and pure air on the tops of the hills; which seems to indicate a similar source of the distemper with what I have pointed out. The Sumatrans do not appear to attempt any remedy for it, the wens being consistent with the highest health in other respects.

The personal difference between the Malays of the coast, and the country inhabitants, is not so strongly marked but that it requires some experience to distinguish them. The latter, however, possess an evident superiority in point of size and strength, and are fairer complexioned, which they probably owe to their situation, where the atmosphere is colder; and it is generally observed, that people living near the sea shore, and especially when accustomed to navigation, are darker than their inland neighbours. Some attribute the disparity in constitutional vigour, to the more frequent use of opium among the Malays, which is supposed to debilitate the frame; but I have noted that the Leemoon and Batang Assy gold traders, who are a colony of that race settled in the heart of the island, and who cannot exist a day without opium, are remarkably hale and stout; which I have known to be observed

with a degree of envy by the opium-smokers of our settlements. The inhabitants of Passumamah also, are described as being more robust in their persons, than the planters of the low country.

The original clothing of the Sumatrans is the same with that found by navigators among the inhabitants of the South Sea islands, and now generally called by the name of Otaheitean cloth. It is still used among the Rejangs for their working dress, and I have one in my possession, procured from these people, consisting of a jacket, short drawers, and a cap for the head. This is the inner bark of a certain species of tree, beat out to the degree of fineness required; approaching the more to perfection as it resembles the softer kind of leather, some being nearly equal to the most delicate kid-skin; in which character it somewhat differs from the South Sea cloth, as that bears a resemblance rather to paper or to the manufacture of the loom. The country people now conform in a great measure to the dress of the Malays, which I shall therefore describe in this place, observing that much more simplicity still prevails among the former, who look upon the others as coxcombs who lay out all their substance on their backs, whilst, in their turns, they are regarded by the Malays with contempt, as unpolished rustics.

A man's dress consists of the following parts. A close waistcoat, without sleeves, but having a neck like a shirt, buttoned close up to the top, with buttons, often, of gold filagree. This is peculiar to the Malays. Over this they wear the *badjoo*, which resembles a morning

a morning gown, open at the neck, but fastened close at the wrists and half way up the arm, with nine buttons to each sleeve. The *badjoo* worn by young men is open in front no farther down than the bosom, and reaches no lower than the waist, whereas the others hang loose to the knees, and sometimes to the ankles. They are made usually of blue or white cotton cloth; for the better sort, of chintz, and for great men, of flowered silks. The *cayen sarrong* is not unlike a Scot's highlander's plaid in appearance, being a piece of party coloured cloth about six or eight feet long, and three or four wide, sewed together at the ends; forming, as some writers have described it, a wide sack without a bottom. This is sometimes gathered up, and slung over the shoulder like a sash, or else folded and tucked about the waist and hips; and in full dress it is bound on by the belt of the *creefe* (dagger), which is of crimson silk, and wraps several times round the body, with a loop at the end, in which the sheath of the *creefe* hangs. They wear short drawers, reaching half way down the thigh, generally of red or yellow taffeta. There is no covering to their legs or feet. Round their heads they fasten, in a particular manner, a fine, coloured handkerchief, so as to resemble a small turban; the country people usually twisting a piece of white or blue cloth for this purpose. The crown of their head remains uncovered, except on journies, when they wear a *modong* or umbrella-hat, which completely screens them from the weather.

The women have a kind of bu-

dice, or short waistcoat rather, that defends the breasts, and reaches to the hips. The *cayen sarrong*, before described, comes up as high as the armpits, and extends to the feet, being kept on simply by folding and tucking it over, at the breast, except when the *talle-pending*, or zone, is worn about the waist, which forms an additional and necessary security. This is usually of embroidered cloth, and sometimes a plate of gold or silver, about two inches broad, fastening in the front with a large clasp of filagree or chased work, with some kind of precious stone, or imitation of such, in the center. The *badjon*, or upper gown, differs little from that of the men, buttoning in the same manner at the wrists. A piece of fine, thin, blue cotton cloth, about five feet long, and worked or fringed at each end, called a *salendang*, is thrown across the back of the neck, and hangs down before; serving also the purpose of a veil to the women of rank when they walk abroad. The handkerchief is carried, either folded small in the hand, or at length over the shoulder. There are two modes of dressing the hair, one termed *coondye*, and the other *sangoll*. The first resembles much the fashion in which we see the Chinese women represented in paintings, and which I conclude they borrowed from thence, where the hair is wound circularly over the center of the head, and fastened with a silver bodkin or pin. In the other mode, which is more general, they give the hair a single turn as it hangs behind, and then doubling it up, they pass it crosswise, under a few hairs separated from the rest,

rest, on the back of the head, for that purpose. A comb, often of tortoiseshell, and sometimes flagreed, helps to prevent it from falling down. The hair of the front, and of all parts of the head, is of the same length, and when loose, hangs together behind, with most of the women, in very great quantity. It is kept moist with oil, commonly of the cocoa-nut, but those persons who can afford it make use of an empyreumatic oil extracted from gum Benjamin, as a grateful perfume. They wear no covering, except ornaments of flowers, which on particular occasions, are the work of much labour and ingenuity. The head dresses of the dancing girls by profession, who are usually Javans, are very artificially wrought, and as high as any modern English lady's cap, yielding only to the feathered plumes of the year 1777. It is impossible to describe in words these intricate and fanciful matters, so as to convey a just idea of them. The flowers worn in undress are, for the most part, strung in wreaths, and have a very neat and pretty effect, without any degree of gaudiness, being usually white or pale yellow, small, and frequently only half blown. Those generally chosen for these occasions, are the *boongoo-tanjong* and *boongo-melloor*: the *boongo-choompaco* is used to give the hair a fragrance, but is concealed from the sight. They sometimes combine a variety of flowers in such a manner as to appear like one, and fix them on a single stalk; but these, being more formal, are less elegant, than the wreaths.

Among the country people, particularly in the southern countries,

the virgins (*orang gaddees*, or goddesses, as it is usually pronounced) are distinguished by a fillet which goes across the front of the hair, and fastens behind. This is commonly a thin plate of silver, about half an inch broad: those of the first rank have it of gold, and those of the lowest class have their fillet of the leaf of the *neepab* tree. Besides this peculiar ornament, their state of pucelage is denoted by their having rings or bracelets of silver or gold on their wrists. Strings of coins round the neck are universally worn by children, and the females, before they are of an age to be clothed, have, what may not be inaptly termed a modesty-piece being a plate of silver in the shape of a heart, hung before by a chain of the same metal, passing round the waist. The young women in the country villages manufacture themselves the cloth that constitutes the principal, and often the only part of their dress, or the *cayen sarrong*, and this reaches from the breast no lower than the knees. Those worn by the Malay women, and men also, come from the Bugguells islands to the eastward, and with them extend as low as the feet: but here, as in other instances, the more scrupulous attention to appearances does not accompany the superior degree of real modesty.

Both sexes have the extraordinary custom of filing and otherwise disfiguring their teeth, which are naturally very white and beautiful, from the simplicity of their food. For a file, they make use of a small whetstone, and the patients lie on their back during the operation. Many, particularly the women of the Lampoon Coun-



try, have their teeth rubbed down quite even with the gums; others have them formed in points, and some file off no more than the outer coat and extremities, in order that they may the better receive and retain the jetty blackness, with which they almost universally adorn them. The black used on these occasions is the empyreumatic oil of the cocoa-nut shell. When this is not applied, the filing does not, by destroying what we term the enamel, diminish the whiteness of the teeth. The great men sometimes set theirs in gold, by casing, with a plate of that metal, the under row; and this ornament, contrasted with the black dye, has, by lamp or candle light, a very splendid effect. It is sometimes indented to the shape of the teeth, but more usually quite plain. They do not remove it either to eat or sleep.

At the age of about eight or nine, they bore the ears of the female children; which is a ceremony that must necessarily precede their marriage. This they call *betenday*, as they call filing their teeth *bedabong*; both which operations are regarded in the family as the occasions of a festival. They do not here, as in some of the adjacent islands, (of *Neas* in particular,) increase the aperture of the ear to a monstrous size, so as in many instances to be large enough to admit the hand, the lower parts being stretched till they touch the shoulders. Their ear-rings are mostly of gold fillagree, fastening, not with a clasp, but in the manner of studs.

*Difference in Character between the Malays, and other Sumatrans; from the same Author.*

THE Malay and native Sumatran differ more in the features of their mind than in those of their person. Although we know not that this island, in the revolutions of human grandeur, ever made a distinguished figure in the history of the world, (for the Achenese, though powerful in the sixteenth century, were very low in point of civilization,) yet the Malay inhabitants have an appearance of degeneracy, and this renders their character totally different from that which we conceive of a savage, however justly their ferocious spirit of plunder on the eastern coast, may have drawn upon them that name. They seem rather to be sinking into obscurity, though with opportunities of improvement, than emerging from thence, to a state of civil or political importance. They retain a strong share of pride, but not of that laudable kind which restrains men from the commission of mean and fraudulent actions. They possess much low cunning and plausible duplicity, and know how to dissemble the strongest passions and most inveterate antipathy, beneath the utmost composure of features, till the opportunity of gratifying their resentment offers. Veracity, gratitude, and integrity, are not to be found in the list of their virtues, and their minds are almost totally strangers to the sentiments of honour and infamy. They are jealous and vindictive. Their courage is desultory,

tory, the effect of a momentary enthusiasm, which enables them to perform deeds of incredible desperation; but they are strangers to that steady magnanimity, that cool heroic resolution in battle, which constitutes in our idea the perfection of this quality, and renders it a virtue\*. Yet it must be observed, that from an apathy almost paradoxical, they suffer under sentence of death, in cases where no indignant passions could operate to buoy up the mind to a contempt of punishment, with astonishing composure and indifference; uttering little more on these occasions, than a proverbial saying, common among them, expressive of the inevitability of fate — “*apoo boole booa?*” To this stoicism, their belief in predestination, and very imperfect idea of a future, eternal existence, doubtless contribute.

Some writer has remarked, that a resemblance is usually found, between the disposition and qualities of the beasts proper to any country, and those of the indigenous inhabitants of the human species, where an intercourse with foreigners has not destroyed the genuineness of their character. The Malay may be compared to the buffalo and the tiger. In his domestic state, he is indolent, stubborn, and voluptuous as the former, and in his adventurous life, he is insidious, blood-thirsty, and rapacious as the latter. Thus the Arab is said to resemble his camel, and the placid Gentoo his cow.

The original Sumatran, though he partakes in some degree of the Malay vices, and partly from the contagion of example, possesses many exclusive virtues; but they are more properly of the negative than the positive kind. He is mild, peaceable, and forbearing, unless his anger be roused by violent provocation, when he is implacable in his resentments. He is temperate and sober, being equally abstemious in meat and drink. The diet of the natives is mostly vegetable; water is their only beverage; and though they will kill a fowl or a goat for a stranger, whom perhaps they never saw before, nor ever expect to see again, they are rarely guilty of that extravagance for themselves; not even at their festivals (*bimbang*), where there is a plenty of meat, do they eat much of any thing but rice. Their hospitality is extreme, and bounded by their ability alone. Their manners are simple; they are generally, except among the chiefs, devoid of the Malay cunning and chicane; yet endued with a quickness of apprehension, and on many occasions discovering a considerable degree of penetration and sagacity. In respect to women, they are remarkably continent, without any share of insensibility. They are modest; particularly guarded in their expressions; courteous in their behaviour; grave in their deportment, being seldom or never excited to laughter; and patient to a great degree. On the other hand, they are litigious;

\* In the history of the Portuguese wars in this part of the east, there appears some exception to this remark, and particularly in the character of *Lacsemanna*, who was truly a great man, and most consummate warrior.

indolent; addicted to gaming; dishonest in their dealings with strangers, which they esteem no moral defect; suspicious; regardless of truth; mean in their transactions; servile; though cleanly in their persons, dirty in their apparel, which they never wash. They are careless and improvident of the future, because their wants are few, for though poor, they are not necessitous; nature supplying with extraordinary facility, whatever she has made requisite for their existence. Science and the arts have not, by extending their views, contributed to enlarge the circle of their desires; and the various refinements of luxury, which in polished societies become necessities of life, are totally unknown to them\*.

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*Account of the Inhabitants of the Batta Country, in the Island of Sumatra, from the same Author.*

THE *Battas* are in their persons rather below the stature of the *Malays*, and their complexions are fairer; which may perhaps be owing to their distance from the sea, an element they do not at all frequent.

Their dress is commonly of a species of cotton cloth, which they manufacture themselves, strong,

harsh, and of mixed colours, the most prevalent being a brownish red, and blue nearly approaching to black. They are fond of adorning it with strings of beads. The covering of the head is usually the bark of a tree. The young women wear rings of tin in their ears, often to the number of fifty in each.

The food of the lower people is *jaggong* (maize), and sweet potatoes; the *rajas* and great men only, indulging themselves in ordinary with rice. Some mix them together. It is on public occasions alone that they kill cattle for food; but not being very dainty in their appetites, they do not scruple to eat part of a dead buffalo, aligator, or other animal, which they happen to meet with. Their rivers do not abound with fish; which is the case with most in the island, owing to their rapidity and frequent falls†; yet no sea-coast teems with greater abundance or variety. Their *horses* they esteem the most luxurious food, and for this purpose feed them with great care, giving them grain, and rubbing them well down. They abound in this country, and the Europeans get many good ones from thence; but not the finest, as these are reserved for their festivals.

Some excellent species of tim-

\* The *Macassar* and *Buguese* people, who come annually in their *praws* from *Celebs* to trade at Sumatra, are looked up to by the inhabitants, as their superiors in manners. The *Malays* affect to copy their style of dress, and frequent allusions to the feats and achievements of these people are made in their songs. Their reputation for courage, which certainly surpasses that of all other people in the eastern seas, acquires them this flattering distinction. They also derive part of the respect paid them, from the richness of the cargoes they import, and the spirit with which they spend the produce in gaming, cock-fighting, and opium-smoking.

† Some of the south eastern rivers are an exception. *Siak* is noted for a trade in fish roes, cured there, and called *robo*.

ber, particularly the camphire, (the wood in general of the country being light, porous, and prone to decay) are in plenty here, and their houses are all built with frames of wood, and boarded; with roofs of ejoo, a vegetable substance that resembles coarse horse-hair. They usually consist of one large room, which is entered by a trap-door in the middle. Their towns are called "*campong*," in which the number of houses seldom exceeds twenty; but opposite to each, is a kind of open building, that serves to sit in, during the day, and for the unmarried men to sleep in at night; and these together form a kind of street. There is also to each *campong* a *balli*, (as it is called by the Malays) or town hall, for the transaction of public business, festivals, and the reception of strangers, whom they entertain with hospitality and frankness. At the end of this building is a place divided off, from whence the women see the public spectacles of fencing and dancing; and below that is a kind of orchestra for the music.

The men are allowed to marry as many wives as they please, or can afford, and to have half a dozen is not uncommon. Each of these sit in a different part of the large room, and sleep exposed to the others; not being separated by any partition, or distinction of apartments. Yet the husband finds it necessary to allot to each of them their several fire-places, and cooking utensils, where they dress their victuals separately, and prepare his in turns. How is this domestic state, and the flimsiness of such an imaginary barrier, to

be reconciled with our ideas of the furious, ungovernable passions of love and jealousy, supposed to prevail in an eastern *baram*? Or must custom be allowed to supersede all other influence, both moral and physical? In other respects they differ little in their customs relating to marriage from the rest of the island. The parents of the girl always receive a valuable consideration (in buffalos or horses) from the person to whom she is given in marriage; which is returned when a divorce takes place against the man's inclination. The daughters, as elsewhere, are looked upon as the riches of the fathers.

The condition of the women appears to be little better than that of slaves. They alone, beside the domestic duties, work in the rice plantations. These are prepared in the same mode as in the rest of the island; except that in the central parts, the country being clearer, the plough, drawn by buffalos, is more used. The men, when not engaged in war, their favourite occupation, lead an idle, inactive life, passing the day in playing on a kind of a flute, crowned with garlands of flowers; among which the *globe amaranthus*, a native of the country, mostly prevails. Their music is somewhat preferable to that of the other Sumatrans.

They are much addicted to gaming, and the practice is under no kind of restraint, until it destroys itself, by the ruin of one of the parties. When a man loses more money than he is able to pay, he is confined and sold as a slave; which is almost the only mode by which they become such. A generous

nerous winner will sometimes release his unfortunate adversary, upon condition of his killing a horse, and making a public entertainment.

A favourite diversion with these people is horse-racing. They use no saddle; the bit of the bridle is of iron, and has several joints; the head-stall and reins of rattan: in other parts the reins are of ejoo, and the bit of wood. They are said likewise to hunt the deer on horseback.

They have, as was observed in another place, a language and written character peculiar to themselves; and the Malay has there made less progress than in any part of the island. It is remarkable, that the proportion of the people who know how to read and write, is much greater than of those who do not; an advantage seldom observed in such uncivilized parts of the world, and not always found in the more polished.

There crimes against the order of society are not numerous. Theft is almost unknown among them; being strictly honest in their dealings with each other. Pilfering, indeed, from strangers, when not restrained by the laws of

hospitality†, they are tolerably expert in, and think no moral offence; because they do not perceive that any ill results from it. Adultery, in the men, is punished with death; but the women are only disgraced, by having their heads shaved, and are sold for slaves; which in fact they were before. The distribution of justice in this case, is, I think, perfectly singular. It must proceed from their looking upon women as mere passive subjects. "Can you put butter near to a fire, say the *Hindoo* sages, and suppose that it will not melt?" The men alone they regard as possessing the faculties of free agents, who may control their actions, or give way to their passions, as they are well or ill inclined. Lives, however, are in all cases redeemable, if the convict, or his relations, have property sufficient; the quantum being in some measure at the discretion of the injured party.

But their most extraordinary, though perhaps not the most singular custom, remains yet to be described. Many old writers had furnished the world with accounts of *anthropophagi*, or man-eaters, and their relations, true or false, were, in those days, when people

† Mr. Miller gives the following instances of their hospitality in the reception of strangers.—"The *raja* of *Terimbaroo*, being informed of our intentions to come there, sent his son, and between thirty and forty men, armed with lances and matchlock guns, to meet us; who escorted us to their campong, beating gongs, and firing their guns all the way. The *raja* received us in great form, and with civility ordered a buffalo to be killed, and detained us a day. When we proceeded on our journey, he sent his son, and a number of armed people with us for our guard. Having made the accustomed presents, we left *Terimbaroo*, and proceeded to *Samassam*; the *raja* of which place, attended by sixty or seventy men, well armed, soon met us, and escorted us to his campong, where he had prepared a house for our reception, and treated us with great hospitality and respect."

were addicted to the marvellous, universally credited. In the succeeding age, when a more sceptical and scrutinizing spirit prevailed, several of these asserted facts were found, upon subsequent examination, to be false; and men, from a bias inherent in our nature, run into the opposite extreme. It then became established as a philosophical truth, capable also of demonstration, that no such race of people, ever did, or could exist. But the varieties, inconsistencies, and contradictions of human manners, are so numerous and glaring, that it is scarce possible to fix any general principle that will apply to all the incongruous races of mankind; or even to conceive an irregularity which some or other of them have not given into. The voyages of our late famous circumnavigators, the authenticity of whose assertions is unimpeachable, have already proved to the world, that human flesh is eaten by the savages of *New Zealand*; and I can, with

equal confidence, though not with equal weight of authority, assure the public, that it is also, at this day, eaten on the island of *Sumatra* by the *Batta* people; and by them only. Whether or not the horrible custom prevailed more extensively, in antient times, I cannot take upon me to ascertain; but the same old historians, who mention it as practised by the *Battas*, and whose accounts were undeservedly looked upon as fabulous, relate it also of many others of the eastern people, and those of the island of *Java* in particular, who, since that period, may have become more humanized.\*

They do not eat human flesh, as a means of satisfying the cravings of nature, owing to a deficiency of other food; nor is it sought after as a gluttonous delicacy, as it would seem among the *New Zealanders*. The *Battas* eat it as a species of ceremony; as a mode of shewing their detestation of crimes, by an ignominious pu-

\* Mention is made of the *Battas* and their customs, by the following writers. Nicoli de Conti, 1449, Ramusio. "The Sumatrans are gentiles. The people of *Batacb* eat human flesh, and use the skulls of their enemies instead of money; and he is accounted the greatest man who has the most of these in his house."—Odoardus Barboza, 1519, Ramusio. "In *Aru* (which is contiguous to *Batta*) they eat human flesh."—Mendez Pinto, in 1539, was sent on an embassy to the king of the *Battas*.—Beaulieu, 1622. "Inland people independent, and speak a language different from the Malayan. Idolaters, and eat human flesh. Never ransom prisoners, but eat them with pepper and salt. Have no religion, but some polity."—De Barros, 1538. "The gentiles retreated from the Malays to the interior part of the island. Those who live in that part opposite to Malacca, are called *Battas*. They eat human flesh, and are the most savage and warlike people of the island. Those which inhabit to the south are called *Sotumas*, and are more civilized.—Captain Hamilton. "The inhabitants of *Delley* (on a river which runs from the *Batta* country) are said to be cannibals."—Vartomanus, in 1504, writes that the *Javans* were man-eaters, before that traffick was had with them by Chinese, which the people said was no more than an hundred years. The same custom has been attributed to the *Gueos*, inland of Cambodia, and also to the inhabitants of the *Carnicobar* islands.

nishment;



nishment; and as a horrid indication of revenge and insult to their unfortunate enemies. The objects of this barbarous repast, are the prisoners taken in war; and offenders convicted and condemned for capital crimes. Persons of the former description may be ransomed or exchanged, for which they often wait a considerable time; and the latter suffer only when their friends cannot redeem them by the customary fine of twenty *beenchangs*, or eighty dollars. These are tried by the people of the tribe where the fact was committed, but cannot be executed till their own particular *raja*, or chief, has been acquainted with the sentence; who, when he acknowledges the justice of the intended punishment, sends a cloth to cover the delinquent's head, together with a large dish of salt and lemons. The unhappy object, whether prisoner of war, or malefactor, is then tied to a stake; the people assembled throw their lances at him from a certain distance, and when mortally wounded, they run up to him, as if in a transport of passion; cut pieces from the body with their knives; dip them in the dish of salt and lemon juice; slightly broil them over a fire prepared for the purpose; and swallow the morsels with a degree of savage enthusiasm. Sometimes (I pre-

sume according to the degree of their animosity and resentment) the whole is devoured; and instances have been known, where, with barbarity still aggravated, they tear the flesh from the carcass with their mouths. To such a depth of depravity may man be plunged, when neither religion nor philosophy enlighten his steps! All that can be said in extenuation of the horror of this diabolical ceremony, is, that no view appears to be entertained of torturing the sufferers; of increasing or lengthening out the pangs of death; the whole fury is directed against the corse; warm indeed with the remains of life, but past the sensation of pain. I have found a difference of opinion in regard to their eating the bodies of their enemies *slain* in battle. Some persons long resident there, and acquainted with their proceedings, assert that it is not customary; but as one or two particular instances have been given by other people, it is just to conclude, that it sometimes takes place, though not generally. It was supposed to be with this intent that *raja Neabin* maintained a long conflict for the body of Mr. Nairne, a most respectable gentleman, and valuable servant of the India Company, who fell in an attack upon the campong of that chief, in the year 1775\*.

*Character*

\* I find that some persons still doubt the reality of the fact, that human flesh is any where eaten by mankind, and think that the proofs hitherto adduced are insufficient to establish a point of so much moment in the history of the species. It is objected to me, that I never was an eye witness of a *Batta* feast of this nature, and that my authority for it is considerably weakened by coming through a second or perhaps a third hand. I am sensible of the weight of this reasoning, and am not anxious to force any man's belief, much less to deceive him by pretences to the highest degree of certainty, when my relations can only lay claim

*Character of Luther, by Bishop Atterbury; extracted from his "Answer to some Considerations on the Spirit of Martin Luther, &c."*

MARTIN Luther's life was a continual warfare; he was engaged against the united forces of the Papal world, and he stood the shock of them bravely both with courage and success. After his death, one would have expected that generous adversaries should have put up their pens, and quitted at least so much of the quarrel as was personal. But, on the contrary, when his doctrines grew too strong to be taken by his enemies, they persecuted his reputation; and by the venom of their tongues sufficiently convinced the world, that the religion they were of allowed not only prayers

for the dead, but even curses too. Among the rest that have engaged in this unmanly design, our author appears: not indeed after the blustering rate of some of the party, but with a more calm and better dissembled malice: he has charged his instrument of revenge with a sort of white powder, that does the same base action, though with less noise. It is cruel thus to interrupt the peace of the dead; and Luther's spirit has reason to expostulate with this man, as once the spirit of Samuel did with Saul—"Why hast thou disquieted me, to bring me up?" He knows the sequel of the story: the answer that was given was no very pleasing one; it only afforded the enquirer an account of his own discomfiture. Let us see whether this disturber of Luther's ashes will have any better fortune.

claim to the next degree. I can only say, that I thoroughly believe the fact myself, and that my conviction has arisen from the following circumstances, some of less, some of more authority. It is, in the first place, a matter of general and uncontroverted notoriety in the island: I have talked on the subject with natives of the country, who acknowledge the practice, and become ashamed of it when they have resided among more humanized people: it has been my chance to have no less than three brothers, chiefs of the settlement of *Natal* and *Tappanooly*, where there is daily intercourse with the *Battas*, and who all assure me of the truth of it: the same account I have had from other gentlemen who had equal, or superior opportunities of knowing the customs of the people; and all their relations agree in every material point: a resident of *Tappanooly* (Mr. Bradley) fined a *raja* a few years since, for having a prisoner eaten too close to the company's settlement: Mr. Alexander Hall made a charge in his public accounts of a sum paid to a *raja* in the country, to induce him to spare a man whom Mr. Hall had seen preparing for a victim: Mr. Charles Miller, in the journal before quoted, says, "In the *sappeou*, or house where the *raja* receives strangers, we saw a man's skull hanging up, which the *raja* told us was placed there as a trophy, it being the skull of an enemy they had taken prisoner, whose body (according to the custom of the *Battas*) they had eaten about two months before. Thus the experience of later days is found to agree with the uniform testimony of old writers, and though I am aware that each and every of these proofs, taken singly, may admit of some cavil, yet in the aggregate I think they amount to satisfactory evidence, and such as may induce any person not very incredulous to admit it as a fact, that human flesh is eaten by inhabitants of *Sumatra*, as we have positive authority it is by inhabitants of *New Zealand*.

The

The method of the pamphlet is every way insufficient; and let the spirit of Martin Luther be as evil as it is supposed to be, yet the proof of this would not blast any one single truth of that religion he professed. But to take off all seeming objections, and stop the mouths of the most unreasonable gainfayers, I have examined even this little pretence too; and find, upon a faithful enquiry, that Luther's life was led up to those doctrines he preached, and his death was the death of the righteous. Were I not confined by the character of an answer merely to wipe off the aspersions that are brought, I could swell this book to twice the bulk, by setting out that best side of Luther which our author, in the picture he has given us of him, has, contrary to the method of painters, thrown into shade, that he might place a supposed deformity or two the more in view. He was a man certainly of high endowments of mind, and great virtues: he had a vast understanding, which raised him up to a pitch of learning unknown to the age in which he lived; his knowledge in scripture was admirable, his elocution manly, and his way of reasoning with all the subtilty that those honest plain truths he delivered would bear: his thoughts were bent always on great designs, and he had a resolution fitted to go through with them: the assurance of his mind was not to be shaken or surprised; and that *παρρησία* of his (for I know not what else to call it) before the Diet at Worms, was such as might have become the days of the Apostles. His life was holy; and, when he had leisure for retirement, severe: his virtues active chiefly, and homilistical, not those

lazy sullen ones of the cloyster. He had no ambition but in the service of God: for other things, neither his enjoyment nor wishes ever went higher than the bare conveniences of living. He was of a temper particularly averse to covetousness, or any base sin: and charitable even to a fault, without respect to his own occasions. If among this crowd of virtues a failing crept in, we must remember that an Apostle himself has not been irreprovable: if in the body of his doctrine one flaw is to be seen; yet the greatest lights of the church, and in the purest times of it, were, we know, not exact in all their opinions. Upon the whole, we have certainly great reason to break out in the phrase of the Prophet, and say—"How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth glad tidings!"

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*Character of Augustus Hervey, late Earl of Bristol; from the Gentleman's Magazine for December 1783.*

"Haud dubiè illa ætate nemo unus erat vir quo magis innixa res nostra staret."

LIV.

THE active zeal and diligent assiduity with which the Earl of Bristol served [in the navy,] had for some years impaired a constitution, naturally strong, by exposing it to the unwholesomeness of a variety of climates, and the infirmities incident to constant fatigue of body and anxiety of mind. His family, his friends, his profession, and his country, lost him in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

The detail of the merits of such a man cannot be uninteresting, either to the profession he adorned, or the country which he served; and the remembrance of his virtues must be pleasing to those who were honoured with his esteem. As every hour, and every situation of his life, afforded fresh opportunities for the exercise of such virtues, they were best known to those who saw him most; but, however, strong and perfect their impression, they can be but inadequately described by one who long enjoyed the happiness of his friendship, and advantage of his example, and must ever lament the privation of his society.

He engaged in the sea service before he was ten years old. The quickness of his parts, the decision of his temper, the excellence of his understanding, the activity of his mind, the eagerness of his ambition, his indefatigable industry, his unremitting diligence, his correct and extensive memory, his ready and accurate judgment, the promptitude, clearness, and arrangement with which his ideas were formed, and the happy perspicuity with which they were expressed, were advantages peculiar to himself. His early education under Captain William Hervey and Admiral Byng (two of the best officers of their time,) with his constant employment in actual service, from his first going to sea till the close of the last war, had furnished ample matter for experience, from which his penetrating genius and just observation had deduced that extensive and systematic knowledge of minute circumstances and important principles, which is necessary to form an

expert seaman and a shining officer. With the most consummate professional skill, he possessed the most perfect courage that ever fortified a heart, or brightened a character; he loved enterprizes; he was cool in danger, collected in distress, decided in difficulties, ready and judicious in his expedients, and persevering in his determinations; his orders, in the most critical situations, and for the most various objects; were delivered with a firmness and precision which spoke a confidence in their propriety, and facility in their execution; that ensured a prompt and successful obedience in those to whom they were addressed.

Such was his character as an officer, which made him deservedly conspicuous in a profession, as honourable to the individual, as important to the publick. Nor was he without those qualifications and abilities which could give full weight to the situation in which his rank and connections had placed him in civil life. His early entrance into his profession had indeed deprived him of the advantages of a classical education. This defect was, however, more than balanced by the less ornamental, but more solid, instruction of the school he studied in. As a member of parliament, he was an eloquent, though not a correct speaker; those who differed from him in politicks confessed the extent of his knowledge, the variety of his information, and the force of his reasoning, at the same time that they admired the ingenuity with which he applied them to the support of his opinions.

He

He was not more eminent for those talents by which a country is served, than distinguished by those qualities which render a man useful, respected, esteemed, and beloved in society. In the general intercourse of the world, he was an accomplished gentleman and an agreeable companion; his manners were noble as his birth, and engaging as his disposition; he was humane, benevolent, compassionate, and generous: his humanity was conspicuous in his profession; when exercised towards the seamen, the sensibility and attention of a commander they adored, was the most flattering relief that could be afforded to the sufferings or distresses of those who served with him; when exerted towards her enemies, it did honour to his country, by exemplifying, in the most striking manner, that generosity which is the peculiar characteristic, and most distinguished virtue, of a brave, free, and enlightened people. In other situations, his liberality was extensive without ostentation, and generally bestowed where it would be most felt and least seen, upon modest merit and silent distress. His friendships were warm and permanent beyond the grave, extending their influence to those who shared the affections, or enjoyed the patronage of their objects. His resentment was open, and his forgiveness sincere. It was the effect, perhaps the weakness, of an exalted mind, that with him an injury which he had forgiven was as strong a claim to his protection as a favour received could be to his gratitude.

This bright picture is not without its shades; he had faults; the

impetuosity of his nature, and the eagerness with which he pursued his objects, carried him, sometimes, lengths not justifiable; and the high opinion he justly entertained of his own parts made him too easily the dupe and prey of interested and designing persons, whom his cooler judgment would have detested and despised, had they not had cunning enough to discover and flatter his vanity, and sufficient art to avail themselves of abilities which they did not possess. But let it be remembered, that his failings were those of a warm temper and unguarded disposition; his virtues those of an heart formed for every thing amiable in private, every thing great in public life.

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*Extracts from Dr. Foart Sim-  
mons's Account of the Life and  
Writings of the late Dr. William  
Hunter.*

**W**ILLIAM HUNTER was born on the 23d of May, 1718, at Kilbride, in the county of Lanerk. He was the seventh of ten children of John and Agnes Hunter, who resided on a small estate in that parish, called Long Calderwood, which had long been in the possession of his family. His great-grandfather, by his father's side, was a younger son of Hunter of Hunterston, chief of the family of that name.

At the age of fourteen his father sent him to the college of Glasgow. In this seminary he passed five years, and by his prudent behaviour and diligence acquired the esteem of the professors,

fors, and the reputation of being a good scholar.

His father had designed him for the church; but the idea of subscribing to articles of faith, was so repugnant to the liberal mode of thinking he had already adopted, that he felt an insuperable aversion to his theological pursuits. In this state of mind he happened to become acquainted with Dr. Cullen, the present celebrated professor at Edinburgh, who was then just established in practice at Hamilton, under the patronage of the Duke of Hamilton. Dr. Cullen's conversation soon determined him to lay aside all thoughts of the church, and to devote himself to the profession of physic.

His father's consent having been previously obtained, Mr. Hunter, in 1737, went to reside with Dr. Cullen. In the family of this excellent friend and preceptor he passed nearly three years, and these, as he has been often heard to acknowledge, were the happiest years of his life. It was then agreed, that he should go and prosecute his medical studies at Edinburgh and London, and afterwards return to settle at Hamilton, in partnership with Dr. Cullen.

Speaking to me of the manners and disposition of his friend at this period, Dr. Cullen observed, that his conversation was remarkably lively and agreeable, and his whole conduct at the same time more strictly and steadily correct than that of any other young person he had ever known. The same cheerfulness and the same regard for prudence accompanied him through life.

He set out for Edinburgh in No-

vember, 1740, and continued there till the following spring, attending the lectures of the medical professors, and amongst others those of the late Dr. Alexander Monro, who many years afterwards, in allusion to this circumstance, styled himself his *old master*.

Mr. Hunter arrived in London in the summer of 1741, and took up his residence at Mr. afterwards Dr. Smellie's, who was at that time an apothecary in Pall Mall. He brought with him a letter of recommendation to his countryman Dr. James Douglas, from Mr. Foulis, printer at Glasgow, who had been useful to the doctor in collecting for him different editions of Horace. Dr. Douglas was then intent on a great anatomical work on the bones, which he did not live to complete, and was looking out for a young man of abilities and industry whom he might employ as a dissector. This induced him to pay particular attention to Mr. Hunter, and finding him acute and sensible, he desired him to make him another visit. A second conversation confirmed the doctor in the good opinion he had formed of Mr. Hunter, and without any farther hesitation he invited him into his family to assist in his dissections, and to superintend the education of his son.

Mr. Hunter having accepted Dr. Douglas's invitation, was by his friendly assistance enabled to enter himself as a surgeon's pupil at St. George's Hospital, under Mr. James Wilkie, and as a dissecting pupil under Dr. Frank Nichols, who at that time taught anatomy with considerable reputation. He likewise attended a course



course of lectures on experimental philosophy by Dr. Desaguliers.

Of these means of improvement he did not fail to make a proper use. He soon became expert in dissection, and Mr. Douglas was at the expence of having several of his preparations engraved. But before many months had elapsed, he had the misfortune to lose this excellent friend.

The death of Dr. Douglas made no change of his situation. He continued to reside with the doctor's family, and to pursue his studies with the same diligence as before.

In 1743, he communicated to the Royal Society an essay on the Structure and Diseases of articulating Cartilages. This ingenious paper, on a subject which till then had not been sufficiently investigated, affords a striking testimony of the rapid progress he had made in his anatomical inquiries.

As he had it in contemplation to teach anatomy, his attention was directed principally to this object; and it deserves to be mentioned as an additional mark of his prudence, that he did not precipitately engage in this attempt, but passed several years in acquiring such a degree of knowledge, and such a collection of preparations as might insure him success.

Dr. Nichols, to whom he communicated his scheme, and who declined giving lectures about that time in favour of the late Dr. Lawrence, did not give him much encouragement to prosecute it. But at length an opportunity presented itself for the display of his abilities as a teacher.

A society of navy surgeons had

an apartment in Covent Garden, where they engaged the late Mr. Samuel Sharpe to deliver a course of lectures on the operations of surgery. Mr. Sharpe continued to repeat this course, till finding that it interfered too much with his other engagements, he declined the task in favour of Mr. Hunter, who gave the society so much satisfaction, that they requested him to extend his plan to anatomy, and at first he had the use of their room for his lectures. This happened in the winter of 1746.

He is said to have experienced much solicitude when he began to speak in public, but the applause he met with soon inspired him with courage; and by degrees he became so fond of teaching, that for many years before his death he was never happier than when employed in delivering a lecture.

The profits of his two first courses were considerable; but by contributing to the wants of different friends, he found himself at the return of the next season obliged to defer his lectures for a fortnight, merely because he had not money enough to defray the necessary expence of advertisements.

In 1747, he was admitted a member of the corporation of surgeons, and in the spring of the following year, soon after the close of his lectures, he set out in company with his pupil, Mr. James Douglas, on a tour through Holland to Paris.

His lectures suffered no interruption by this journey, as he returned to England soon enough to prepare for his winter course, which began about the usual time.

At

At first he practised both surgery and midwifery, but to the former of these he had always an aversion. His patron, Dr. James Douglas, had acquired considerable reputation in midwifery, and this probably induced Mr. Hunter to direct his views chiefly to the same line of practice. His being elected one of the surgeon men-midwives first to the Middlesex, and soon afterwards to the British Lying-in Hospital, assisted in bringing him forward in this branch of his profession, in which he was recommended by several of the most eminent surgeons of that time, who respected his anatomical talents, and wished to encourage him.

But these were not the only circumstances that contributed to his success. He owed much to his abilities, and much to his person and manner, which eminently qualified him for the practice of midwifery.

In 1750, he seems to have entirely relinquished his views in surgery, as in that year he obtained the degree of doctor of physic from the university of Glasgow, and began to practise as a physician. About this time he quitted the family of Mrs. Douglas, and went to reside in Jermyn-street.

In the summer of 1751 he revisited his native country, for which he always retained a cordial affection."

"After this journey to Scotland, to which he devoted only a few weeks, he was never absent from London, unless his professional engagements, as sometimes happened, required his attendance at a distance from the capital.

In 1755, on the resignation of

Dr. Layard, one of the physicians of the British Lying-in Hospital, we find the governors of that institution voting their "thanks to Dr. Hunter for the services he had done the hospital, and for his continuing in it as one of the physicians; so that he seems to have been established in this office without the usual form of an election. The year following he was admitted a licentiate of the royal college of physicians, and soon afterwards was elected a member of the medical society. His history of an Aneurism of the Aorta appears in the first volume of their *Observations and Inquiries* published in 1757.

His other papers in the second volume are, 1. An account of a diseased Tibia, which shews that a callus will supply the place of a bone, and preserve the length and firmness of a limb, when the greatest part of the original bone is become useless, or thrown out by exfoliation; and, 2. Remarks on the Symphysis of the Ossa Pubis, which he describes as a composition of two cartilages and a ligament, somewhat like the connecting substance between the bodies of the vertebræ.

In the fourth volume he relates a case, which served to confirm his own and M. de Haller's theory concerning the insensibility of tendons: and in that and the fifth volumes he communicated his *Observations on the Retroverted Uterus*. This disease, although it had been mentioned by M. Gregoire in his lectures at Paris, and M. Peyrlhe, the learned author of a *History of Surgery*, thinks he has discovered some traces of it in the writings of the ancients, was cer-  
tainly

tainly not understood till Dr. Hunter described it, first in his lectures in 1754, and afterwards in one of the volumes of the work in question, since which it has been generally known.

The sixth volume, which is now in the press, will contain three papers, written by Dr. Hunter.

In 1762, we find him warmly engaged in controversy, supporting his claim to different anatomical discoveries, in a work entitled *Medical Commentaries*, the style of which is correct and spirited. As an excuse for the tardiness with which he brought forth this work, he observes in his introduction, that it required a good deal of time, and he had little to spare; that the subject was unpleasant, and therefore he was very seldom in the humour to take it up.

In this publication he confined himself chiefly to a dispute with the present learned professor of anatomy, at Edinburgh, concerning injections of the testicles, the ducts of the lachrymal gland, the origin and use of the lymphatic vessels, and absorption by veins. He likewise defended himself against a reproach thrown upon him by professor Monro, senior, by giving a concise account of a controversy he was involved in with Mr. Pott, concerning the discovery of the *Hernia Congenita*. It was not long before Mr. Pott took occasion to give the public his account of the dispute; and, in reply, Dr. Hunter added a supplement to his commentaries.

No man was ever more tenacious than Dr. Hunter of what he

conceived to be his anatomical rights. This was particularly evinced in the year 1780, when his brother communicated to the Royal Society a discovery he had made twenty-five years before, relative to the structure of the placenta, the communication between it and the uterus, and the vascularity of the spongy chorion.

At the next meeting of the society, a letter was read, in which Dr. Hunter put in his claim to the discovery in question. This letter was followed by a reply from Mr. John Hunter, and here the dispute ended.

In 1762, when our present amiable queen became pregnant, Dr. Hunter was consulted; and two years afterwards he had the honour to be appointed physician extraordinary to her majesty: In courts, where interest too often prevails over merit, appointments of this sort are not always conferred on persons of the greatest abilities. But it is certain that Dr. Hunter owed his nomination to this important office solely to his own well-earned reputation; and his assiduity and uniform success in the discharge of it, shewed how well he deserved it.

About this time, his avocations were so numerous, that he became desirous of lessening his fatigue; and having noticed the ingenuity and assiduous application of the late Mr. William Hewson, F. R. S. who was then one of his pupils, he engaged him first as an assistant, and afterwards as a partner in his lectures. This connexion continued till the year 1770, when some disputes happened, which terminated in a separation. Mr. Hewson was succeeded

ceeded in the partnership by Mr. Cruikshank, whose anatomical abilities are deservedly respected.

In 1767, Dr. Hunter was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, and the year following, communicated to that learned body observations on the bones, commonly supposed to be elephant's bones, which have been found near the river Ohio, in America.—

This was not the only subject of natural history on which Dr. Hunter employed his pen; for in a subsequent volume of the Philosophical Transactions, we find him offering his remarks on some bones found in the rock of Gibraltar, and which he proves to have belonged to some quadruped. In the same work likewise, he published an account of the nyghau, an Indian animal, not described before, and which, from its strength and swiftness, promised to be an useful acquisition to this country.

In 1768, Dr. Hunter became a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and the same year, at the institution of a Royal Academy of Arts, he was appointed by his Majesty to the office of professor of anatomy. This appointment opened a new field for his abilities, and he engaged in it, as he did in every other pursuit of his life, with unabating zeal. He now adapted his anatomical knowledge to the objects of painting and sculpture, and the novelty and justness of his observations proved at once the readiness and extent of his genius.

In January 1781, he was unanimously elected to succeed the late Dr. John Fothergill, as president

of the medical society. He was one of those to whom we are indebted for its establishment, and our grateful acknowledgments are due to him for his zealous endeavours to promote the liberal views of the institution, by rendering it a source of mutual improvement, and thus making it ultimately useful to the public.

As his name and talents were known and respected in every part of Europe, so the honours conferred on him were not limited to his own country. In 1780, the Royal Medical Society at Paris elected him one of their foreign associates; and in 1782, he received a similar mark of distinction from the Royal Academy of Sciences in that city.

The most splendid of Dr. Hunter's medical publications, was the anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus. The appearance of this work, which had been begun so early as the years 1751, (at which time ten of the thirty-four plates it contains were compleated) was retarded till the year 1775, only by the author's desire of sending it into the world with fewer imperfections.

This great work is dedicated to the king. In his preface to it, we find the author very candidly acknowledging that in most of the dissections he had been assisted by his brother, Mr. John Hunter, "whose accuracy—he adds—in anatomical researches is so well known, that to omit this opportunity of thanking him for that assistance would be in some measure to disregard the future reputation of the work itself." He likewise confesses his obligations to the ingenious artists who made the

the drawings and engravings, "but particularly to Mr. Strange, not only for having by his hand secured a sort of immortality to two of the plates, but for having given his advice and assistance in every part, with a steady and disinterested friendship."

The plates are not all of them equally interesting or beautiful, but I believe their accuracy has never been disputed. The four first engravings by Strange and Ravenet, and those of the ovum in early pregnancy, by Worlidge, are justly admired for their elegance.

An anatomical description of the gravid uterus was a work which Dr. Hunter had in contemplation to give the public. He had likewise long been employed in collecting and arranging materials for a history of the various concretions that are formed in the human body.

Amongst Dr. Hunter's papers have been found two introductory lectures, which are written out so fairly, and with such accuracy, that he probably intended no farther correction of them before they should be given to the world. In these lectures Dr. Hunter traces the history of anatomy from the earliest to the present times, along with the general progress of science and the arts. He considers the great utility of anatomy in the practice of physic and surgery; gives the ancient divisions of the different substances composing the human body, which for a long time prevailed in anatomy; points out the most advantageous mode of cultivating this branch of natural knowledge; and concludes with explaining

the particular plan of his own lectures.

Besides these manuscripts, he has also left behind him a considerable number of cases of dissection: most of them relate to pregnant women, and they are written with tolerable accuracy.

The same year in which the tables of the gravid uterus made their appearance, Dr. Hunter communicated to the Royal Society, an Essay on the Origin of the Venereal Disease. In this paper he attempted to prove, that this dreadful malady was not brought from America to Europe, by the crew of Columbus, as had been commonly supposed, although it made its first appearance about that period.

After this paper had been read to the Royal Society, Dr. Hunter, in a conversation with the late Dr. Musgrave, was convinced that the testimony on which he placed his chief dependence was of less weight than he had at first imagined, as many of Martyr's letters afford the most convincing proofs of their having been written a considerable time after the period of their dates. He therefore very properly laid aside his intention of giving his essay to the public.

In the year 1777, Dr. Hunter joined with Mr. Watson in presenting to the Royal Society a short account of the late Dr. Mary's illness, and of the appearances on dissection; and the year following, he published his Reflections on the Section of the Symphysis Pubis.—

We must now go back a little into the order of time to describe the origin and progress of Dr. Hunter's

Hunter's museum, without some account of which the history of his life would be very incomplete.

When he began to practise midwifery, he was desirous of acquiring a fortune sufficient to place him in easy and independent circumstances. Before many years had elapsed, he found himself in possession of a sum adequate to his wishes in this respect, and this he set apart as a resource of which he might avail himself whenever age or infirmities should oblige him to retire from business. I have heard him say, that he once took a considerable sum from this fund for the purposes of his museum, but that he did not feel himself perfectly at ease till he had restored it again. After he had obtained this competency, as his wealth continued to accumulate, he formed a laudable design of engaging in some scheme of public utility, and at first had it in contemplation to found an anatomical school in this metropolis. For this purpose, about the year 1765, during the administration of Mr. Grenville, he presented a memorial to that minister, in which he requested the grant of a piece of ground in the Mews, for the site of an anatomical theatre. Dr. Hunter undertook to expend seven thousand pounds on the building, and to endow a professorship of anatomy in perpetuity. This scheme did not meet with the reception it deserved. In a conversation on this subject soon afterwards with the Earl of Shelburne, his lordship expressed a wish that the plan might be carried into execution by subscription, and very generously requested to have his name set down

for a thousand guineas. Dr. Hunter's delicacy would not allow him to adopt this proposal. He chose rather to execute it at his own expence, and accordingly purchased a spot of ground in Great Windmill-street, where he erected a spacious house, to which he removed from Jermyn-street in 1770.

In this building, besides a handsome amphitheatre and other convenient apartments for his lectures and dissections, there was one magnificent room, fitted up with great elegance and propriety as a museum.

Of the magnitude and value of his anatomical collection, some idea may be formed, when we consider the great length of years he employed in the making of anatomical preparations, and in the dissection of morbid bodies, added to the eagerness with which he procured additions from the collections of Sandys, Hewson, Falconar, Blackall, and others, that were at different times offered for sale in this metropolis. His specimens of rare diseases were likewise frequently increased by presents from his medical friends and pupils, who, when any thing of this sort occurred to them, very justly thought they could not dispose of it more properly than by placing it in Dr. Hunter's museum. Speaking of an acquisition in this way, in one of his publications, he says, "I look upon every thing of this kind which is given to me, as a present to the public; and consider myself as thereby called upon to serve the public with more diligence."

Before his removal to Windmill-street, he had confined his collection



collection chiefly to specimens of human and comparative anatomy, and of diseases; but now he extended his views to fossils, and likewise to the promotion of polite literature and erudition.

In a short space of time he became possessed of "the most magnificent treasure of Greek and Latin books that has been accumulated by any person now living, since the days of Mead."—

A cabinet of ancient medals contributed likewise much to the richness of his museum. A description of part of the coins, in this collection, struck by the Greek free cities, has lately been published by the doctor's learned friend Mr. Combe. In a classical dedication of this elegant volume to the queen, Dr. Hunter acknowledges his obligations to her majesty. In the preface, some account is given of the progress of the collection, which has been brought together since the year 1770, with singular taste, and at the expence of upwards of twenty thousand pounds.

In 1781, the museum received a valuable addition of shells, corals, and other curious subjects of natural history, which had been collected by the late worthy Dr. Fothergill, who gave directions by his will, that his collection should be appraised after his death, and that Dr. Hunter should have the refusal of it, at five hundred pounds under the valuation. This was accordingly done, and Dr. Hunter purchased it for the sum of twelve hundred pounds.

The fame of this museum spread throughout Europe. Few foreigners, distinguished for their rank or learning, visited this me-

tropolis, without requesting to see it. Men of science, of our own country, always had easy access to it. Considered in a collective point of view, it is perhaps without a rival.

Dr. Hunter, at the head of his profession, honoured with the esteem of his sovereign, and in possession of every thing that his reputation and wealth could confer, seemed now to have attained the summit of his wishes. But these sources of gratification were embittered by a disposition to the gout, which harrassed him frequently during the latter part of his life, notwithstanding his very abstemious manner of living.

On Saturday the 15th of March, 1783, after having for several days experienced a return of a wandering gout, he complained of great head-ach and nausea. In this state he went to bed, and for several days felt more pain than usual, both in his stomach and limbs.

On the Thursday following, he found himself so much recovered, that he determined to give the introductory lecture to the operations of surgery. It was to no purpose that his friends urged to him the impropriety of such an attempt. He was determined to make the experiment, and accordingly delivered the lecture; but towards the conclusion, his strength was so exhausted, that he fainted away, and was obliged to be carried to bed by two servants. The following night and day his symptoms were such as indicated danger; and on Saturday morning, Mr. Combe, who made him an early visit, was alarmed on being told by Dr. Hunter him-

self that during the night, he had certainly had a paralytic stroke. As neither his speech nor his pulse were affected, and he was able to raise himself in bed, Mr. Combe encouraged him to hope that he was mistaken. But the event proved the doctor's idea of his complaint to be but too well founded; for from that time till his death, which happened on Sunday the 30th of March, he voided no urine without the assistance of the catheter, which was occasionally introduced by his brother; and purgative medicines were administered repeatedly, without procuring a passage by stool. These circumstances, and the absence of pain, seemed to shew that the intestines and urinary bladder had lost their sensibility and power of contraction; and it was reasonable to presume, that a partial palsy had affected the nerves distributed to those parts.

The latter moments of his life exhibited an instance of philosophical calmness and fortitude that well deserves to be recorded. Turning to his friend Mr. Combe, "If I had strength enough to hold a pen—said he—I would write how easy and pleasant a thing it is to die."

By his will, the use of his museum, under the direction of trustees, devolves to his nephew, Matthew Baillie, B. A. and in case of his death, to Mr. Cruikshank, for the term of thirty years, at the end of which period, the whole collection is bequeathed to the university of Glasgow.

The sum of eight thousand pounds sterling is left as a fund for the support and augmentation of the collection.

The trustees are, Dr. George Fordyce, Dr. David Pitcairne, and Mr. Charles Combe, to each of whom Dr. Hunter has bequeathed an annuity of twenty pounds, for thirty years; that is, during the period in which they will be executing the purposes of the will.

Dr. Hunter has likewise bequeathed an annuity of one hundred pounds to his sister, Mrs. Baillie, during her life, and the sum of two thousand pounds to each of her two daughters. The residue of his estate and effects goes to his nephew.

On Saturday the 5th of April, his remains were interred in the rector's vault of St. James's church, Westminster.

Of the person of Dr. Hunter, it may be observed, that he was regularly shaped, but of a slender make, and rather below a middle stature.

There are several good portraits of him extant. One of these is in an unfinished painting by Zoffani, who has represented him in the attitude of giving a lecture on the muscles at the Royal Academy, surrounded by a groupe of academicians. Of the engraved prints of him which have appeared, I give the preference to that executed by Collyer, from the portrait by Chamberlin, in the Council Chamber of the Royal Academy. It exhibits an accurate and striking resemblance of his features.

His manner of living was extremely simple and frugal, and the quantity of his food was small as well as plain. He was an early riser, and when business was over, was constantly engaged in his anatomical

tomical pursuits, or in his museum.

There was something very engaging in his manner and address, and he had such an appearance of attention to his patients, when he was making his inquiries, as could hardly fail to conciliate their confidence and esteem. In consultation with his medical brethren, he delivered his opinions with diffidence and candour. In familiar conversation he was cheerful and unassuming.

All who knew him, allow that he possessed an excellent understanding, great readiness of perception, a good memory, and a sound judgment. To these intellectual powers he united uncommon assiduity and precision, so that he was admirably fitted for anatomical investigation.

As a teacher of anatomy, he has been long and deservedly celebrated. He was a good orator, and having a clear and accurate conception of what he taught, he knew how to place in distinct and intelligible points of view the most abstruse subjects of anatomy and physiology. Among other methods of explaining and illustrating his doctrines, he used frequently to introduce some apposite story or case that had occurred to him in his practice, and few men had acquired a more interesting fund of anecdotes of this kind, or related them in a more agreeable manner. He had the talent of infusing much of his ardour into his pupils, and if anatomical knowledge is more diffused in this country than formerly, we are indebted for this, in a great measure, to his exertions.

To him, likewise, we owe

much of the moderation and caution which now prevail amongst discreet and intelligent practitioners of midwifery, in the use of instruments.

The munificence he displayed in the cause of science, has likewise a claim to our applause. Persons of an invidious turn of mind, who seek to depreciate his merit in this respect, may perhaps endeavour to trace the motive by which he was actuated, and ascribe to vanity what deserves rather to be considered as a commendable love of fame. It is certain, that Dr. Hunter sacrificed no part of his time or his fortune to voluptuousness, to idle pomp, or to any of the common objects of vanity that influence the pursuits of mankind in general. He seems to have been animated with a desire of distinguishing himself in those things which are in their nature laudable; and being a bachelor, and without views for establishing a family, he was at liberty to indulge his inclination. Let us, therefore, not withhold the praise that is due to him; and at the same time let it be observed, that his temperance, his prudence, his persevering and eager pursuit of knowledge, constitute an example which we may with advantage to ourselves, and to society, endeavour to imitate."

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*Character of Lord Robert Manners,  
late Commander of his Majesty's  
Ship the Resolution, of 74 Guns.*

**I**N a country, like this, which has long laboured under the calamities of war, it is but natural to look back upon the events

by which it was terminated, and to make some enquiry after those to whom we are indebted for the return of peace; and this not with the view of informing ourselves whether the conditions by which it was obtained, were or were not adequate to our situation, but with a grateful remembrance of those, without whose signal courage and vigorous exertions, we might not have been able to have insisted on any conditions whatsoever.

The victory gained by the British fleet, on the 12th of April, 1782, was unquestionably of the greatest importance to this kingdom, and in the highest degree contributed to our present repose: those brave men, therefore, who then fell in the service of their country, claim our most grateful remembrance, and all the honourable testimony which the living can pay to departed worth.

Among these was LORD ROBERT MANNERS, a young nobleman, remarkable for his military genius, and the many excellent endowments both of his person and mind: in the following pages, it is my design to lay before the public, some anecdotes of this heroic young commander, who fell in their service; sacrificing the ease of his former situation, the indulgences of a splendid fortune, and the pleasures of private society, to the dangers of a perilous element, and the honourable hazards of a military life.

LORD ROBERT MANNERS was the youngest son of the late Marquis of Granby, by the Lady Frances Seymour, daughter of Charles, Duke of Somerset: he was born on the 5th of February, 1758, and

placed with his brother, the present Duke of Rutland, at Eton School, in which great seminary of education, he acquired a competent knowledge of the classic authors, for which he ever after retained an excellent taste, and bestowed many hours in the perusal of their most admired compositions: his mind, however, was found to be active, vigorous, and enterprising, and his genius evidently military; his intreaties, when he was fourteen years old, prevailed over the apprehensions of his grandfather, the late Duke of Rutland, and obtained his permission to enter upon his profession in the navy, giving that the preference to the land service, to which he might be conceived to have had an hereditary bias, as his father so long commanded the army of Great Britain, with singular reputation.

So early a dedication of himself to the severity of naval discipline, and so full a resignation of all the pleasures which his age and rank might have led him to expect, in places where he was admired for his accomplishments, and beloved for his disposition, is of itself a subject of no inferior praise, and ought to be distinguished from the reluctant compliance of those, who are called into danger, by the urgency of their circumstances, or the importunity of their friends: this alone might secure him from the oblivion which waits upon the many millions who in every century take their turns upon this stage of human life, and depart undistinguished by the performance of any actions, eminently great or good.

The first three voyages of LORD  
ROBERT

ROBERT were made to Newfoundland, with Lord Schuylham, to whose care he was committed, and under whom he served as a midshipman; after which, he went in the same capacity to the Mediterranean, in a frigate, and visited many of the different courts of Italy; on his return to England, he was appointed lieutenant on board the *Ocean*, a ninety-gun ship, commanded by Captain Laforey, in which rank he was present at the action of the 27th of July, off Ushant, under Admiral Keppel, who, a few days after the action, took him to his own ship.

His next appointment was to a lieutenancy on board the *Alcide*, in which he served in the action off Gibraltar, when Lord Rodney gained a complete victory over the Spanish fleet, commanded by Don Juan de Langara; and immediately after this, LORD ROBERT was appointed Captain of the *Resolution*, which ship he commanded in nine separate actions, before that glorious but fatal one, which put a period to his life.

There is perhaps but little to be gathered from this account of his various promotions, and the steps of an almost certain advancement, in the line of his profession; but it is necessary to remark, what all with whom he sailed are unanimous in declaring, that LORD ROBERT was equally excellent, if not equally conspicuous, in the inferior stations, as in the more exalted; a continual attention to his duty, joined with a real knowledge of the service, were his claims to promotion, and a constant care and precision in the discharge of his subordinate stations, were the great causes of his speedy

progress to the rank of a commander.

LORD ROBERT, in his return from Gibraltar, in the *Resolution*, engaged and took the *Prothee*, a French line of battle ship, going to the East-Indies: the *Resolution* was then ordered into America, and continued there, till Lord Rodney sent for her to the West-Indies: at St. Eustatius, the *Mars*, a Dutch frigate, struck to the *Resolution*; after which, she was detached, with the squadron under Lord Hood, to cruise off Martinique.

Some time after this, in an engagement between Admiral Greaves and the French fleet, off Martinique, on a confusion of signals, which prevented the rear of our fleet coming to action; LORD ROBERT broke the line of battle, bore his ship into the center of the enemy, and so narrowly escaped in this dangerous attempt, that a part of his hat was struck off by a grape shot.

In one of the three engagements off St. Kitt's, (in all which he was eminently distinguished) he, together with Captain Cornwallis, supported the commander of his division, Commodore Affleck, with such unshaken fortitude and perseverance, that those three ships beat off the whole French fleet, and protected the rest of their own; a circumstance which Lord Hood mentions in his letter to the Admiralty, with high terms of eulogium.

His last action was that memorable one on the 12th of April, when the *Resolution* engaged very desperately nine or ten of the enemy, in breaking through their

line, which she did the third ship to the admiral; it was in this attempt that LORD ROBERT had both his legs shattered, and his right arm broken at the same instant, the former by a cannon shot, and the latter by a splinter: his mind however, remained unsubdued; for neither at that, nor at any future period, neither when he was under the most painful operations, nor when he became sensible of his approaching fate, did he betray one symptom of fear or regret.

“ Non laudis Amor nec Gloriæ cessit  
“ Pulsa metu——”

It was with great reluctance he suffered himself to be carried to the surgeon's apartment, and he objected to the amputation of his leg, because he had conceived it would prevent his continuance on board his ship; but being assured to the contrary, his objections ceased, and he permitted the surgeon to proceed; at this time all his thoughts and enquiries were directed to the event of the day, which being soon after announced to him, every consideration of his own misfortune was suspended, and he both felt and expressed the greatest joy and exultation in a victory so important to his country, and so fatal to himself,

Being persuaded to return to England, he was removed on board the *Andromache* frigate; but before he quitted the *Resolution*, he ordered every man, whose good conduct had been remarkable during his command, to come into his cabin, where he thanked him for his attention to his duty, and gave each a present of money, as a token of his

particular regard: on his leaving his ship, he asked whether the colours of those which had struck to the *Resolution*, during his command, were in his baggage, but suddenly recollecting himself, and being conscious that his motives for the question might be imputed to vanity and ostentation, he begged leave to retract it, hoping that an idea so weak, would be buried in oblivion: it was natural for a young hero to make such an enquiry, and his reflection on having made it, would have done honour to the oldest.

LORD ROBERT's behaviour, during the short remainder of his life, was singularly great; his conversation was chearful, and his mind serene; his fortitude never forsook him; he betrayed no signs of impatience, nor suffered his resignation to be broken by ineffectual wishes, or melancholy regret: these he left to his survivors, who deeply feel them; he had given himself to the service of his country, and forbore to indulge any fruitless expectations of living, when the purposes of life were completed, and the measure of his glory filled up: his attention to the lives of his seamen, had made him previously acquainted with the nature of his own case, and the fatal symptoms that so frequently follow: before these appeared, he was busied in planning future regulations and improvements on board his ship; and afterwards, he himself first acquainting his surgeon with their appearance, he prepared for his approaching fate with the utmost calmness and composure of mind; and having settled his worldly affairs, with his accustomed regularity



harmony and dispatch, he ended a life of glory with resignation and prayer.

So fell this brave young nobleman, on the 24th day of April, 1782, having, at the age of twenty-four years, served his country in eleven general actions:

“ Offendent terris hunc tantum Fata,

“ neque ultra

“ Esse sient”——

VIRGIL.

His eulogium was loudly uttered in the grief and lamentation of the whole navy; victory appeared too dearly bought, while they considered the price which was paid for it; and indeed, such was the attention of this nobleman to the welfare of his seamen, as well as to the order and regularity of the fleet; such was his skill to find out, and resolution to reform abuses; that the loss of such a commander may be regretted, when the victory in which he fell shall cease to be mentioned.

The person of LORD ROBERT MANNERS was worthy of such a mind; he was tall and graceful; strong and active; his features were regular, and his countenance beautiful, without effeminacy; his eyes were large, dark, and most expressive; his complexion inclined to brown, with much colour, which remained unimpaired by the West-India climate; indeed, his whole appearance commanded love and respect, and was a strong indication of superior merit.

LORD ROBERT possessed, in an eminent degree, the happy art of gaining the affections of his men, while he preserved the strictest discipline among them; nor is this his greatest praise; for while he

was admired by the officers of every rank, for his affability and engaging deportment, he was trusted by the highest in command, and consulted by many, who judged his great skill and attention in the line of his profession, more than balanced their longer experience.

The bravery of LORD ROBERT was accompanied by a disposition tender and merciful; his obligations to use severity were punishments to himself; and he was always unhappy in feeling the necessity of bestowing correction; yet his lenity was always judicious, and seldom ineffectual; he had once the opportunity of pronouncing pardon on thirteen offenders; (who were a part of sixty-four, condemned in several ships for mutiny) on which occasion, his feelings overcame his power of utterance; he began with representing to them (who were ignorant of the intended grace) the nature of their crime, and the punishment due to it; but when he came to speak of the offered mercy, he partook of their sensations, and could only deliver it by bursting into tears: it is but just to remark, that these men were truly sensible of the worth of such a commander, and were afterwards conspicuous for their good behaviour among the best seamen of the navy.

LORD ROBERT, however he possessed the virtue, was without the weakness of a tender disposition; he was grave, prudent and reserved, never speaking his opinion but upon sure grounds, and then at proper times, in the company of his select friends, or when truth and justice called upon him to res-

cue an action or a character from suspicion, or reproach; yet his reserve was not of that kind which damped his love for society; he was of a convivial turn; generous, condescending, and benevolent; emulating the humanity as well as bravery of his father, and his father's house.

His chief study was that of his profession, in which he read and perfectly understood the most approved authors, not neglecting other kinds of reading, in some of which he was peculiarly and wonderfully versed; some indeed which might be thought foreign to his pursuits, if any can be so thought, to the vigorous and comprehensive mind which he possessed: in short, he seemed to be deficient in no qualification which might render him the best private friend, and one of the greatest and ablest officers, this or any other country has produced.

To crown all his virtues, he had that of unaffected diffidence, being perfectly modest in his opinion of himself, and an enemy to all ostentation: he never listened to his own praise, but either forbad any to speak of the honour he so well deserved, or withdrew from the applause which he could not suppress; this disposition continued to the last, when he conversed with the same unaffected ease; and wishing to write to a

friend, he made use of his left hand, and gave him an account of his situation in terms brief, easy and affecting, because most unaffected, discovering the greatest magnanimity of soul, by not taking any pains to have it discovered by others.

Nor is this eulogium to be considered as proceeding from any partial regard, or prepossession; the testimony of public gratitude, which was voted in the House of Commons, is a sufficient proof of the national sense of his merit; but the many private relations of his virtues, could they be universally diffused, would place him in a still stronger point of view; these are given by men whose testimony is voluntary and disinterested, whose experience could not be deceived, and whose eminence in their profession must entitle them to every degree of credit and attention.

Such is the character of LORD ROBERT MANNERS; and these anecdotes of him I have related from the best authority. Those who knew him, will, I am sure, think themselves indebted to me for the intention; and those who did not, little apology will, I hope, be wanted, for making them acquainted with the worth of a brave and heroic young nobleman, who was an ornament to their country, and died in its defence.

# NATURAL HISTORY.

*A Letter from William Herschel, Esq. F. R. S. to Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. P. R. S. From the 73d Vol. of the Philosophical Transactions.*

SIR,

**B**Y the observations of the most eminent astronomers in Europe it appears, that the new star, which I had the honour, of pointing out to them in March, 1781, is a primary planet of our solar system. A body so nearly related to us by its similar condition and situation, in the unbounded expanse of the starry heavens, must often be the subject of the conversation, not only of astronomers, but of every lover of science in general. This consideration then makes it necessary to give it a name, whereby it may be distinguished from the rest of the planets and fixed stars.

In the fabulous ages of ancient times the appellations of Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, were given to the planets, as being the names of their principal heroes and divinities\*. In the present more philosophical æra, it would hardly be allowable

to have recourse to the same method, and call on Juno, Pallas, Apollo, or Minerva for a name to our new heavenly body. The first consideration in any particular event, or remarkable incident, seems to be its chronology: if in any future age it should be asked, *when* this last-found planet was discovered? It would be a very satisfactory answer to say, "in the reign of king George the Third." As a philosopher then, the name of *Georgium Sidus* presents itself to me, as an appellation which will conveniently convey the information of the time and country where and when it was brought to view. But as a subject of the best of kings, who is the liberal protector of every art and science; as a native of the country from whence this illustrious family was called to the British throne: as a member of that society, which flourishes by the distinguished liberality of its royal patron; and, last of all, as a person now more immediately under the protection of this excellent monarch, and owing every thing to his unlimited bounty; I cannot but wish to take this op-

\* M. de la Lande's Aft. § 639.

portunity

portunity of expressing my sense of gratitude, by giving the name Georgium Sidus,

Georgium Sidus

—jam nunc assuesce vocati.

VIRG. Georg.

to a star, which (with respect to us) first began to shine under his auspicious reign.

By addressing this letter to you, Sir, as president of the Royal Society, I take the most effectual method of communicating that name to the literati of Europe, which I hope they will receive with pleasure. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,

Sir,

Your most humble and  
most obedient servant,  
W. HERSCHEL.

*On the Diameter and Magnitude of the Georgium Sidus; with a Description of the dark and lucid Disk and Periphery Micrometers. By William Herschel, Esq. F. R. S. From the same Work.*

IT is not only of the greatest consequence to the astronomer, but also gives the highest pleasure to every intelligent person, to have a just idea of the dimensions of the solar system, and the heavenly bodies that belong to it. As far then as they fall within the reach of our instruments, they ought carefully to be examined and measured by all the various methods we can invent. Almost every sort of micrometer is liable to some inconveniences and deceptions: it will, however often happen, that we may correct the errors of one instrument by the op-

posite defects of another. The measures of the diameter of the Georgium Sidus, which were delivered in my first paper, differ considerably from each other. However, if we set aside the three first, on a supposition (as I have hinted before) that every minute object, which is much smaller than what we are frequently used to see, will at first sight appear less than it really is; and take a mean of the remaining observations, we shall have  $4'' 36\frac{1}{2}''$  for the diameter of the planet. On comparing the measures then with this mean, we find but two of them that differ somewhat more than half a second from it; the rest are almost all within a quarter of a second of that measure. This agreement, in the dimensions of any other planet, would appear very considerable; but not being satisfied, when I thought it possible to obtain much more accurate measures, I employed the lamp-micrometer in preference to the former. The first time I used it upon this occasion I perceived, that if, instead of two lucid points, we could have an intire lucid disk to resemble the planet, the measures would certainly be still more exact. The difficulty of dilating and contracting a figure that should always remain a circle, appeared to me very considerable, though nature, with her usual simplicity holds out to us a pattern in the iris of the eye, which, simple as it appears, is not one of the least admirable of her inimitable works. However, I recollected, that it was not absolutely requisite to have every insensible degree of magnitude; since, by changing the distance, I could

could without much inconvenience make every little intermediate gradation between a set of circles of a proper size, that might be prepared for the purpose. Intending to put this design into practice, I contrived the following apparatus.

A large lanthorn, of the construction of those small ones that are used with my lamp-micrometer\*, must have a place for three flames in the middle, which is necessary, in order that we may have the quantity of light required, by lighting one, two, or all of them. The grooves, instead of brads sliding doors, must be wide enough to admit a paste-board, and three or four thicknesses of paper. I prepared a set of circles, cut out in paste-board, increasing by tenths of an inch from two inches to five in diameter, and these were made to fit into the grooves of the lamp. A good number of pieces, some of white, others of light blue paper, of the same size with the paste-boards, were also cut out, and several of them oiled, to render them more transparent. The oiled papers should be well rubbed, that they may not stain the dry papers when placed together. This apparatus being ready, we are to place behind the paste-board circle, next to the light, one, two, or more, either blue or white, dry or oiled, papers; and by means of one or more flames, to obtain an appearance perfectly resembling the disk we would compare it with. It will be found, that more or less altitude of the object, and higher or lower powers

of the instrument, require a different assortment of papers and lights, which must by no means be neglected: for if any fallacy can be suspected in the use of this apparatus, it is in the degree of light we must look for it. In a few experiments I tried with these lucid disks, where I placed several of them together, and illuminated them at once, it was found, that but very little more light will make a circle appear of the same size with another, which is one, or even two-tenths of an inch less in diameter. A well known and striking instance of this kind of deception is the moon, just before or after the conjunction, where we may see how much the luminous part of the disk projects above the rest.

The method of using the artificial disks is the same which has been described with the lamp-micrometer, of which this apparatus may be called a branch. We are only to observe, that the planet we would measure should be caused to go either just under, or just over, the illuminated circle. It may indeed also be suffered to pass across it; but in this case, the lights will be so blended together, that we cannot easily form a proper judgment of their magnitudes. By a good screw to the motions of my telescope I have been able, at any time, to keep the planet opposite the lucid disk for five minutes together, and to view them both with the most perfect and undisturbed attention. The apparatus I employed being now sufficiently explained, several alterations that

\* Phil. Trans. vol. lxxii. p. 166.

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were occasionally introduced will Sidus, as they follow, in the order of time in which they were mentioned in the observations and experiments on the Georgium made.

### *Observations on the Light, Diameter, and Magnitude, of the Georgium Sidus.*

Oct. 22, 1781. The Georgium Sidus was perfectly defined with a power of 227; had a fine, bright, steady light; of the colour of Jupiter, or approaching to the light of the moon.

Nov. 28, 1781. I measured the diameter of the Georgium Sidus by the lamp-micrometer, and took one measure, which I was assured was too large; and one, which I was certain was too little; then taking the mean of both, I compared it with the diameter of the star, and found it to agree very well.

Hence  $\frac{\text{Image} = 2.4 \text{ inches}}{\text{Distance} = 431 \text{ inches}} = \text{tang. } .0055684$ ; and  $\frac{\text{Angle} = 19' 8''}{\text{Power} = 227.6} = \text{the diameter } 5''.06$ . But the evening was foggy, and the star having much aberration, I was induced to try the above method of extreme and mean diameters, suggested by the method of altitudes, where two equally distant extremes give us a true mean.

Nov. 19, 1781. The diameter measured  $32\frac{1}{4}$  parts of my micrometer, the wires being outward tangents to the disk. On shutting them gradually by the same light, they closed at 24; therefore the difference is  $8\frac{1}{4}$  parts, which, according to my scale, gives  $5'' 2'''$  for the diameter. This was taken with 227, and the measure seemed large enough. Not perfectly pleased with my light, which was rather too strong, I repeated the measure, and had  $33\frac{1}{2}$  parts; then shutting the wires gradually, by *this* light they closed at 25: the difference, which is  $8\frac{1}{2}$  parts, gives  $5'' 11'''$ .

Aug. 29, 1782. 15 h. I saw the Georgium Sidus full as well defined with 460, as Jupiter would have been at that altitude with the same power.

Sept. 9, 1782. Circumstances being favourable, I took a measure of the diameter of the Georgium Sidus with the power of 460, and silk-thread micrometer. After a proper allowance for the zero, I found  $4'' 11'''$ .

Oct. 2, 1782. I had prepared an apparatus of lucid disks, and measured the diameter of the Georgium Sidus with it. Having only white oiled papers, I placed two of them together, and used only a single lamp; but could not exactly imitate the light of the planet. When I first saw the Sidus and luminous circle together, I was struck with the different colours of their lights; which brought to my recollection  $\gamma$  Andromedæ,  $\epsilon$  Bootis,  $\alpha$  Herculis,  $\beta$  Cygni, and other coloured stars. The planet unexpectedly appeared blueish, while the lucid disk had a strong tincture of red; but neither of the colours were so vivid and sparkling as those of the just mentioned stars. The distance of the luminous circle from the eye (which I always measure with deal rods)



rods) was 588,25 inches. The circle measured 2,35 inches. Hence we have the angle  $13' 44''$ ; which, divided by the power 227, gives  $3'',63$  for the diameter of the planet. I suspected some little fallacy from the want of a perfect resemblance in the light and colour of the artificial disk to the real appearance of the planet.

Oct. 4, 1782. I measured the diameter of the *Georgium Sidus* again, by an improvement in my apparatus, for I now used pale blue papers, both oiled and plain, instead of white; by which means I obtained a resemblance of colours; and by an assortment of one oiled and two dry papers with two lamps burning, I effected the same degree of light which the planet had, and both figures were equally well defined. By first changing the disk, and, when I had one which came nearest, changing my distance, I came at a perfect equality between the planet and disk. The measure was several times repeated with great precaution. The result was  $\frac{2,8}{692,6} = ,0040283$ ;

and  $\frac{11' 53'',85}{227} = 3'',67$ . If any thing be wanting to the perfection of this measure, it is, perhaps that the *Sidus* should be in the meridian, in order to have all the advantages of light and distinctness.

Oct. 10, 1782. The measures of the planet by the lucid disk micrometer appearing to me very small, I resolved to ascertain the power of my telescope again most scrupulously, by an actual experiment, without any deduction from other principles. On a most convenient and level plain I viewed two slips of white paper, and measured their images upon a wall. The distances were measured by deal rods, every repetition whereof was certainly true to half a tenth of an inch; nor did the direction of the measure ever deviate, so much as two inches, from a straight line.

Distance of the object from the eye in inches	-	7255,5
Distance of the eye from the vertex of the speculum		80,2
Distance of the vertex of the speculum from the object		7335,7
Distance of the eye from the wall	—	2292,35
Diameter of the largest paper	—	,99125
Diameter of the smallest	—	,5075
Image of the largest paper on the wall	—	73,
Image of the smallest on the same	—	37,8
Angle subtended by the large paper at the vertex of the speculum		$27'',87$
Angle subtended by its image on the wall, at the eye,		$1^{\circ} 49' 26'',4$ .
Power of the telescope deduced from the large paper		235,6
Angle subtended by the small paper at the vertex of the speculum		$14'',27$ .
Angle subtended by its image on the wall, at the eye,		$56' 40'',9$ .
Power of the telescope deduced from the small paper		238,3
		Mean

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Mean of both experiments, as being equally good	237,
Focal length of the speculum upon those objects	86,1625
Upon Capella	85,2
And 237 diminished in the ratio of 85,2 to 86,1625 gives	
234,3 for the power of the instrument upon the fixed stars	

It appears then, from these experiments, that the power of the telescope has not been over-rated; and that, therefore, the measures of the Georgium Sidus cannot be found too small on that account.

There is one cause of inaccuracy or deception in very small measures, long suspected, but never yet sufficiently investigated. That there is a *dispersion* of the rays of light in their passage through the atmosphere, we may admit from various experiments; if then the quantity of this dispersion be, in general, regulated by certain dispositions of the air, and other causes, it will follow, that a *concentration* may also take place: for should the rays of light, at any time, be less dispersed than usual, they might with as much reason be said to be concentrated, as the mercury of a thermometer is said to be contracted by cold, when it falls below the zero.

Oct. 12, 1782. The night was so fine, that I saw the Georgium Sidus very plainly with my naked eye. I took a measure of its diameter by the lucid disk, and found, that I was obliged to come nearer, as the planet rose higher, and gained more distinct light. At the altitude of  $52^{\circ}$  it was as follows:

$$\frac{3,415}{731,3} = ,0046698; \text{ and } \frac{16' 3'',2}{227} = 4'',24.$$

Oct. 13, 1782. 16 h. I viewed the Georgium Sidus with several powers. With 227 it was beautiful. Still better with 278. With 460, after looking some time, very distinct. I perceived no flattening of the polar regions, to denote a diurnal motion; though, I believe, if it had had as much as Jupiter, I should have seen it. With 625 pretty well defined.

Oct. 19, 1782. The inconvenience arising from the quantity of light contained in the lucid disk, suggested to me the idea of taking only an illuminated periphery, instead of the area of a circle. By this means I hoped to see the circle well defined, and yet have but little light to interfere with the appearance of the planet. The breadth of my lucid periphery was one-twentieth of an inch. The result of this measure proved  $\frac{3,3}{765,45} = ,0041486$ ; and  $\frac{14' 15'',60}{227} = 3''77$ .

Oct. 26, 1782. In my last experiment I found the lucid periphery much broader than I could have wished; therefore, I prepared one of no more than one-fortieth part of an inch in breadth, the outer circle measuring very exactly 4,00, and the inner circle 3,95. With this slender ring of light illuminated with only one single lamp, I measured the Georgium Sidus, by removing the telescope to various distances

tances; and found at last the following result:  $\frac{4}{1033,05} = ,0038720$ ,  
and  $\frac{13' 18'',6}{227} = 3'',51$ .

Nov. 4, 1782. I was now fully convinced that light, be it in the form of a lucid circle, or illuminated periphery, would always occasion the measures to be less than they should be, on account of its vivid impression upon the eye, whereby the magnitude of the object, to which the planet was compared, would be increased. It occurred to me then, that if a lucid circle encroached upon the surrounding darker parts, a lucid square border, round a dark circle, would in its turn advance upon the artificial disk. In my last measures, where the planet had been compared to a lucid ring, I had plainly observed that the Sidus, which was but just equal to the illuminated periphery, was considerably larger than the black area contained within the ring. This seemed to point out a method to discover the quantity of the deception arising from the illumination; and consequently, to furnish us with a correction applicable to such measures; which would be *plus*, when taken with a lucid disk or ring; and *minus*, when obtained from a dark ring or circle. Having suspended a row of paste-board circles against an illuminated sheet of oiled paper, I caused the Georgium Sidus to pass by them several times, and selected from their number that to which the planet bore the greatest resemblance in magnitude. I produced a perfect equality by some small alteration of my distance, and the result was as follows:

$$\frac{3,165}{633,95} = ,0049925 : \text{hence } \frac{17' 9'',8}{227} = 4'',53.$$

I was desirous of seeing what would be the effect of lessening the light of the illuminated frame, against which the dark disks were suspended, and also waited a short time that the planet might rise up higher. The measure being then repeated at a different distance, and with a different black disk, I obtained the following particulars:

$$\frac{3,59}{803,05} = ,0044704 ; \text{ and } \frac{15' 22'',1}{227} = 4'',06.$$

I intend to pursue these experiments still farther, especially in the time of the planet's opposition, and am therefore unwilling as yet to draw a final conclusion from the several measures. In a subject of such delicacy, we cannot have too many facts to regulate our judgment. Thus much, however, we may in general surmise, that the diameter of the Georgium Sidus cannot well be much less, nor perhaps much larger, than about four seconds. From this, if we will anticipate more exact calculations hereafter to be made, we may gather that the real diameter of that planet must be between four and five times that of the earth: for by the calculations of M. de la Lande, contained in a letter he has favoured me with, the distance of the Georgium Sidus is stated at 18,913, that of the earth being 1. And if we take the latter to be seen, at the sun, under an angle of 17",  
is

it would subtend no more than  $898''$ , when removed to the orbit of the Georgium Sidus. Hence we obtain  $\frac{4}{898} = 4.454$ ; which number expresses how much the real diameter of the Georgium Sidus exceeds that of the earth.

*Extracts from an Account of the Earthquakes which happened in Italy, from February to May 1783; by Sir William Hamilton, Knight of the Bath, F. R. S. in a Letter to Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. P. R. S. From the same Work.*

Naples, May 23, 1783.

I AM happy now to have it in my power to give you, and my brethren of the Royal Society, some little idea of the infinite damage done, and of the various phenomena exhibited, by the earthquakes (which began the 5th of February last, and continue to be sensibly, though less violently, felt to this day) in the two Calabrias, at Messina, and in the parts of Sicily nearest to the continent. From the most authentic reports, and accounts received at the offices of his Sicilian majesty's secretary of state, we gathered in general, that the part of Calabria, which has been most affected by this heavy calamity, is that which is comprehended between the 38th and 39th degree, that the greatest force of the earthquakes seemed to have exerted itself from the foot of those mountains of the Apennines called the Monte Deio, Monte Sacro, and Monte Caulone, extending westward to the Tyrrene sea; that the towns, villages, and farm-houses, nearest these mountains, situated either on hills or in the plain, were to-

tally ruined by the first shock of the 5th of February about noon; and that the greatest mortality was there; that in proportion as the towns and villages were at a greater distance from this center, the damage they received was less considerable; but that even those more distant towns had been greatly damaged by the subsequent shocks of the earthquake, and especially by those of the 7th, the 26th, and 28th of February, and that of the 1st of March; that from the first shock, the 5th of February, the earth continued to be in a continual tremor, more or less; and that the shocks were more sensibly felt at times in some parts of the afflicted provinces than in others; that the motion of the earth had been various, and, according to the Italian denomination, *vorticoso, orizontale, and oscillatorio*, either whirling like a vortex horizontal, or by pulsations, or beatings from the bottom upwards; that this variety of motion had increased the apprehensions of the unfortunate inhabitants of those parts, who expected every moment that the earth would open under their feet, and swallow them up; that the rains had been continual and violent, often accompanied with lightning and irregular and furious gusts of wind; that from all these causes the face of the earth of that part of Calabria (comprehended as abovementioned between the 38th and

and 39th degrees) was entirely altered, particularly on the westward side of the mountains above named; that many openings and cracks had been made in those parts; that some hills had been lowered, and others quite levelled; that in the plains, deep chasms had been made, by which many roads were rendered impassable; that huge mountains had been split asunder, and parts of them driven to a considerable distance; that deep vallies had been filled up by the mountains (which formed those vallies) having been detached by the violence of the earthquakes, and joined together; that the course of some rivers had been altered; that many springs of water had appeared in places that were perfectly dry before; and that in other parts, springs that had been constant had totally disappeared; that near Laureana in Calabria Ultra, a singular phenomenon had been produced, that the surface of two whole tenements, with large olive and mulberry-trees therein, situated in a valley perfectly level, had been detached by the earthquake, and transplanted, the trees still remaining in their places, to the distance of about a mile from their first situations; and that from the spot on which they formerly stood, hot water had sprung up to a considerable height, mixed with sand of a ferruginous nature; that near this place also some countrymen and shepherds had been swallowed up with their teams of oxen and their flocks of goats and sheep; in short, that beginning from the city of Amantea, situated on the coast of the Tyrrene sea in Calabria Citra, and going along the westward

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coast to Cape Spartivento in Calabria Ultra, and then up the eastern coast as far as the Cape d'Alice (a part of Calabria Citra on the Ionian sea,) there is not a town or village, either on the coast or land, but what is either totally destroyed, or has suffered more or less, amounting in all to near four hundred, what are called here Paeses; a village containing less than an hundred inhabitants is not counted as a Paese.

The greatest mortality fell upon those towns and countries situated in the plain on the western side of the mountains Dejo, Sacro, and Caulone. At Casal Nuovo, the Princess Gerace, and upwards of 4000 of the inhabitants, lost their lives; at Bagnara, the number of dead amounts to 3017; Radicina and Palmi count their loss at about 3000 each; Terranuova about 1400; Seminari still more. The sum total of the mortality in both Calabrias and in Sicily, by the earthquakes alone, according to the returns in the secretary of state's office at Naples, is 32,367; but I have good reason to believe that, including strangers, the number of lives lost must have been considerably greater, 40,000 at least may be allowed, and, I believe, without any exaggeration.

From the same office intelligence we likewise heard, that the inhabitants of Scilla on the first shock of the earthquake, the 5th of February, had escaped from their houses on the rock, and, following the example of their prince, taken shelter on the sea-shore; but that, in the night-time the same shock, which had raised and agitated the sea so violently, and done so much damage on the point of the Faro of Messina, had acted

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acted with still greater violence there, for that the wave (which was represented to have been boiling hot, and that many people had been scalded by its rising to a great height) went furiously three miles inland, and swept off in its return 2473 of the inhabitants of Scilla, with the prince at their head, who were at that time either on the Scilla Strand, or in boats near the shore.

All accounts agreed, that of the number of shocks which have been felt since the beginning of this formidable earthquake, amounting to some hundreds, the most violent, and of the longest duration, were those of the 5th of February at  $19\frac{1}{2}$  (according to the Italian way of counting the hours;) of the 6th of February, at 7 hours in the night; of the 27th of February, at  $11\frac{1}{4}$  in the morning; of the first of March, at  $8\frac{1}{2}$  in the night; and that of the 28th of March, at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in the night. It was this last shock that affected most the upper part of Calabria Ultra, and the lower part of the Citra, an authentic description of which you will see hereafter, in a letter which I received from the Marquis Ippolito,\* an accurate observer residing at Catanzaro in the upper Calabria. The first and the last shocks must have been tremendous indeed, and only these two were sensibly felt in the capital.

The accounts which this government has received from the province of Cosenza, are less melancholy than those from the province of Calabria Ultra. From Cape Suvero to the Cape of Cetraro on the western coast, the in-

land countries, as well as those on the coast, are said to have suffered more or less in proportion to their proximity to the supposed center of the earthquakes; and it has been constantly observed, that its greatest violence has been exerted, and still continues to be so, on the western side of the Appennines, precisely the celebrated Sila of the antient Brutii, and that all those countries situated to the eastward of the Sila had felt the shocks of the earthquake, but without having received any damage from them. In the province of Cosenza there does not appear to be above 100 lives lost. In the last accounts from the most afflicted part of Calabria Ultra, two singular phenomena are mentioned. At about the distance of three miles from the ruined city of Oppido, there was a hill (the soil of which is a sandy clay) about 500 palms high, and 1300 in circumference at its basis. It was said, that this hill, by the shock of the 5th of February, jumped to the distance of about four miles from the spot where it stood into a plain called the Campo di Bafano. At the same time the hill on which the town of Oppido stood, which extended about three miles, divided in two, and as its situation was between two rivers, its ruins filled up the valley, and stopped the course of those rivers: two great lakes are already formed, and are daily increasing, which lakes, if means are not found to drain them, and give the rivers their due course, in a short time must infect the air greatly.

From Sicily the accounts of the most serious nature were those of

\* See page 58 following.



the destruction of the greatest part of the noble city of Messina, by the shock of the 5th of February, and of the remaining parts by the subsequent ones; that the quay in the port had sunk considerably, and was in some places a palm and a half under water; that the superb building, called the Palazzata, which gave the port a more magnificent appearance than any port in Europe can boast of, had been entirely ruined; that the Lazaret had been greatly damaged; but that the citadel had suffered little; that the mother church had fallen; in short, that Messina was no more; that the tower at the point of the entrance of the Faro was half destroyed; and that the same hot wave, that had done such mischief at Scilla, had passed over the point of land at the Faro, and carried off about 24 people. The viceroy of Sicily likewise gave an account of some damage done by the earthquakes, but nothing considerable, at Melazzo, Patti, Terra di Santa Lucia, Castro Reale, and in the island of Lipari.—

In the course of his progress through Calabria, Sir William writes as follows;—"Soon after we had passed through the ruined town of St. Pietro, we had a distant view of Sicily, and the summit of Mount Etna, which smoked considerably. Just before we arrived at Rosarno, near a ford of the river Mamella, we passed over a swampy plain, in many parts of which I was shewn small hollows in the earth, of the shape of an inverted cone: they were covered with sand, as was the soil near them. I was told that, during the earthquake of the 5th of Fe-

bruary, from each of these spots a fountain of water mixed with sand had been driven up to a considerable height. I spoke to a peasant here, who was present, and was covered with the water and sand; but assured me, that it was not hot, as had been represented. Before this appearance, he said, the river was dry; but soon after returned and overflowed its banks. I afterwards found, that the same phenomenon had been constant with respect to all the other rivers in the plain during the formidable shock of the 5th of February. I think this phenomenon is easily explained, by supposing the first impulse of the earthquake to have come from the bottom upwards, which all the inhabitants of the plain attest to be fact; the surface of the plain suddenly rising, the rivers, which are not deep, would naturally disappear, and the plain, returning with violence to its former level, the rivers must naturally have returned, and overflowed, at the same time that the sudden depression of the boggy grounds would as naturally force out the water that lay hid under their surface. I observed in the other parts where this sort of phenomenon had been exhibited, that the ground was always low and rushy. Between this place and Rosarno we passed the river Melfano or Metauro (which is near the town above-mentioned) on a strong timber bridge, 700 palm long, which had been lately built by the Duke of Monteleone. From the cracks made on the banks and in the bed of the river by the earthquake, it was quite separated in one part, and the level on which the piers were placed

placed having been variously altered, the bridge has taken an undulated form, and the rail on each side is curiously scoloped; but the parts that were separated having been joined again, it is now passable. The duke's bridgeman told me also, that at the moment of the earthquake, this great river was perfectly dry for some seconds, and then returned with violence, and overflowed; and that the bridge undulated, in a most extraordinary manner. When I mention the earthquake in the plain, it must be always understood the first shock of the 5th of February, which was by far the most terrible, and was the one that did the whole mischief in the plain, without having given any previous notice. The town of Rosarno, with the Duke of Monteleone's palace there, was entirely ruined; but the walls remained about six feet high, and are now fitting up as barracks. The mortality here did not much exceed 200 out of near 3000. It had been remarked at Rosarno, and the same remark has been constantly repeated to me in every ruined town that I have visited, that the male dead were generally found under the ruins in the attitude of struggling against the danger; but that the female attitude was usually with hands clasped over their heads, as giving themselves up to despair, unless they had children near them; in which case they were always found clasping the children in their arms, or in some attitude which indicated their anxious care to protect them; a strong instance of the maternal tenderness of the sex! The only building that re-

mained unhurt at Rosarno was a strong built town gaol, in which were three notorious villains, who would probably have lost their lives had they been at liberty. After having dined in a barrack, the owner of which had lost five of his family by the earthquake, I proceeded to Laureana, often crossing the wide extended bed of the river Metauro. The environs of Laureana, which stands on an elevation, is the garden of Eden itself; nothing I ever saw can be compared to it. The town is considerable; but as the earthquake did not come on suddenly, as in the plain, not a life was lost there; but from a sickness, occasioned by hardships and fright, 52 have died since. I lodged in the barracks of a sensible gentleman of Mileto, Don Domenico Acquavetta, who is a principal proprietor of this town. He attended me the next day to the two tenements, called the Macini and Vaticano, mentioned in the former part of this letter, and which were said to have changed their situation by the earthquake. The fact is true, and easily accounted for. These tenements were situated in a valley surrounded by high grounds, and the surface of the earth, which has been removed, had been probably long undermined by little rivulets, which come from the mountains, and now are in full view on the bare spot the tenements had deserted. These rivulets have a sufficiently rapid course down the valley, to prove its not being a perfect level, as was represented. I suppose the earthquake to have opened some depositions of rain-water in the clay hills which surround

round the valley, which water, mixed with the loose soil, taking its course suddenly through the undermined surface, lifting it up with the large olive and mulberry-trees, and a thatched cottage, floated the entire piece of ground, with all its vegetation, about a mile down the valley, where it now stands, with most of the trees erect. These two tenements may be about a mile long, and half a mile broad. I was shewn several deep cracks in this neighbourhood, not one above a foot in breadth; but which, I was credibly assured, had opened wide during the earthquake, and swallowed up an ox, and near an hundred goats, but no countrymen, as was reported. In the valley above-mentioned, I saw the same sort of hollows in the form of inverted cones, out of which, I was assured, that hot water and sand had been emitted with violence during the earthquakes as at Rossarno; but I could not find any one who could positively affirm that the water had been really hot, although the reports which government received affirm it. Some of the sand thrown out here with the water has a ferruginous appearance, and seems to have been acted upon by fire. I was told, that it had also, when fresh, a strong smell of sulphur, but I could not perceive it.

From hence I went through the same delightful country to the town of Polistene. To pass through so rich a country, and not see a single house standing on it, is most melancholy indeed; wherever a house stood, there you see a heap of ruins, and a poor barrack, with two or three miserable mourning

figures sitting at the door, and here and there a maimed man, woman, or child, crawling upon crutches. Instead of a town, you see a confused heap of ruins, and round about them a number of poor huts or barracks, and a larger one to serve as a church, with the church bells hanging upon a sort of low gibbet; every inhabitant with a doleful countenance, and wearing some token of having lost a parent.

I travelled four days in the plain, in the midst of such misery as cannot be described. The force of the earthquake was so great there, that all the inhabitants of the towns were buried either alive or dead under the ruins of their houses in an instant. The town of Polistene was large, but ill situated between two rivers, subject to overflow. 2100 out of about 6000 lost their lives here the fatal 5th of February. The Marquis St. Giorgio, the baron of this country, whom I found here, was well employed in assisting his tenants. He had caused the streets of his ruined town to be cleared of rubbish, and had erected barracks on a healthy spot near it, for the remainder of his subjects, and on a good plan. He had also constructed barracks of a larger size for the silk-worms; which I found already at work in them. This prince's activity and generosity is most praise-worthy, and, as far as I have seen hitherto, he is without a rival. I observed, that the town of St. Giorgio, on a hill about two miles from Polistene, though rendered uninhabitable, was by no means levelled like the towns in the plain. There was a nunnery at Polistene; being

curious to see the nuns that had escaped, I asked the marquis to shew me their barracks; but, it seems, only one out of twenty-three had been dug out of her cell alive, and she was fourscore years of age. After having dined with the marquis in his humble barrack, near the ruins of his very magnificent palace, I went through a fine wood of olive, and another of chesnut-trees, to Casal Nuovo, and was shewn the spot on which stood the house of my unfortunate friend the princess Gerace Grimaldi, who with more than four thousand of her subjects lost her life by the sudden explosion of the 5th of February (for so it appears to have been) that reduced this town to atoms. I was told by some here, who had been dug out of the ruins, that they felt their houses fairly lifted up, without having had the least previous notice. In other towns some walls and parts of houses are standing; but here you neither distinguish street or house, all lye in one confused heap of ruins. An inhabitant of Casal Nuovo told me, he was on a hill at the moment of the earthquake, overlooking the plain, when feeling the shock, and turning towards the plain, instead of the town, he saw in the place of it a thick cloud of white dust like smoke, the natural effect of the crushing of the buildings, and the mortar flying off.

From hence I went through the towns of Castellace and Milicusco (both in the same condition as Casal Nuovo) to Terra Nuova, situated in the same lovely plain, between two rivers, which, with the torrents from the mountains, have, in the course of ages, cut

deep and wide chasms in the soft sandy clay soil of which the whole plain is composed. At Terra Nuova the ravine or chasm is not less than 500 feet deep, and three quarters of a mile broad. What causes a confusion in all the accounts of the phenomena produced by this earthquake in the plain, is the not having sufficiently explained the nature of the soil and situation. They tell you, that a town has been thrown a mile from the place where it stood, without mentioning a word of a ravine; that woods and corn-fields had been removed in the same manner; when in truth it is but upon a large scale, what we see every day upon a smaller, when pieces of the sides of hollow ways, having been undermined by rain waters, are detached into the bottom by their own weight. Here, from the great depth of the ravine, and the violent motion of the earth, two huge portions of the earth, on which a great part of the town stood, consisting of some hundreds of houses, were detached into the ravine, and nearly across it, about half a mile from the place where they stood; and what is most extraordinary, several of the inhabitants of those houses, who had taken this singular leap in them, were nevertheless dug out alive, and some unhurt. I spoke to one myself who had taken this extraordinary journey in his house, with his wife and a maid-servant: neither he nor his maid-servant were hurt; but he told me, his wife had been a little hurt, but was now nearly recovered. I happened to ask him, what hurt his wife had received? His answer, though of a very

very serious nature, will nevertheless, I am sure, make you smile, Sir, as it did me. He said, she had both her legs and one arm broken; and that she had a fracture on her skull so that the brain was visible. It appears to me, that the Calabresi have more firmness than the Neapolitans; and they really seem to bear their excessive present misfortune with a true philosophic patience. Of 1600 inhabitants at Terra Nuova, only 400 escaped alive. My guide there, who was a priest and physician, had been shut up in the ruins of his house by the first shock, of the earthquake, and was blown out of it, and delivered by the succeeding shock, which followed the first immediately. There are many well-attested instances of the same having happened elsewhere in Calabria. In other parts of the plain situated near the ravine, and near the town of Terra Nuova, I saw many acres of land with trees and corn-fields that had been detached into the ravine, and often without having been overturned, so that the trees and crops were growing as well as if they had been planted there. Other such pieces were lying in the bottom, in an inclined situation? and others again that had been quite overturned. In one place, two of these immense pieces of land having been detached opposite to one another, had filled the valley, and stopped the course of the river, the waters of which were forming a great lake: and this is the true state of what the accounts mention of mountains that had walked, and joined together, stopped the course of the river, and formed a lake. At the moment of the

earthquake the river disappeared here, as at Rosarno, and returning soon after, overflowed the bottom of the ravine about three feet in depth, so that the poor people that had been thrown with their houses into the ravine from the top of it, and had escaped with broken bones, were now in danger of being drowned. I was assured, that the water was salt, like that of the sea; but this circumstance seems to want confirmation. The same reason I have given for the sudden disappearing of the river Metauro at Rosarno will account for the like phenomenon here, and in every part of the country where the rivers dried up at the bottom of the earthquake. The whole town of Mollochi di Sotto near Terra Nuova, was likewise detached into the ravine, and a vineyard of many acres near it lies in the bottom of the ravine as I saw in a perfect order, but in an inclined situation: there is a foot path through this vineyard, which has a singular effect, considering its present impracticable situation. Some water mills, that were on the river, having been jammed between two such detached pieces as above described, were lifted up by them, and are now seen on an elevated situation, many feet above the level of the river. Without the proper explanations it is no wonder that such facts should appear miraculous. I observed in several parts of the plain, that the soil with timber-trees and crops of corn, consisting of many acres, had sunk eight and ten feet below the level of the plain; and in others again I perceived it had risen as many. It is necessary to remember,

remember, that the soil of the plain is a clay mixed with sand, which is easily moulded into any shape. In the plain, near the spots from whence the above mentioned pieces had been detached into the ravine, there were several parallel cracks, so that had the violence of the shocks of the earthquake continued, these pieces also would have probably followed. I remarked constantly in all my journey, that near every ravine, or hollow way, the parts of the plain adjoining were full of large parallel cracks. The earth rocking with violence from side to side, and having a support on one side only; accounts well for this circumstance. From Terra Nuova I went to Oppido. This city is situated on a mountain of a ferruginous sort of gritty stone, unlike the clay soil of its neighbourhood, and is surrounded by two rivers in a ravine deeper and broader than that of Terra Nuova. Instead of the mountain on which Oppido was situated having split in two, and by its fall on the rivers, stopped their course and formed great lakes, as we were told; it was (as at Terra Nuova) huge pieces of the plain on the edge of the ravine, that had been detached into it, nearly filled it up, and stopped the course of the rivers, the waters of which are now forming two great lakes. It is true, that part of the rock on which Oppido stood was detached with several houses into the ravine; but that is a trifling circumstance in comparison of the very great tracts of land, with large plantations of vines and olive-trees, which have been detached from one side of the ravine

clear over to the other, though the distance is more than half a mile. It is well attested, that a countryman, who was ploughing his field in this neighbourhood with a pair of oxen, was transported with his field and team clear from one side of a ravine to the other, and that neither he nor his oxen were hurt. After what I have seen, I verily believe this may have happened. A large volume might be composed of the curious facts and accidents of this kind produced by the earthquakes in the valley; and, I suppose, many will be recorded in the account of the late formidable earthquakes, which the academy of Naples intend to publish, the president having already sent into Calabria fifteen members, with draughtsmen in proportion, to collect the facts, and make drawings for the sole purpose of giving a satisfactory and ample account of the late calamity to the publick; but unless they attend as I did, to the nature of the soil of the place where those accidents happened, their reports will generally meet with little credit, except from those who are professed dilettanti of miracles, and many such do certainly exist in this country."

Sir William concludes his letter as follows:

"But before I take my leave, I will just sum up the result of my observations in Calabria and Sicily, and give you my reasons for believing that the present earthquakes are occasioned by the operation of a volcano, the seat of which seems to lye deep, either under the bottom of the sea, between the island of Stromboli and the coast of Calabria, or under the



the parts of the plain towards Oppido and Terra Nuova. If on a map of Italy, and with your compass on the scale of Italian miles, you were to measure off 22, and then fixing your central point in the city of Oppido. (which appeared to me to be the spot on which the earthquake had exerted its greatest force) form a circle (the radii of which will be, as I just said, 22 miles) you will then include all the towns, villages, that have been utterly ruined, and the spots where the greatest mortality has happened, and where there have been the most visible alterations on the face of the earth. Then extend your compass on the same scale to 72 miles, preserving the same center, and form another circle, you will include the whole of the country that has any mark of having been affected by the earthquake. I plainly observed a gradation in the damage done to the buildings, as also in the degree of mortality in proportion as the countries were more or less distant from this supposed center of the evil. One circumstance I particularly remarked, if two towns were situated at an equal distance from this centre, the one on a hill, the other on the plain, or in a bottom, the latter had always suffered greatly more by the shocks of the earthquakes than the former; a sufficient proof to me of the cause coming from beneath, as this must naturally have been productive of such an effect. And I have reason to believe, that the bottom of the sea, being still nearer the volcanic cause, would be found (could it be seen) to have suffered even more than the plain itself; but (as you will find in most

of the accounts of the earthquakes that are in the press, and which are numerous) the philosophers, who do not easily abandon their ancient systems, make the present earthquakes to proceed from the high mountains of the Apennines that divide Calabria Ultra, such as the Monte Dejo, Monte Coulone, and Aspramonte; I would ask them this simple question, Did the Æolian or Lipari islands (all which rose undoubtedly from the bottom of the sea by volcanic explosions at different, and perhaps very distant, periods) owe their birth to the Apennines in Calabria, or to veins of minerals in the bowels of the earth, and under the bottom of the sea? Stromboli an active volcano, and probably the youngest of those islands, is not above 50 miles from the parts of Calabria that have been most affected by the late earthquakes. The vertical shocks, or, in other words, those whose impulse was from the bottom upwards, have been the most destructive to the unhappy towns in the plain; did they proceed from Monte Dejo, Monte Coulone, or Aspramonte? In short, the idea I have of the present local earthquakes is, that they have been caused by the same kind of matter that gave birth to the Æolian or Lipari islands; that, perhaps, an opening may have been made at the bottom of the sea, and most probably between Stromboli and Calabria Ultra (for from that quarter all agree, that the subterraneous noises seem to have proceeded); and that the foundation of a new island or volcano may have been laid, though it may be ages, which to nature are but moments, before it is completed,

completed, and appears above the surface of the sea. Nature is ever active; but her actions are, in general, carried on so very slowly as scarcely to be perceived by mortal eye, or recorded in the very short space of what we call history, let it be ever so ancient. Perhaps too, the whole destruction I have been describing may have proceeded simply from the exhalations of confined vapours, generated by the fermentation of such minerals as produce volcanoes, which have escaped where they met with the least resistance, and must naturally in a greater degree have affected the plain than the high and more solid grounds around it. When the account of the Royal Academy of Naples is published, with maps, plans, and drawings, of the curious spots I have described, this rude and imperfect account will, I flatter myself, be of use: without the help of plans and drawings, you well know, Sir, the great difficulty there is in making one's self intelligible on such a subject. The inclosed letter, which I received whilst I was in Calabria Ultra, from the Marquis Ippolito, a gentleman of Catanzaro, and an able naturalist, will give you the particulars of the phenomena that have been produced by the late earthquakes in Calabria Citra, my time having permitted me to visit only a part of that province. I once more then crave your kind indulgence, and that of the members of our respectable society, if you should think proper to communicate this hasty paper to them.

I have the honour to be, &c."

*Translation of the Count Francesco Ippolito's Letter to Sir William Hamilton, Knight of the Bath, F. R. S. giving an Account of the Earthquake which happened in Calabria, March 28, 1783. From the Appendix to the 73d Vol. of Philosophical Transactions.*

THAT part of the kingdom of Naples, formerly possessed by the Brutii, and other Greek colonies, and now called Calabria, has been at all times exposed to the terrible convulsions, of which we are at present the victims. The earthquakes in 1638 and 1659, by which the two provinces of Calabria were almost utterly destroyed, are fresh in every one's memory, as well as that of the year 1743-4, which afflicted us for a long time, but without loss of cities or of men. Reggio, and the countries near it, are exposed to earthquakes almost every year, and if we look back to highest antiquity, we shall find that all Italy, but particularly this country, and more particularly still the provinces we inhabit, have been subject to various catastrophes in consequence of volcanoes and subterraneous fires. Indeed, the religious rites themselves of our ancestors the Brutii, which history teaches us were all of a gloomy melancholy cast, attest the deep impression which the sense of such repeated and terrible catastrophes made upon the people exposed to them. Neither, however, could it, nor can it, be otherwise in countries such as these are, which are intersected by the chain of the Appennines, the bowels of which contain nothing

thing but sulphur, iron, fossil coals, petroleum, and other bituminous and combustible matters. The quantity of these minerals must necessarily occasion fermentations and subterraneous fires, and it is good for us that we have so many volcanoes in the neighbourhood, to serve as chimnies, and afford outlets to the fire which forms under our feet.

But amongst so many earthquakes to which we have been exposed, the least is not that under which we at present suffer, whether we consider the force of the concussions, or their duration, or the changes that have taken place in the surface of the earth, or the ruin of so many cities and villages, with the loss of forty thousand inhabitants.

I have kept a regular account from the day of the first shock of the 5th of February, not only of the convulsions suffered by the earth, but likewise of all the meteors observed in the atmosphere. This the shortness of time will not allow me to transmit to your excellency; but the sum of it is, that from the 5th of February to this instant the shocks have been more frequent, and almost every day repeated. At times the earth shook as it usually does on these occasions; but at others the motion was undulatory, and at others vorticose, during which last state it resembled a ship tossed about in a high sea. The most considerable of these repeated earthquakes were those which took place on the 5th of February, at  $19\frac{1}{2}$  Italian time; on the 7th, about  $20\frac{1}{2}$ ; on the 28th, about  $8\frac{3}{4}$  of the night; and finally on the 28th of March, about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  in the

evening. These four eruptions coming, as nearly as we can judge by the phenomena and effects, from the chain of mountains which extend from Reggio hitherwards, have produced four different explosions in four different parts of Calabria. The three former were in that part of the province in which your excellency now is, and that which you must pass through in your journey to Messina. These explosions have produced various great effects; ruined cities and villages, levelled mountains, immense breaks in the earth, new collections of waters, old rivulets sunk in the earth and dispersed, rivers stopped in their course, soils levelled, small mountains which existed not before formed, plants rooted up, and carried to considerable distances from their first site, large portions of earth rolling about through considerable districts, animals and men swallowed up by the earth—but I abstain from entering into a minute account of these disasters; your excellency will see them with your own eyes, and assisted by the relations of ocular and faithful witnesses, no doubt, form a faithful history of them. One thing, however, I may not forbear to communicate, and that is, that of all these calamities, the greatest and most extraordinary was that which happened on the banks of Scilla and Bagnara. That part of the sea which considerably overflowed in these marshes, and swallowed up a great number of people who had taken refuge there, was so hot that it scalded several of those who were saved. This I had from the mouth of the most excellent Vicar General.

But

But I will confine myself to a short narrative of the effects of the last explosion of the 28th of March, which, without a doubt, must have arisen from an internal fire in the bowels of the earth in these parts, as it took place precisely in the mountains which cross the neck of our peninsula which is formed by the two rivers, the Lameto which runs into the gulph of St. Euphemia, and the Corace, which runs into the Ionian sea, and properly into the bay of Squillace. That the thing was so is evident from all the phenomena.

This shock, like all the rest, came to us in the direction of the S. W. At first the earth began to undulate, then it shook, and finally it moved in a vorticoſe direction, ſo that many perſons were not able to ſtand upon their feet. This terrible concuſſion laſted about ten ſeconds; it was ſucceeded by others which were leſs ſtrong, of leſs duration, and only undulatory; ſo that, during the whole night, and for half the next day, the earth was continually ſhaken, at firſt every five minutes, afterwards every quarter of an hour.

A terrible groan from under ground preceded this convulſion, laſted as long as it did, and finally ended with an intense noiſe, like the thunder of a mine that takes effect. Theſe mighty thunderings accompanied not only the ſhocks of that night and of the ſucceeding day, but all the others which have taken place ſince that time: moreover, groans have ſometimes been heard without any ſhakes of the earth, and prior to the 28th of March there were noiſes and crackings which exactly

reſembled the burſting of ſo many bombs.

The air was covered with clouds, and the westerly gales blew very fresh. Theſe were ſtill in one minute before the horrid craſh; but in one moment after they blew again, and then were ſtill. There were, however, frequent and ſudden changes of the atmosphere during the whole night, the heavens being alternately cloudy and ſerene, and different winds blowing, though they all came from between ſouth-weſt.

At the time of the earthquake, during the night, flames were ſeen to iſſue from the ground in the neighbourhood of this city towards the ſea, where the exploſion extended, ſo that many countrymen ran away for fear; theſe flames iſſued exactly from a place where ſome days before an extraordinary heat had been perceived.

After the great concuſſion there appeared in the air, towards the eaſt, a whitish flame, in a ſlanting direction; it had the appearance of electric fire, and was ſeen for the ſpace of two hours.

In conſequence of the terrible ſhock, many countries and cities, eſpecially thoſe ſituated in the neighbourhood and neck of our peninsula as you go from Tiriola to the river Angitola, and which had ſuffered nothing before, were overturned. Curinga, Maida, Cortale, Girifalco, Borgia, St. Floro, Settingiano, Marcellinara, Tiriolo, and other countries of leſs importance, were almoſt entirely deſtroyed, but with the loſs of very few people. Many hundreds, however, perished in Maida, Cortale, and Borgia,

The

The same effects which took place in the country your excellency is now in were likewise produced by the earthquake in these parts. Many hills were divided or laid level; many apertures were made in the surface of the earth throughout the whole surface which lies between the two vallies occupied by the rivers Corace and Lameto, as you go towards Angitola. Out of many of these apertures a great quantity of water coming either from the subterraneous concentrations, or the rivers themselves in the neighbourhood of which the ground broke up; spouted during several hours. From one of these openings in the territory of Borgia, distant about a mile from the sea, there came out a large quantity of salt water which imitated the motions of the sea itself for several days. Warm water likewise issued from the apertures made in the plains of Maida; but I cannot say whether this was of a mineral quality, or heated by the same subterraneous fire.

We must likewise take notice, that there came from the same fissures out of which the water issued some very thin earth, either of a white, grey, or yellow sort, which from its extreme tenuity had all the appearance of a true sand. I have seen only the grey, in which there was evidently a mixture of iron.

It has also been observed, that in all the sandy parts, where the explosion took place, there were observed, from distance to distance, apertures in the form of an inverted cone, out of which likewise there came water. This seems to prove that from thence

escaped a flake of electric fire. Fissures of this kind are particularly met with along the banks of the Lameto, from the place where it goes into the sea hitherwards for many a mile.

Amidst the various phenomena, which either preceded or followed the earthquake, the two former are remarkable. On the very day of the earthquake, the water of a well in Maida, which heretofore people used to drink, was infected with so disgusting a sulphureous taste, that it was impossible even to smell to it. On the other hand, at Catanzaro, the water of a well, which before could not be used because of a smell of calcination that it had, became so pure as to be drunk extremely well. In Maida itself many fountains were dried up by the earthquake of the 28th. This likewise happened at other places; but many also broke out in several spots where there had been none before, as did also several mineral springs, of which before there was not a vestige. This happened at Cropani, a country of the Marchesato. Commonly, however, the fountains became more swelled and more copious, and emitted a larger volume of water than usual.

The waters of some fountains were also observed to be troubled, and to assume a whitish or yellowish colour, according to the countries through which they passed.

Many elevations of soil likewise took place in consequence of the earthquake. The most notable was that which happened in the bed of the river of Borgia, where there was seen a new hillock, about ten palms high, about twenty palms

palms at the base, and about two hundred palms long. Finally, in the neighbourhood of the river Lameto, and precisely in the district of the country called Amato, which was entirely torn up by the earthquake, there is an olive ground, the surface of which is turned over in a vorticoſe direction; a phenomenon which likewise obtained in many other parts of the country.

Such are the most notable phenomena of the earthquake of the 28th of March in these countries which have hitherto reached my notice. I think myself, however, obliged to notice to your excellency, that this extraordinary catastrophe of our afflicted province was preceded by great and extraordinary frosts in the winter of 1782; by an extraordinary drought and insufferable heats in the spring of the same year; and by great, copious, and continued rains, which began in autumn, and continued to the end of January. These rains were accompanied by no thunder or lightning, nor were any winds hardly ever heard in these cities where they are used to blow very fresh during all this time; but at the beginning of the earthquake they all seemed to break loose together, accompanied with hail and rain. For a long time before the earth shook, the sea appeared considerably agitated, so as to frighten the fishermen from venturing upon it, without there being any visible winds to make it so. Our volcanoes too, as I am confidently assured, emitted no eruptions for a considerable time before; but there was an eruption of Etna in the first earthquake, and Stromboli

shewed some fire in the last. God grant that the pillars of the earth may be again fastened, and the equilibrium of both natural and moral things restored!

I have the honour to be, &c.

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*Account of the Black Canker Caterpillar, which destroys the Turnips in Norfolk. By William Marshall, Esq. in a Letter to Charles Morton, M. D. F. R. S. From the same Work.*

Ganton, near Aylsham, Norfolk,  
S I R, August 22, 1782.

A Few months after you did me the honour of presenting my minutes of agriculture to the British Museum, I came down into Norfolk, as agent to Sir Harbord Harbord.

To a person intelligent in matters of agriculture it would be superfluous to say, that Norfolk is celebrated for good husbandmen; or that the turnip crop is the basis of the Norfolk husbandry. If a Norfolk farmer loses his crop of turnips, his farm is injured for several succeeding years; for it is not only the loss of the immediate profit, which would otherwise have arisen to him from his bullocks, but his land is deprived of the consequent manure and trampling (esteemed highly beneficial to the light lands of this county) on which his future crops of corn are essentially dependant.

Among the numerous enemies to which turnips are liable, none have proved more fatal here than the black canker (a species of caterpillar) which in some years have been so numerous as to cut off the farmer's hopes in a few days. In other



other years, however, the damage has been little, and in others nothing. About twenty years ago the whole country was nearly stripped; and this year it has been subjected to a similar fate. Many thousands of acres, upon which a fairer prospect for a crop of turnips has not been seen for many years, have been plowed up; and as, from the season being now far spent, little profit can be expected from a second sowing; the loss to the farmers, individually, will be very considerable, and to the county immense.

It was observed in the canker-year above-mentioned, that, prior to the appearance of the caterpillars, great numbers of yellow flies were seen busy among the turnip plants; and it was then suspected, that the canker was the caterpillar state of the yellow fly; and since that time it has been remarked, that cankers have regularly followed the appearance of these flies. From their more frequently appearing on the sea-coast, and from the vast quantities which have, I believe, at different times, been observed on the beach, washed up by the tide, it has been a received opinion among the farmers, that they are not natives of this country, but come across the ocean, and observations this year greatly corroborate the idea. Fishermen upon the eastern coast declare, that they actually saw them arrive in cloud-like flights; and from the testimony of many, it seems to be an indisputable fact, that they first made their appearance on the eastern coast; and, moreover, that on their first being observed, they lay upon and near the cliffs so thick and so languid,

that they might have been collected into heaps, lying, it is said, in some places two inches thick. From thence they proceeded into the country, and even at the distance of three or four miles from the coast they were seen in multitudes resembling swarms of bees. About ten days after the appearance of the flies, the young caterpillars were first observed on the under sides of the leaves of the turnips, and in seven or eight days more, the entire plants, except the stronger fibres, were eaten up. A border under the hedge was regularly spared until the body of the inclosure was finished; but this done, the border was soon stripped, and the gateway, and even the roads have been seen covered with caterpillars travelling in quest of a fresh supply of turnips; for the grasses, and indeed every plant, except the turnip and the charlock (*sinapis arvensis*) they entirely neglect, and even die at their roots, without attempting to feed upon them. This destruction has not been confined within a few miles of the eastern coast, but has reached, more or less, into the very center of the county. The mischief, however, in the western parts of Norfolk, and even on the north coast, has been less general; but I am afraid it may be said, with a great deal of truth, that one half of the turnips in the county have been cut off by this voracious animal.

A circumstance so discouraging to industry, and injurious to the public at large, will, I flatter myself, Sir, be thought a sufficient apology for my troubling you with a relation of it, and for my

my taking the liberty of sending you a male and a female fly, also one of the animals in its caterpillar, and one which is in its chrysalis state, for your inspection, hoping that the public may become acquainted with the means of preventing in future so great a calamity.

Left the flies may become disfigured in travelling, it may be prudent to say, that their wings are four; that their antennæ are clubbed, and about one-third of the length of their body, each being composed of nine joints, namely, two next the head, above which two there is a joint somewhat longer than the rest, and above this six more joints, similar to the two below; that near the point of the tail of the female there is a black speck, outwardly fringed with hair; but which, opening longitudinally, appears to be the end of a case, containing a delicate point or sting (about one-twentieth of an inch in length) which on a cursory view appears to be a simple lanceolated instrument, with a strong line passing down the middle, and serrated at its edges; but, on a closer inspection, and by agitating it strongly with the point of a needle, it separates into three one edged instruments, hanger-like as to their general form, with a spiral line or wrinkle winding from the point to the base, making ten or twelve revolutions, which line, passing over their edges, gives them some appearance of being serrated.

By the help of these instruments, I apprehend, the female deposits her eggs in the edge of the turnip-leaf (or sometimes, perhaps, in

the nerves or ribs on the under surface of the leaf); thus far I can say, and I think with a considerable degree of certainty, that having put some fresh turnip-leaves into a glass containing several of the male and female flies, I perceived (by the means of a simple magnifier) that one of the females, after examining attentively the edge of the leaf, and finding a part which appeared to me to have been bitten, unsheathed her instruments, insinuated them into the edge of the leaf, and having forced them asunder so as to open a pipe or channel between them, placed her pubes (the situation of which from repeated and almost incessant copulations I had been able to ascertain precisely, and to the lower part of which these instruments seem to be fixed) to the orifice, and having remained a few seconds in that posture, deliberately drew out the instruments (which the transparency of the leaf held against a strong light afforded me an opportunity of seeing very plainly) and proceeded to search for another convenient place for her purpose.

The caterpillar has twenty feet (six of its legs being of considerable length, the other fourteen very short) and in its first stage is of a jetty black, smooth as to a privation of hair, but covered with innumerable wrinkles. Having acquired its full size, it fixes its hinder parts firmly to the leaf of a turnip, or any other substance, and breaking its outer coat or slough near the head, crawls out, leaving the skin fixed to the leaf, &c. The under coat, which it now appears in, is of a blueish or lead colour, and the caterpillar

caterpillar is evidently diminished in its size. In every respect it is the same animal as before, and continues to feed on the turnips for some days longer: it then entirely leaves off eating, and becomes covered with a dewy moisture, which seems to exude from it in great abundance, and appearing to be of a glutinous nature, retains any loose or pliant substance which happens to come in contact with it, and by this means alone seems to form its chrysalis coat. One I find laid up in the fold of a withered turnip leaf (that which I have the honour of inclosing you) was, among six others, formed by putting common garden mould to them while they were in the exsudatory state above described.

From the generic characters of the fly I conclude it to be a *Tenthredo* of Hill; but whether that voluminous author be sufficiently accurate; or whether, from being an almost entire stranger to natural history, I may, or may not, sufficiently understand my book, I must beg leave to submit to your superior knowledge of the subject.

I am endeavouring to extend my observations on these insects, and am making some experiments concerning them, the result of which I should be extremely happy in being permitted to communicate to you; and it may be proper to add here, that I should not have taken the liberty of troubling you prematurely with this letter, had I not luckily met with an opportunity of procuring some live flies (which are now become very scarce; and I flatter myself they

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will come to your hands in a perfect state.

I am, with the greatest respect, &c.

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*Some Account of the "Description of Experiments made with the Aerostatic machine, &c. by M. Faujas de St. Fond;" extracted from Appendix to the 69th Volume of the Monthly Review.*

“WE avail ourselves of the opportunity of this recent publication, to lay before our readers a brief, historical account of the very interesting discovery which has of late attracted the notice of the whole philosophical world; and which our sanguine neighbours did not scruple, at the very first, to dignify with the name of *Aerial Navigation*.

Although the author of this book be known to have warmly espoused the party of Montgolfier, in opposition to that of Charles (for there are parties even concerning balloons), yet his reputation, as a man of learning and veracity, is sufficiently established, and the facts he here alledges are in general, as we have had opportunities to ascertain by collateral evidence, stated with sufficient accuracy to justify us in taking him for our guide in this narrative.

The Preface contains a short survey of what projects have formerly been suggested for the purpose of floating heavy bodies in the atmosphere; the principal of which are those of Lana, a Jesuit of Brescia, and of Galien, a Dominican of Avignon; both which however were, upon well established principles, found by theory

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to be impossible in the execution\*. Due honour is paid to Mr. Cavallo of London, who, in 1782, seemingly with a view to this discovery, tried to fill bags of paper and bladders with inflammable air; but failed in his attempts, by the unexpected permeability of paper to inflammable air, and the too great proportional weight of the common sized bladders. Had he then thought of employing gummed silk, or gold-beater's skin, he probably would have plucked the very laurels that now adorn the brows of Montgolfier and Charles.

I. The honour of the discovery is certainly due to the brothers Stephen and Joseph Montgolfier, proprietors of a considerable paper manufacture at Annonay, a town in the Vivarais, about thirty-six miles south of Lyons: and their invention is the more to be admired, as it is not the effect of the late discovery of a permanent elastic fluid lighter than the common air, but of properties of matter long known, and in the hands of the many acute philosophers of this and of the last century. They conceived that the effect they looked for might be obtained by confining vapours lighter than common air, in an inverted bag, or covering, sufficiently compact to prevent their evaporation, and so light, that when inflated, its own weight, added to that of the inclosed vapour, might fall some-

what short of the weight of the air which its bulk displaces.

On these principles, they prepared matters for an experiment. They formed a bag, or balloon, of linen cloth, lined with paper, nearly spherical, and measuring about 35 feet in diameter†; its solid contents were about 22,000 cubic feet, a space nearly equal to that occupied by 1980lb. of common air, of a mean temperature, on the level of the sea. The vapour, which, by conjecture, was about half as light as common air, weighed 990lb. The balloon, together with a wooden frame suspended to the bottom, which was to serve as ballast, weighed 490lb. whence it appears that the whole must have been about 500lb. lighter than an equal bulk of common air. This difference of specific gravity, by which these bodies are made to rise, we shall henceforth, without warranting the propriety of the expression, call their power of ascension.

The 5th of June, 1783, was fixed on for the display of this singular experiment. The states of Vivarais, who were then assembled at Annonay, were invited to the exhibition. The flaccid bag was suspended on a pole 35 feet high; straw and chopped wool were burnt under the opening at the bottom; the vapour, or rather smoke, soon inflated the bag, so as to distend it in all its parts; and, on a sudden, this immense

\* The impossibility of Lana's project was demonstrated by Hook; see his Philosophical Collections, No. I. p. 28. And since by Leibnitz. Galien's never needed any confutation.

† All the measures here given are French. The French foot is to the English at 144 to 135; a French toise is six French feet, or, six and three-eighths English feet.

mas ascended in the air with such velocity, that in less than ten minutes it appeared to be about 1000 toises above the heads of the spectators. A breeze carried it about 1200 toises from the spot whence it departed; and then the vapour, either escaping through some loop-holes that had been accidentally left in the construction, or being condensed by the coldness of the circumambient air, the globe descended gradually on a vineyard, with so little pressure, that none of the stakes were broken, and scarce any of the branches of the vines bent.

II. The rumour of this successful experiment soon reached the metropolis, and roused the emulation of the Parisian philosophers. Without waiting for particular instructions from the inventors, they reflected on a method of their own; and resolved, instead of vapour, to use inflammable air; the specific weight of which, when pure, they knew to be that of common air nearly as ten to one\*.

The process of producing this air being very expensive, the author of the book now before us, set on foot a subscription; and having soon raised a sufficient sum, M. Charles, professor of experimental philosophy, and M. Robert, a mathematical instrument maker, were set to work: and they constructed a globe of lutestring (taffetas), glazed over with elastic gum dissolved in some kind of spirit or essential oil. After many difficulties and disap-

pointments, which will ever attend first essays, they succeeded, in two days, to fill this globe with inflammable air, produced from 1000lb. of iron-filings and 498lb. of vitriolic acid, diluted in four times its quantity of water. This globe measured 12 feet two inches in diameter, its solid contents were 943 feet six lines cubic, and its power of ascension was found equal to 35lb.

The 27th of August 1783, having been fixed on for the exhibition of this experiment, the balloon was conveyed, in the preceding night, floating in the air, from a court near the Place des Victoires, where it had been constructed, to the Champ de Mars. Our author indulges his lively imagination in a lofty description of this nocturnal procession, which, he says, moved along in the dead of night, attended by a party of guards, with lighted torches, and seemed so awful, that the hackney coachmen who happened to be in its way, descended from their seats, and devoutly prostrated themselves before the supernatural being that advanced in such solemn state.

The concourse of people, on foot and in carriages, were so immense in the Champ de Mars, that a large body of troops were drawn out to prevent disturbances. At five o'clock in the afternoon, a signal having been given by the firing of a mortar, the cords that confined the globe were cut, and it rose, in less than two minutes, to a height of near 500 toises. It

\* In justice to our country, we must here at least commemorate the name of Cavendish; to whom, it is acknowledged on all hands, the discovery of the specific gravity of inflammable air, as well as of many other of its properties, is solely due. See Phil. Trans. Vol. lvi. p. 150.

there entered a cloud, but soon appeared again, ascending to a much greater height; and at last it was lost among other clouds.

Our author justly censures the conduct of this experiment; observing, that too much inflammable air, and that even some common air had been introduced into the globe, which being closed on all sides, left no room for the expansion of this elastic fluid when it should arrive to a more rarefied medium. We find, in fact, that it must have burst in consequence of this expansion; since, after having floated about three quarters of an hour, it fell in a field near Gonesse, a village about five leagues (15 miles) N. N. W. of the Champ de Mars. It must be allowed, that the mere evaporation of the air could not well have been the cause of its descending so soon. Many periodical papers have already entertained the public with ludicrous accounts of the astonishment of the peasants who found it, and of the rough treatment it received at their hands.

III. It may easily be imagined, that these brilliant successes animated the zeal of all the curious in the metropolis; and that many essays were made to repeat the same experiments upon a smaller scale. Our author, accordingly, in a third chapter, mentions a number of these secondary attempts; upon which we shall dwell no longer than only to observe, that they succeeded with globes made of gold-beater's skin, and only 12 inches in diameter, which being thought the least that could be made to ascend, considering that the proportionate

weight of the materials increase as the bulk is diminished, were called *minimums*.

IV. M. Montgolfier junior, having arrived at Paris a few days before the experiment at the Champ de Mars, was desired by the Royal Academy of Sciences to repeat the experiment of Annonay. He accordingly constructed, in a garden, in the Faubourg St. Germain, a balloon of an elliptical form, 70 feet high, and 40 feet in diameter. It was lined, both inside and outside, with paper. Its power of ascension was found, upon calculation, to be about 1250 lb. It was filled in ten minutes by the burning of 50 lb. of straw and 10 lb. of chopped wool. It was loaded with a weight of 500 lb. and ascended, fastened to ropes, on the 12th of September, in the presence of the deputies of the Royal Academy. But it proving a very rainy day, the whole apparatus was so essentially damaged, that it was not thought proper to set it loose.

V. We come now to the experiment made on the 10th of September, in the presence of the king and queen, the court, and all the Parisians who could procure a conveyance to Versailles. This balloon was 57 feet high and 41 in diameter. Its power of ascension, allowing for a wicker cage, containing a sheep, a cock, and a duck, which was suspended to it, was equal to 696 lb. As only four days had been allowed for the making this machine, it could not, therefore, be lined with paper. M. M. had predicted, that it would remain in the air about 20 minutes; and, with a moderate wind, might float to a distance



tance of about 2000 toises. But, beside some imperfection in the construction, owing to the great hurry in which it had been made, a sudden gust of wind, while it was inflating, made two rents seven feet long near the top, which could not but in some measure prevent the promised effect. It swelled however in 11 minutes sufficiently to raise it about 240 toises; it floated to the distance of nearly 1700 toises, and, after having been in the air about eight minutes, it subsided gradually in the wood of Vaucresson.—The animals in the cage were safely landed. The sheep was found feeding; the cock had received some hurt on one of his wings, probably from a kick of the sheep: the duck was perfectly well.

VI. M. Montgolfier determined now to repeat the experiment under more favourable circumstances, and more at his leisure. He therefore made a new balloon, in a garden, in the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, which measured 70 feet in height, and 46 feet in diameter. A gallery of wicker was contrived round the aperture at the bottom; under which an iron grate or brazier was suspended, and port-holes opened on the inside of the gallery; towards the aperture, through which any person *cui robur et æs triplex circa pectus fuerit*, who might venture to ascend, might feed the fire on the grate, and thus keep up the vapour, smoke, or as we rather apprehend, the dilation of the air, in this vast cavity.

On the 15th of October, M. Pilatre de Rozier, no doubt the most intrepid philosopher of the age, placed himself in the gallery, ascended about 80 feet from

the ground, and there kept the balloon afloat for some time, by repeatedly throwing straw and wool upon the fire. In this experiment it was found, that the descent of a globe (provided no extraordinary accident happened to it) must necessarily be gradual; and that it will always light softly upon the ground, since, in fact, in every part of its descent it enters a denser medium; whence its velocity in falling will rather be retarded than accelerated. On the 19th of October, M. P. de R. ascended a second time, about 250 feet. After continuing stationary about eight minutes, a gust of wind carried the balloon among some trees, where it entangled itself so as to endanger its being torn to pieces. But, on M. R. throwing some fresh straw upon the fire, it immediately reascended, amid the loud acclamations of a vast multitude of people, who little expected to see so sudden a recovery. The balloon was then hauled down, and M. Giron de Villette placed himself in the gallery opposite to M. R. They were once more let up; and, for some time, hovered over Paris, in the sight of all its inhabitants, at the height of 324 feet."

*The foregoing Experiments were soon succeeded by two most extraordinary aerial Voyages; the first undertaken by M. Pilatre de Rozier, and the Marquis D'Arlandes, on the 21st of November; and the second by Mess. Charles and Robert, on the 1st of December, 1783.—For an Account of which we refer our Readers to the following Authorities.*

*Translation of a Copy of the Certificate dated at the Chateau-de-la Muette, near Paris, the 21st of November, 1783, relative to the Excursion of the Marquis D'Arlandes, and M. Pilatre.*

**T**HIS day, at the king's palace, the Chateau-de-la Muette, an experiment has been made of the aerostatique machine of M. Montgolfiers. The sky was cloudy in some places, clear in others, the wind N. W. Eight minutes after twelve at noon, a signal was given to announce that they began to fill the machine; in eight minutes time it was perfectly developed on all sides, and ready to start. The Marquis D'Arlandes and M. Pilatre de Rozier were placed in the gallery.

It was intended at first to let the machine rise, and then to withhold it with ropes, in order to put it to trial, to compute the exact weight it might carry, and also to see whether every part was properly completed for the important experiment which was going to be made. But the machine being driven by the wind, instead of raising itself vertically, went in a direction on one of the walks in the garden, and the ropes which held it acting with too much force, several rents were occasioned thereby, one of which was six feet in length. The machine having been replaced on the alcove, was repaired in less than two hours. Having been filled again, it went off at 54 minutes after one, carrying the same gentlemen; it rose in a majestic manner, and when it had ascended the height of above 250 feet, the intrepid travellers waving their hats, saluted the spec-

tators: it was impossible not to feel then a sense intermixed with fear and admiration.

The aerial travellers were soon out of sight, but the machine hovering on the horizon, and appearing in the most beautiful form, ascended gradually 3000 feet, some say 3000 feet in height, where it still remained visible; it crossed the Seine below the Bar of Contenance, and passing thence between the Military School and the Hotel of the Invalids, it was visible by all Paris.

The travellers being satisfied with this experiment, and not being willing to extend their excursion, concerted means to descend, but perceiving that the wind carried them over the house in the Rue Seve, suburb St. Germaine, and still maintaining their cool intrepidity, *sang froid*, they let fly a flush of gaz, and thereby raising themselves again, they continued their airy route until they had passed over Paris. They then ascended in an easy manner in the fields beyond the New Boulevards, opposite the mill of Croulebarbe, without having experienced the least inconveniency, having still left in their gallery above two-thirds of their provisional stores; they might, therefore, if they had chosen it, have gone over a space of treble the extent; their route was from four to five thousand toises or fathoms, and performed in from twenty to twenty-five minutes.

The machine was seventy feet in height, forty-six in diameter, its inside 60,000 cubical feet, and the weight it bore up was from sixteen to seventeen hundred pounds.

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This deposition, witnessed at the Chateau-de-la-Muette, at five in the afternoon, and signed by the Duc de POLIGNAC, the Duc de GUINES, the Comte de POLASTROC DE VAUDREUIL D'HUNAUD, Dr. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, FAUJAS DE ST. FOND, DALLISLE LE ROY, of the Academy of Sciences.

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*Account of the aerial Excursion of Mess. Charles and Robert, on the 1st of December, 1783, as given by Mons. Charles; translated from the Journal de Paris, of the 13th and 14th of the same Month.*

**P**REVIOUS to our ascension, we had sent up a globe of five feet eight inches diameter, in order to discover the course of the wind, and to mark out our intended route. The compliment of cutting the string was paid to M. Montgolfier, and it instantly rose. Meanwhile we prepared to follow it with impatience; but the perplexing circumstances\* we were in prevented our putting into execution every minute particular that we had intended the night before. The globe and the chariot were in exact equilibrium on the ground. At three quarters after one, we threw out 29 pounds of ballast, and rose in the midst of a profound silence, occasioned by the emotion and astonishment of both parties. Our first pleasing reflections, on our escape from the persecution and calumny which had attacked us, were heightened by the majestic scene which pre-

sented itself to our view; on every side a most serene sky, without a cloud, and a most charming distant prospect. As we ascended by an accelerated progressive motion we waved our banner in token of joy; and, in order the better to insure our safety, I was particularly attentive to the barometer. M. Robert examined the cargo with which our friends had ballasted our chariot, as for a long voyage, of champaign, &c. blankets, and furs.—Having enough, and to spare, he began with throwing out one of the blankets, which spread itself in the air, and fell near the dome of the Assumption.—The barometer then sunk 66 inches, and we had ceased to ascend, or, more properly speaking, were arrived at the height of about 300 toises. This was the height at which I had undertaken to stop, and from this moment to that of our first getting out of sight of the observers at the different stations our horizontal course was between 26 inches, and 26 inches eight lines of the mercury, which agrees with the observations made at Paris. We took care to throw out our ballast in proportion as we descended by the insensible loss of inflammable air, and we raised ourselves sensibly to the same height. Had circumstances permitted us to regulate this ballast with more exactness, our course would have been almost absolutely horizontal and voluntary.

Having reached the height of Mousseaux, which we left a little to the left, we remained for a moment stationary. Our chariot turned about, and we then filed

\* Les circonstances orageuses qui nous pressant.

off, as the wind directed. We soon after passed the Seine, between St. Ouen and Afnieres, and leaving Colombe on the left, passed almost over Gennevilliers. We had crossed the river a second time; leaving Argenteuil on the left, we passed at Sannois, Franconville, Faubonne, St. Leu-Taverny, Villiers, crossed L'Isle Adam, and afterwards Nettle, where we descended. Such were nearly the places over which we must have passed almost perpendicularly.— This passage makes about nine Paris leagues, which we ran over in two hours, with scarcely any sensible agitation in the air. During the whole of this delightful journey we felt not the least uneasiness about our own fate, or that of the machine. The globe suffered no other alteration than the successive modifications of dilatation and compression, of which we availed ourselves, to rise or descend at pleasure, in any quantity. The thermometer was, for above an hour, between 10 and 12 deg. above 0, owing to the inside of our chariot having been warmed by the rays of the sun. Its heat soon communicated itself to our globe, and contributed, by the dilatation of the inflammable air within, to keep us at the same height, without being obliged to lighten our ballast; but we suffered a greater loss: the inflammable air, dilated by the sun's heat, escaped by the appendage to the globe, which we held in our hands, and loosened, as circumstances required, to let out the air too much dilated. By this easy method we avoided the expansions and explosions which persons unacquainted with these

matters apprehended. The inflammable air could not break its prison, since it had always a vent, and the atmospheric air could not get into the globe, since its pressure made the appendage serve as a valve to oppose its entrance.

After 56 minutes progress we heard the gun which was the signal of our disappearing from the observers at Paris. Not being obliged to confine our course to an horizontal direction, as we had till then done, we gave ourselves up to the contemplation of the varied scenes in the open country beneath us. We shouted *Vive le Roi*, and heard our shouts echoed. We heard, very distinctly, voices saying, "Are not you afraid, my friends? Are not you sick? What a clever thing it is! God preserve you! Farewell, my friends!"—We continued waving our banners, and we saw that these signals redoubled the joy and security of those below. We several times came down low enough to be heard: people asked us whence we came, and what time we set out; and we ascended, bidding them farewell.—As circumstances required, we threw out, successively, great coats, muffs, cloaths. As we sailed over L'Isle Adam, we flourished our banners, and asked after the Prince of Conti; but had the mortification to be told, by a speaking trumpet, that he was at Paris. At length, re-ascending, we reached the plains of Nettle about half after three, when, as I intended a second expedition, and wished to avail myself of the advantage of situation, as well as of the day-light, I proposed to M. Robert to descend. Seeing a troop

troop of country people running before us over the fields, we descended towards a spacious meadow, inclosed with some trees and bushes. Our chariot advanced majestically along a long inclined plane. As it approached the trees, fearing it might be entangled among them, I threw out two pounds of ballast, and it sprang upwards over them. We ran over above 20 toises within one or two feet of the land, and looked like travellers in a sledge. The country people pursued us as children do a butterfly, without being able to overtake us. At length we came to the ground. As soon as the curate and syndics could be brought to the spot, I drew up a verbal process, which they immediately signed. Presently galloped up the Duke de Chartres, the Duke de Fitz-James, Mr. Farrer, an English gentleman, and a number of horsemen, who had followed us from Paris. Fortunately we alighted near a hunting seat of the latter, who immediately mounted his horse, and riding up to us exclaimed, "Mr. Charles, I am first." The prince embraced us both in our chariot, and signed the process. So did the Duke de Fitz-James. Mr. Farrer signed it three times. His signature was omitted in the Journal, for he was so transported with joy, that he could not write legibly. Of above 200 horsemen who followed us from Paris, only these could overtake us; the rest had knocked up their horses, or given out. After relating a few particulars to the Duke de Chartres, I told him I was going off again, when would he have me return? He replied,

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in half an hour. M. Robert quitted the chariot, as we had agreed. Thirty peasants held down the machine, I asked for some earth to ballast it, having not above four or five pounds left. A spade was not at hand, nor were there any stones in the meadow. The sun was near setting. I made a hasty calculation of the time requisite for the alteration of weight, and giving a signal to the peasants to quit their hold, I sprang up like a bird. In 20 minutes I was 1500 toises high, out of sight of all terrestrial objects. I had taken the necessary precautions against the explosion of the globe, and prepared to make the observations which I had promised myself. In order to observe the barometer and thermometer placed at the ends of the chariot, without altering the centre of gravity, I knelt down in the middle, stretching forwards my body and one leg, holding my watch and paper in my left, and my pen and the string of the valve in my right, waiting for the event. The globe, which, at my setting out, was rather flaccid, swelled insensibly. The air escaped in great quantities at the valve. I drew the valve from time to time, to give it two vents; and I continued to ascend, still losing air, which issued out hissing, and became visible, like a warm vapour in a cold atmosphere. The reason of this phenomenon is obvious. On earth the thermometer was seven degrees above the freezing point; after 10 minutes ascent it was five degrees below. The inflammable air had not had time to recover the equilibrium of its temperature. Its elastic equilibrium

brium being quicker than that of the heat, there must escape a greater quantity than that which the external dilation of the air could determine by its least pressure. For myself, though exposed to the open air, I passed, in 10 minutes, from the warmth of spring to the cold of winter, a sharp dry cold, but not too much to be borne. I declare, that in the first moment I felt nothing disagreeable in the sudden change. When the barometer ceased to rise, I marked exactly 18 inches 10 lines, the mercury suffering no sensible oscillation. From this oscillation I deduce a height of 1524 toises, or thereabouts, till I can be more exact in my calculation. In a few minutes more my fingers were benumbed by the cold, so that I could not hold my pen. I was now stationary, and moved only in an horizontal direction. I rose up in the middle of the chariot, to contemplate the scene around me. At my setting out the sun was set on the valleys; he soon rose for me alone, who was the only luminous body in the horizon, and all the rest of nature in shade. The sun himself presently disappeared, and I had the pleasure of seeing him set twice in the same day. I beheld, for a few seconds, the circumambient air and the vapours rising from the vallies and rivers. The clouds seemed to rise from the earth, and collect one upon another, still preserving their usual form, only their colour was grey and monotonous from the want of light in the atmosphere. The moon alone enlightened them, and shewed me that I was tacking about twice, and I observed cer-

tain currents that brought me back again. I had several sensible deviations, and observed, with surprise, the effects of the wind, and saw the streamers of my banners point upwards. This phenomenon was not the effect of the ascent or descent, for I then moved horizontally. At that instant I conceived, perhaps a little too hastily, the idea of being able to steer one's own course. In the midst of my transports I felt a violent pain in my right ear and jaw, which I ascribed to the dilatation of the air in the cellular construction of those organs, as much as to that of the external air. I was in a waistcoat, and bareheaded. I immediately put on a woolen cap, yet the pain did not go off but as I gradually descended. For seven or eight minutes I had ceased to ascend; the condensation of the internal inflammable air rather made me descend. I now recollected my promise to return in half an hour, and, pulling the upper valve, I came down. The globe was now so much emptied, that it appeared only an half globe. I perceived a fine ploughed field near the wood of Tour du Lay, and hastened my descent. When I was between 20 and 30 toises from the earth, I threw out hastily two or three pounds of ballast, and became, for a moment, stationary, till I descended gently on the field, above a league from the place whence I set out. The frequent deviations and turnings about make me imagine this voyage was about three leagues, and I was gone about 35 minutes. Such is the certainty of the combinations of our aerostatic machine, that I can at pleasure com-



plete 130 specific lightness, the preservation of which, equally voluntary, might have kept me in the air at least for 24 hours longer. When the two Dukes saw me at a distance coming down, they and the rest left M. Robert to meet me, and hastened to Paris; and the Prince himself most kindly undertook to give the public an account of us, and to quiet their apprehensions for us.

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*An authentic Account of the Discovery of an Island just risen out of the Ocean near Iceland, in the North Seas; from the Gentleman's Magazine for August, 1783.*

**T**HIS uncommon phenomenon was first observed by a Norway trader on his return from Iceland to Drentheim, whose crew were so terrified that they stood away from it with the utmost precipitation. Soon after a Dane from the Sound fell in with it, and at first mistook it for the continent of Iceland. The master, however, did not approach nearer than a league, but stood on for Skalholt, the capital of Iceland, where he made a report of his discovery to the Danish Governor. It was at first supposed that he had fallen in with a monstrous body of

ice; but, on his persevering in his account, some officers of the garrison, with several of the most skillful seamen of Iceland, went in quest of it; and in about three hours after their departure from Skalholt, came so near it that a boat was hoisted out, and the island taken possession of in his Danish Majesty's name. It is said there is not the least appearance of soil, but that the surface is of a marly nature, with crannies running through it filled with pumice stone, which are supposed to be thrown out by the different volcanoes in the island, of which it is thought there are three. The volumes of smoke that have been seen rise from one of the craters are very considerable, but no flame has yet issued from any of them. Its position is said to be at eight miles distance from the rocks des Viseaux, and its soundings about 44 fathoms. This singular production\*, which is supposed to have been formed in the spring of the present year, will no doubt induce such of the learned as are curious to visit it. It is conjectured by many to have taken its rise at the time Sicily suffered so much by the late eruptions of Mount *Ætna*; but those who consider its neighbourhood with *Hecla*, the second volcano in the world, will rather attribute it to some intestine commotions of that mountain.

\* This phenomenon is not *singular*. It issued from the sea in the neighbourhood of Santirini in the Grecian Archipelago.

In the year 1717, a burning mountain of Santirini in the Grecian Archipelago.

# USEFUL PROJECTS.

*On the Culture and Uses of Turnep-rooted Cabbage.*

*Thirty Pounds being the Premium offered by the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, for an Account of the Culture and Uses of the Turnep-rooted Cabbage, were equally divided, in the Year 1780, between Mr. Lewin Jug-well, of Beverstone, and Mr. Thomas Robbins, of Bowldown Farm, near Tetbury, in Gloucestershire, from whom the following Letters were received.*

*Extracted from Transactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, published for 1783.*

SIR,

**H**AVING by me the Society's description of models, machines, &c. I have observed on the lists of donations therein, that it is no uncommon thing for a person to be honoured with a second premium, for a matter of a similar nature with that, for which he had received a former gratuity. Hence, after gratefully acknowledging their last year's favour, for cultivating Turnep-rooted Cabbage, I am encouraged to submit to the consideration of the Gentlemen of your Committee, an account of my having again attempt-

ed, and succeeded, in the raising that article.

The field for this second experiment consisted of only eleven acres, and as my farm, when about two years ago I entered on it, was in general filthy, and greatly impoverished, and as I make these take a part with the common turneps, in recovering the most worn out quarter, the crop was not so large as that of the preceding year. This however I chiefly impute to the summers being wet and cold, in an almost unheard of degree, whence the land could not receive the benefit by previous fallowings it might otherwise have done. My seeds were furthermore again most execrably bad, and great numbers of the plants of a spurious worthless species; but for this I have now a remedy, in raising them myself, from roots selected for that purpose.

The stock it maintained consisted of two hundred and twelve tegs, or one year old sheep, which it sustained in a most desirable way, during the term of five weeks, and two hundred couples, or ewes with lambs, for upwards of three weeks besides. These last however were suffered once a day, to have a run in an adjoining grass-plat, whereby we find the lambs in particular do much better than when confined

to the turnep-field solely. The juices of the plant are certainly rich, but being of a solid substance, does not supply the milk of the ewe in such quantities, and so frequently as is necessary.

Intending the land for barley, I thought it would be imprudent to wait longer than about the 11th of May, when I had a great many loads of the roots hauled to the aforesaid grass-plot, where the tews; pasturing, continued at intervals feeding on them until Midsummer; and it was observed by my neighbours, that although they enjoyed their fill of fine grass, they were seldom known to lie down any where else than among the turneps, while any of these remained unconsumed. This I cannot but consider as a happy proof of the partial fondness the sheep have for this excellent root; and in respect of its effects on them, I declare I have hitherto experienced no plant so fattening, or that will keep the creatures in more perfect health.

The process of my plantation was conducted the same as formerly, that is, the land, having been previously fallowed and dunged, was thrown on to one-bout ridges, and at two feet distance from each other, a single row of plants set out on the top of each; at proper seasons the intervals were afterwards horse-hoed backwards and forwards, and in consideration of great numbers of weeds, accruing from the wetness of the summer, the tops of the ridges received two dressings of the hand-hoe. All of these, together with the subsequent foilings of the sheep, left the land in admirable condition; and about the 18th of May, as before-mentioned, I sowed

the field with barley, and reaped a return of a rich and luxuriant crop, in quality remarkably fine.

From incontrovertible facts relative to its utility, this species seems, in this neighbourhood, even to the distance of many miles around, to gain ground apace; and some of my neighbours, who on account of their ideal notions of the expence attending its cultivation, when first introduced, decried it at large, positively asserting no benefit could ever accrue from it to the owner, I have reason to believe will, ere long, be fully convinced of the impossibility of doing things entirely well without it.

We now find the expence (horse-hoeing excepted) to vary but little from that usually attending the raising the common turnep; and in consideration of the comparative superiority of its quality, the greater certainty of the crop succeeding (which with those, on account of the fly, is always precarious) its hardness also in resisting every degree of frost, and the benefit the soil eminently obtains from the cultivation, I humbly conceive the plant, in point of real value, to stand but very little, if any, behind that species. It is moreover, as a valuable consideration, to be observed, that, while feeding on these, no consumption of hay has, with us, as yet been made; our sheep indeed are often served therewith, but they are always as sure to reject it; and it may, not unlikely, some time or other be found, that these, on account of their singular permanency, may be equal to supporting the animals as well without hay, as the others with the addition of that expensive article; whence,  
in

in future, I intend practising the culture on a much larger scale. I now, on condition of their proceeding in due form, furnish my neighbours with seed gratis; and it is perhaps worthy of remark, that on an extreme cold day in February last, I had not less than four orders for Turnep-rooted Cabbage Seeds. Our method of feeding consists in pulling up the Turneps with a hook properly made, which having an edge on its back part for that purpose, each root, at a single stroke, receives an incision through the middle; hence, their external surface being very hard, the sheep feed on them with much greater facility than they would otherwise do. Many other observations in favour of this plant remain yet to be made, but which however, time and experience only must furnish.

My neighbour Robbins also intending this year to send up his claim for the premium, I the other day gave him a certificate, authenticating the contents thereof. His method of giving the lambs a backward run on rye-grass, is certainly deserving of imitation, and wherein I should have followed him, if I had had any in the vicinage of my plantation. Perhaps no other grass, at that early season (the burnet excepted) will ever, for producing milk in the ewe, be found equal thereto.

I am, Sir,

Your truly obliged, and

obedient humble

Beverstone,  
Oct. 21, 1778.

servant,

LEWIN TUGWELL.

Mr. Secretary,

IN consequence of the success of my neighbour, Mr. Lewin Tugwell, who last year obtained of your Society, the premium offered for cultivating the Turnep-rooted Cabbage, I am also this year induced to profess myself a claimant.

Considering that the views of the Society extend to nothing less than the good of the community at large, I am happy to inform you, that from observing the great advantage that accrued from Mr. Tugwell's experiments, I last year attempted the cultivation, and succeeded beyond my most sanguine expectations.

Situate on a farm where my late predecessor (though a reputable husbandman) had in vain attempted the raising a breeding flock, I had myself despaired of doing it, and resolved to sell all my ewe sheep, and to keep none in future but of the weather kind; however, having obtained the knowledge of this most valuable plant, my schemes have now fallen into a new channel, being enabled to keep them in all desirable health through the spring season (wherein, as had been conceived, consisted an absolute and insurmountable difficulty) I now am not only gratified with the pleasing sight of ewes and lambs about me, but from the present appearance of these (being descended from the best rams I could procure) am not without hopes of possessing, ere long, a flock equal to any in my neighbourhood, even those pasturing on its most fertile meadows.

In the cultivation I thought I had only to follow Mr. Tugwell's simple method, that is, of disposing

posing the plants on the top of one-bout ridges, and subsequently horse-hoeing the intervals backwards and forwards; and it is remarkable (notwithstanding he informed me, from the little experience he has had, that he believes the plant will be found to succeed best on land rather loomy or heavy) that on a plantation of eleven acres of a stony soil, light in an almost unparalleled degree, I was enabled; through the difficult season of the last spring, to sustain and preserve, in the most desirable manner, two hundred and ten ewes, with two hundred and twenty lambs, for a month; also with the refuse or bottoms, such as the ewes and lambs left, I kept one hundred and eighty tegs, or one-year old sheep, during the space of six weeks. However, it must be acknowledged, and is indeed proper to intimate, that although during their stay thereon, I gave them no hay, I nevertheless found it eligible to let the ewes and lambs have a backward run on a small adjoining field of rye-grass; for from the time of their being brought on I had observed, that although the ewes appeared to increase in flesh, the lambs were rather behind in that respect; and herein I was happy in the concurrent opinion of Mr. Tugwell, who from his last year's experience had hinted to me, that he thought the plant in its nature rather tended to fatten animals, than to supply milk; it is true, my rye-grass was very trifling in respect of quantity, having been fed the preceding winter; however it had a very desirable effect, and from the time of their

being introduced thereto, the lambs were observed to recover.

Previous to my setting out the plants, the field had, the same season, been under vetches, which were soiled, or fed of, with sheep. I then ploughed it, gave it some dung, and threw the land into its proper form for planting. At Midsummer, the plants were set out, at about eighteen inches asunder in the rows, and the rows, or ridges, about thirty-six inches apart. As soon as the weeds began to spring up, and I observed the plants to want some assistance, I had them hand-hoed. Some time after I sent my ploughs to throw up a ridge in the intervals, which, after remaining as long as was necessary, was thrown back again to the plants. I some time after gave them another hand-hoeing, by which means my land was put in the finest tilth imaginable, and the plants had all the assistance requisite.

In the spring, intending to sow the land with barley, I was necessitated to haul off several loads of the roots, and although my seed was not committed until the 14th of May, and the season proved remarkably dry after, it is an indisputable fact, that I reaped near three loads from an acre, which extraordinary increase, as I impute it to the superior mode of cultivation, would, with me, always be some inducement to the propagation of this most valuable vegetable, even if I had no further views therein.

I am, Sir,

Your's, most respectfully, &c.

THOMAS ROBINS.

P. S. I have the pleasure to inform you, that the cultivation of this most excellent plant bids fair to become general in this part of the country, as many of our principal farmers have some of it growing this year; and after giving it a fair trial, I presume they will be fully convinced of its utility, and continue the culture of it.

Beverstone, March 3, 1779.

S I R,

YOURS of the 1st of February I have now before me, with the queries relative to my last year's Turnep-rooted Cabbage. The seeds sown the preceding spring were not committed (occasioned by an accident) until the 9th of May, a period, as I then considered it, a fortnight too late; but, for reasons that will occur in answering the other queries; it is now a maxim with us, that in such situations as ours, if no accident forbids it, they should be sown before the middle of April.

As the earth of the seed-bed ought to be good, and as free from seed weeds as possible, I have for those reasons, and for security against casual depredations, usually sown my seeds in a garden, but not on a hot-bed, there being always time enough in the spring for raising the plants to a size sufficient for setting out from the natural soil. However, with some in our neighbourhood, an eligible practice has taken place, of throwing off the mulch, together with an inch or two of the surface mould, from some immediately prior winter sheep-fold, in a warm corner, in or contiguous to the

field to be planted with the Turnep-rooted Cabbage; the under mould is then, with the spade or plough, moved to the depth of three or four inches, and the seeds being committed thereto, the plants soon make their appearance, and generally grow away in a manner scarcely, by any other method, to be paralleled. If, through prudent foresight, care has been taken previously to have conveyed to the aforesaid sheep-fold, straw, stubble, fern, or whatever may be attainable, sufficient and proper for making a compost for the whole plantation, there will not only be found a great saving in the most expensive part of manuring (the carriage) but the materials lying on the spot, much more will be executed in any given time, when the season, or weather, or both, shall arrive most proper for the business, and that at a time of the year, when labour in husbandry is always very valuable.

The plants too, situate in or near the field, when drawn, will not lie so long out of the ground before they are replanted, and therefore be the less liable to injury from their removal.

The excrementitious exhalations arising from the earth, and compost heaps adjoining, will also prevent the depredations of the fly; however this species, it is observable, is seldom so obnoxious thereto, as any other of the Turnep or Cabbage kind. In whatever situation we perceive an attack made on these or any others, if wood ashes are to be obtained, we always find a preventative in scattering them lightly over the plants in the dew of the morning. Some have had recourse to the tedious

maxim



maxim of dipping their roots, when first drawn, in a prepared mud, or mixture of earth and water, to preserve them from the injuries of the external air, but, from experience and repeated observations, we find the species so hardy, that, if when replanted the earth is well closed about them, there is certainly no occasion for it. However, when first set out, it is necessary for a boy to defend them a few days from the crows and rooks; the sagacity of these creatures (from seeing the plants in a withered state) leading them in quest of a supposed destructive insect at its root, they will frequently, without the aforesaid precaution, draw them up again much faster than they were planted. In regard to transplanting from the seed-bed before we set out for the last time on the ridges in the field, I at first had recourse to that method; but finding it tedious and expensive, have not practised it since. However, if no remedy can be found, I must soon return to it again; for the plants standing too near together on the seed-bed, together with seed-weeds, which it is frequently difficult to prevent, they are generally drawn up in a trunk, or stalk, so long and weak, that when planted out, they never regain their natural shape. I intend this spring to sow in drills, about a foot apart, whence by the action of the external air, with the hand-hoe occasionally moving among them, I apprehend the above-mentioned evil may be obviated; a frequent removing the earth of the intervals, and of the roots growing therein, will probably, in effect, be a partial trans-

planting. My crop of last year was planted out on the ridges about three weeks after Midsummer; but, as an instance of the impropriety of being too late, I have a neighbour who, in his first attempt, has this year seven acres that were planted some time before Midsummer; I have also upwards of fourteen acres, which, as I waited for rain, were not planted until six or seven weeks after his; and as the drought continued with us till near the equinox, the consequence is, mine on an average are not more than a pound and a half in weight, while his are probably nearly five pounds. Situated high and cold, with lands none of the richest, if we were sure of weather proper for the business, Midsummer might notwithstanding be soon enough for transplanting to the field; but as that is precarious, we ought at all events to get the plants set out, rooted, and growing, by that time. The average weight of my last year's crop was probably about three pounds; some few amounted to six, seven, and even eight pounds each; and it was observable, that on part of the field planted three weeks before the other part, the roots were much the largest. The ewes and lambs were turned in upon them the 9th of April, and drawn off the 2d of May. The one year old sheep were introduced April the 13th, and taken away the 18th of the following month. The glass-plot on which the ewes and lambs were occasionally suffered to pasture, is about eighteen acres, half of which however would have been very sufficient; for after all, a great deal consists in their haying a turf

a turf to enjoy themselves on. Young lambs, in whatever case, confined with hurdles on an arable field, are seldom known to do well. The most eligible method of any I have an idea of, would consist in hauling the roots, some time in April, entirely off from the field whereon they grow, and throwing them promiscuously about on some adjoining pasture, or field of rye-grass, clover, &c. (to be sown with wheat the ensuing season); in either of these situations to let the sheep be regularly introduced to them, with hurdles, as they would otherwise have been on the arable. The roots, I humbly conceive, would be much the better for such management, in that they would be prevented from throwing out their juices into leaves and branches, and the land whereon they grew, might in consequence, in the proper season, be sown with barley, the wont of which, I am persuaded, may otherwise prove the most insurmountable obstacle to the general cultivation of this most opportunely serving and valuable plant.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient  
humble servant,  
LEWEN TUGWELL.

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*Discovery of a Substitute for Verdigris, in dying Black.*

*The Silver Medal and Ten Guineas were given to Mr. Clegg, for his Discovery of a Substitute for Verdigris, in dying Black, 1782, of which the following is an account, drawn up by himself. From the same Work.*

**M**ANY articles which are in daily use, both in dying

and other arts, have been found by chance to be necessary, yet sufficient pains have not been taken to ascertain the principles upon which they act: of this number is verdigris; and as this article was imported to us, at a very great expence from France, I was induced some years ago to undertake a course of experiments to investigate the manner of its operation, and from thence to find, if possible, an effectual substitute, cheaper and nearer home. On adding verdigris to the common ingredients of the black dye, (viz. astringents and martial vitriol) the first thing remarkable is, that a quantity of iron is precipitated; for the pieces of verdigris will be covered over with the crocus of iron, almost instantly, and a quantity of the copper of the verdigris is at the same time taken up by the disengaged acid; as appears by the copper coat a knife receives on being held in the liquor: so that the vitrolic acid leaves the iron, with which it was combined in martial vitriol, and unites with the copper of verdigris, and again leaves the copper to unite with iron in its metallic state. The same decomposition happens with lead, if *saccharum saturni* be made use of instead of verdigris, though lead, according to the received doctrine of elective attractions, has a still less affinity with iron, than copper has. In fact, I find that *saccharum saturni* will answer nearly the end of verdigris, and though, as a substitute to it, we could reap no advantage from it, yet I think it gives us an insight into the principle upon which verdigris is of use in the black dye, viz. by uniting with part of the acid of the vitriol, and giving the astringent

astringent matter of the vegetable an opportunity of forming an ink with the precipitated iron in greater abundance, and more expeditiously, than it could otherwise do. Believing this to be the true manner of its operation, I went to work upon this principle, and substituted alkaline salts in the room of verdigris, as I imagined these would be a much more innocent as well as cheaper ingredient; for the acid, or the corrosive metallick salts, are the only hurtful ingredients in the dye, and the alkali in proper proportion will unite with the superabundant acid, and form an innocent neutral salt, vitriolated tartar. Upon the first trials, I was satisfied of the truth of my conjectures; for in all the experiments which I made in the small way, the ashes answered at least as well as the verdigris: but in real practice, in the large, I found myself deceived; for upon dying a kettle of hats of twenty-four dozen, though the colour came on surprizingly at first, yet the liquor soon became weak. I made many experiments, which it is useless here to relate, until I united vitriol of copper with the alkali, which, upon repeated trials, has been found to answer perfectly the end of verdigris. The following, I believe, will be found to be the just proportions, though there is some difference in the practice of different dye-houses.

Saturate two pounds of vitriol of copper, with a strong alkaline salt (American pot-ashes, when to be procured, are recommended). The vitriol will take about

an equal weight of dry ashes. Both the vitriol and the ashes are to be previously dissolved apart. When this proportion is mixed, well stirred, and suffered to stand a few hours, a precipitate will subside. Upon adding a few drops of the solution of ashes, if the mixture be saturated, the water on the top of the vessel will remain colourless; but if not, a blue colour will be produced; upon which add more ashes; there is no danger in its being a little over saturated with ashes. Take care to add the solution of ashes to that of vitriol by a little at a time, otherwise the effervescence which ensues will cause them to overflow the vessel: these four pounds of vitriol of copper and ashes, will be equal to about the same weight of verdigris; and should be added to the other liquors of the dye, at different times, as is usual with verdigris.

The black, thus dyed, will be perfectly innocent to the goods, rather tending to keep them soft, than corrode them, particularly hats, in which there is the greatest consumption of verdigris.

For those who are constantly using verdigris, it would be proper to have a vessel always at hand, containing a saturated solution of vitriol of copper; and another, with a saturated solution of ashes, ready to mix as they are wanted; for I find they do not answer so well if long kept.

JAMES CLEGG.

Manchester, Dole Fields,  
January 14, 1792.

*An Account of Cloth made from the Refuse of Flax, and Backings of Tow.*

*The Thanks of the Society were given to Thomas Butterworth Bailey, of Hope, near Manchester, Esq. for his obliging Communication of the following Letters from Lady Moira, and the Specimens of Cloth made from the Refuse of Flax, and Backings of Tow, according to the Process practised by her Ladyship, 1775. From the same Work.*

S I R,

I HAD the pleasure of your letter yesterday by Doctor Halliday. Lord Moira and I, with much satisfaction, desire to be both ranked as subscribers to the *Sylva*, which is to be republished by Doctor Hunter, whose *Georgical Essays* have been greatly admired beneath this roof.

As to the factitious cotton I have attempted to introduce the use of, I flatter myself that it is beginning to answer that purpose I had at heart, some alleviation to the miseries of the unhappy beings that surround me, the excess of poverty that reigns here being such, that in my native land I am persuaded it would not be imagined to exist. The very refuse of the flax, which is called the backings of tow, produces a material that can be manufactured into a coarse but comfortable clothing of the fustian and cotton kind, and this kind of cotton was offered to me last week for sale, at three-pence per pound; it is therefore plain how little pains and expence the manufacturing of it costs. Wool is here almost con-

stantly sixteen-pence a pound, often dearer. The wife makes and spins the cotton, the weaver adds a few more yards of warp to the piece of linen he has in his loom for sale, and clothes his family with little more cost than his own industry. It must appear to you that this manufacture is however best calculated for Ireland, where the consumption of flax must consequently leave such quantities of refuse; for tow and the backings are all I employ, except fired or mildewed flax, both of which (from being ill-flaked) being improper for the linen cloth, I have made use of; hemp will also produce a sort of cotton, but it requires infinitely more boiling, and bears a nearer resemblance to wool. It was the codilla that I tried; the backings of that come amazingly cheap, and I believe it will take a better dye than flax.

The main purport in view seemed to me, the divesting the flax of its oil. I tried soap-boiler's lye with very good success, scouring it afterwards to take off any bad effects of the lime used therein. I then had it tried to be scoured like wool, but found it required that the fermented urine in that case should not be mixed with water, and that kelp and common salt were necessary to be added to it. Either of these methods do. The boiling of it might, I am sure, be expedited, by having a cover to the iron pot, which might keep in the steam; and care must be taken, as the liquor diminishes, to replenish it constantly. I have boiled some in a mixture of lime water and salt; this had a harshness in it that more resembles the crispness of

of cotton, but the scouring of it would certainly deprive it of that quality, and leaving the lime in, it is confidently asserted here, would rot it. I own I doubt that effect, as I imagine that lime, after it is slacked by water, no longer retains its corrosive quality. In India and China they use it in their washing of linen as regularly as we do soap.

The tow is heckled and boiled in small faggots, tied up by a thread or bit of tow. The hackings are carded in thin flakes, rolled up likewise, and tied. After boiling, they open in the same flakes they were carded into, and are washed out, and laid to whiten in that form. I send you, however, a sample of the hackings of white flax, that was only boiled four hours, and never laid down to whiten. In the course of this short process, you will see that the materials of which sack-ing is made, is considerably mended, though I think it wants another hour's boiling, and that a week's whitening would have taken off that harshness of the flax it still in some degree possesses. It requires being beat, or put into a press, before it is carded on cotton cards, to separate the fibres, which seem to be set at liberty from each other, by a dissolution of some resinous substance in the flax, at the same time that the oil of that plant is converted into a kind of soap. When I mention white flax, I do it in opposition to that, which being steeped in the bags, has the appellation of blay; this getting a tincture from the heath, has its colour rather fixt than discharged, by being made into cotton. You

enquire into the result of my pursuits concerning fixing lasting tinctures on linen. The tedious sickness, and at length death, of a friend, kept my mind for many months this summer, in a situation of languor that is a total enemy to the busy occupations of curiosity, and when I resolved to engage myself therein, to keep off unavailing reflections, I found it too late for many herbs I had set down in a list, and that a plant of weld I had planted the autumn before, had never come up. I then employed myself with the purple fish found on the Newcastle shore. They answered all the smaller experiments mentioned by Reaumur and Templeman, but those Dr. Holland has given, in his translation of Pliny, the naturalist, they in no degree corresponded to; with all the boiling in lead and salt prescribed by him, they only produced a very ill-looking soap. Though there appears no doubt but the purple wilk found here is the buccinum of the antients, it however appeared to me that it was probable they got their colour from some moss they fed upon. It could not be the archil, which (as I am told) grows much higher on the rocks than where they lie. I therefore employed a person to search about the places in which the wilks or buccina lie, and to get me some of the moss and seaweeds that grew near them. My small collection is but just arrived, and I have not had time as yet to try whether my conjecture is true or false. To the purple yielded by the archil, I owed my suspicion, that there might be other mosses that would produce stronger and

and more permanent dyes. I was trying this morning the solution of tin I got from you, and find it as good as the first day. I shall take some of my cotton, finely spun, to Dublin, that it may receive the advantage of being manufactured by a skilful artist in the loom, and I hope soon to send you a sample of it, when properly wove, that may do it credit. Almost all I have had wove here has been of the coarse kind, and that by weavers who never had seen cotton.

I am, Sir,  
With great esteem and regard,  
Your faithful humble servant,  
E. MOIRA.

Specimens of the flax prepared by Lady Moira, and of various stuffs manufactured from it, are preserved in the society's repository.

When I received, Sir, the favour of your last letter, I daily expected returning to these mountains, and from that expectation postponed acknowledging it, thinking that this place would yield me more leisure than my engagements in town then afforded me. Had I foreseen that my stay would have been extended to the time it was, I should not have been guilty of that neglect. Since my arrival here, an opportunity has not occurred for my sending a packet before the present one, and it is now eleven o'clock at night, when I am informed a messenger is to be sent off at five in the morning to Belfast. I have no reason to be vain of the samples I have sent you; they merely shew, that the material of flax cotton, in able hands,

will bear manufacturing, though it is my ill fortune to have it discredited by the artisans who work for me. I had in Dublin, with great difficulty, a gown wove for myself, and three waistcoats, but had not the person who employed a weaver for me, particularly wished to oblige me, I could not have got it accomplished; and the getting spun an ounce of this cotton in Dublin, I found impracticable; the absurd alarm that it might injure the trade of foreign cotton, had gained ground, and the spinners, for what reason I cannot comprehend, declared themselves such bitter enemies to my scheme, that they would not spin for me. Such is my fate, that what between party in the metropolis, and indolence in this place, I am not capable of doing my scheme justice. That it should ever injure the trade of foreign cotton, is impossible; though long accustomed to behold shoes and stockings looked upon, in this part of the world, by the generality, as quite unnecessary, yet I cannot think but some apparel is requisite; and as the price of wool is so high, and the poverty of the people so great, I did wish to introduce amongst them that invention, which I saw might be greatly improved, and turn the refuse of flax into comfortable clothing, and by a process so easy, that every industrious wife and children might prepare it; and those who are supposed to adopt this clothing, are such as would never think of manufacturing foreign cotton for themselves and families. I send you a sample, Sir, of the backings made into cotton, which you see might be



be manufactured into no bad clothing, and backings of tow being sold to me, at the dearest time, at one penny per pound, it is rating it high to say, that at two-pence per pound a person might have it ready to spin. All the patterns I send you are of webs now in use, and those I have given away, or that have been worn in my own family, have worn exceeding well; I should except the small pattern of plush, which was only a few quills that were thrown in at the end of a piece of worsted plush, to see what pile it would produce. My gown is wove in imitation of a kind of India muslin, and the thread you will see must have been strong from the breadth, which is full yard and half wide. I must beg your acceptance of a waistcoat, a very poor imitation, indeed of Manchester ingenuity, but the finer spun cotton was used in my gown; and as I have already told you, Sir, that I had a quantity of cotton in town, I intend immediately setting to work, but all in coarse and cheap manufactures, such as may benefit and suit the lowest classes of life; the rich meriting as little to be considered in my scheme of manufactures, from that capriciousness that generally attends them, as they are to be the objects of much attention, in any scheme that is to extend its influence to the most numerous part of society.

I am, Sir,  
Your much obliged,  
And faithful humble servant,  
E. MOIRA.

Montalto, Ballynahinch,  
July 31, 1775.

Several Specimens of the above mentioned manufactured tow, are reserved in the Society's repository.

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*A short Account of the Machine lately erected, by Command of his Majesty, at Windsor, for raising Water out of a very deep Well to supply the Castle. From the London Magazine for September 1783.*

THIS machine is said to be the invention of a sea-faring man (we wish we could record his name) who took the hint from observing the great quantity of water which every rope brought on board with it that had been drawn through the water: a circumstance that could escape no person's observation who has been much on board ships; but which, like many other things that pass daily before our eyes, had never been applied to any useful purpose. The application is as simple as the principle.

A grooved wheel, about three feet diameter, is fixed on an axis, which turns horizontally over the well, and an endless rope, of a sufficient length to reach into the water in the well, passes over it in the groove. On the same axis a winch is fixed at one end to turn it by; and, at the other end, another wheel, loaded with lead, which acts as a fly, to increase the velocity. On turning the wheel, each part of the rope, as it comes to the bottom, passes through the water; and, on account of the above-mentioned property, the water adheres to, and is brought

up by it to the top, where it is discharged from the rope into a cistern, placed to receive it, by the pressure of the rope upon the wheel, in passing over it. And so great is the simplicity and effect of this machine, that we have been told by a very excellent mechanic, who has seen it, that notwithstanding the well is near 200 feet deep, he turned the machine with one hand, so as to raise water sufficient to fill a pipe, the diameter of the aperture of which appeared to him, equal to the diameter of the rope that raised it. This, at least, is certain; the well had been long disused before this machine was erected over it, on account of the difficulty they found in raising the water out of it.

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*Observations on grown or sprouted Corn, from an ingenious Pamphlet lately published in France, occasioned by the last wet Harvest, by which much Corn was damaged throughout that Kingdom. From the Gentleman's Magazine for April 1783.*

*Cause of the Sprouting of Corn.*

**T**HE great fall of rain during the time of cutting having lengthened the harvest, before the corn could be carried much of it sprouted in the swarthes, or in the sheaves.

The term of sprouting is given to corn when part has undergone vegetation, for if the whole of the grain had budded it would have been unfit for bread. What is here meant by sprouted corn, is confined therefore to such corn as

have some grains more or less sprouted in each ear.

It may be necessary to premise, that bread made of sprouted corn is not in the smallest degree prejudicial to health, if the following precautions are observed. Some physicians even recommend the flour of this grain as fittest to make broth for children, as the sprouting of the corn destroys in some measure the glutinous quality of the flour.

Sprouted corn is very difficult to preserve, because the opening of the bud disposes it to ferment and heat, and because the moisture it retains disposes it still further for fermentation.

Insects appear to attack it more freely, because it is more tender, sweeter, and more susceptible of heat to favour their eggs.

Sprouted corn, left to itself, never fails to ferment and heat, and to contract both a bad smell and bad colour; in this condition it has also a disagreeable and sharp taste, which is communicated to the flour and bread, and at last it will grow mouldy and sour. Animals reject it, and it is in that state only fit for starch.

Sprouted corn grinds badly; it clogs the mill-stones, choaks the bolting-cloths, yields but little flour, as the bran retains a part of it.

The flour of sprouted corn is moist and soft; it requires but little water to knead it; and commonly produces less bread; it does not keep, especially in warm weather.

The bran of the best and driest corn will not keep long; the bran from moist and sprouted grain of course soon decays; it grows sour,  
and

and quickly becomes putrid. In this state animals refuse it; and if they do eat it, it will not agree with them.

Leaven made with the flour of sprouted corn receives but little water. It ferments or comes forward very quickly; but if not used immediately, loses this property, and soon sinks and flattens.

The dough is subject to still more inconveniences than the leaven. Like the leaven, it receives but little water; it is short, clammy, but does not hold together, breaks in the kneading, and grows soft and pulpy.

The bread of sprouted corn does not rise in the oven. If there is not a large space between the loaves, they spread and stick together; it bakes badly, separates from the crust, and the crust toughens; digests with difficulty, affords little nourishment, turns sour, and grows musty.

*To remedy the Inconveniences of Sprouted Corn.*

HAVING set forth all the inconveniences of sprouted corn, let us now endeavour to point out the most proper means to remedy them.

Sprouted corn should not be stacked, but housed and thrashed as soon as possible. It should not be put in the granary with dry corn, as it will tend to render such corn moist; it is therefore very necessary that they should be kept separate.

If the granary is not well aired, the sprouted corn will not keep.

Frost indeed will stop the sprouting so much, that the sprouted corn may be preserved through the

winter, if severe; but if it is the least moist, or if, at the return of warm weather, the sprouted corn is exposed to its influence, all the care you can take will not hinder it from changing.

The corn being thrashed, it should be spread upon the floor, and turned every quarter of an hour with a shovel; a door or a window should be left half open, to give vent to the steam. Before grinding, it should be put in an oven some time after the bread is drawn, the door of the oven left half open, and the corn turned every ten minutes with long shovels or rakes, to facilitate the evaporation of the moisture.

The corn thus stove-dried must be sifted; and care taken not to put it into sacks, or in heaps, till it is well cooled; otherwise it will turn mouldy.

This method may be objected to as troublesome, but if not adopted a risque will be run of losing the corn. The trouble which the preservation of sprouted corn requires is considerable and expensive, demanding a continual attention. But eight or ten days drying will preserve it good for a whole year; besides, this method, were it still more troublesome, would amply repay the labours, by the better quality and quantity of the flour, as well as of the bread.

Some provinces are very subject to the sprouting of corn.—In a period of ten years, there have been sometimes four, when the corn has been got in sprouted. It were to be wished that in those provinces public kilns were erected, where each might kiln-dry his grain without much expence.

Such a kiln might serve likewise

wise to dry pease, beans, and all vegetables, which, during the wet seasons, are subject to damage, which would by this means be preserved.

Establishments of this kind, which discover universal good-will to mankind, are preferable to the momentary assistance which charity affords to the indigent, by securing a more wholesome nourishment, by diminishing the number of the sick, and those epidemical diseases of which we are generally ignorant of the cause, and which have often no other than the bad quality of our food.

If, unfortunately, sprouted corn has been ground without the precaution of being dried or stoved, as the meal cannot otherwise be preserved, it will be necessary to have recourse to the same method as is used with corn, although the application will then be more difficult. The meal must be spread upon linen cloths, and removed as it dries, which requires greater care and occasions less loss.

The sprouted corn, or meal which it produces, when well dried, will be as easily preserved as the common meal and corn. The corn will grind well, the stones will not clog, the bran will not retain so much meal. This bran having less moisture will not corrupt so easily, and will be useful to cattle.

What sprouted corn, or its meal, loses by driving, is nearly replaced by the greater quantity of water which the meal receives in the kneading, insomuch that the stoved corn and meal produces more bread than that which has not undergone that operation.

Leaven, made with the meal of

sprouted corn, ought to be briskly dispatched, because the sprouting causes the meal to ferment quickly. It ought to be more firm and have a greater consistence; that is to say, too much water must not be used.

Care must be taken not to make use of too hot water to make the dough. It must be worked as lightly and quickly as possible, for fear of working it too much, and thereby lessening the fermentation. It must not be prepared, or brought into too warm a place, to cause the fermentation to cease too soon.

Salt corrects in a singular manner the defects of moist meal, and especially in meal made of sprouted corn; the salt giving strength to the dough, and causing it to receive more water; for the water forms a part of the bread. Twelve pounds of meal ought to produce sixteen pounds of bread when baked; salt likewise corrects the insipidity of the bread.

The oven must be made a little warmer than usual, without which the bread would fall and become heavy. It must be wiped and re-wiped after it is baked, because the meal of sprouted corn retains much moisture.

By conforming in every respect to what has been here mentioned, the inconveniences of sprouted corn will be remedied, and good and wholesome bread will be obtained from it.

The present advice is the result of experiments made on sprouted corn, by order of government, by the professors and members of the committee of the establishment of free bakers.

Made and registered, Oct. 31, 1782.

On

*On the comparative Utility of Oxen and Horses in Husbandry; from the 2d Volume of Letters and Papers, addressed to the Society instituted at Bath, for the Encouragement of Agriculture, Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.*

Rougham, near Bury,  
Suffolk, Dec. 17, 1781.

GENTLEMEN,

**A**S one of your queries to the High-Sheriffs respected the comparative utility of horses and oxen in husbandry, I wish to submit the following facts to your consideration:—

About five years ago, I took some land into my occupation, and having found the expence of horses very great, I determined, somewhat more than two years ago, to make trial of oxen, and bought one pair. At that time, I am almost certain, there was not an ox worked in this county; on which account my workmen added much to the trouble of breaking them, by their obstinate prejudices against the use of them.

At last I was fortunate enough to select a labourer, who, though totally unused to them, was willing to take proper pains to break them. By his good treatment and temper, they soon became tractable, and as handy both at ploughing and carting as any horses.

Being well satisfied with their performance, I resolved to dispose of all my draft horses, and substitute oxen in their stead. I have now compleated my plan, and have not a single cart-horse; but the work of my farm (which consists of upwards of one hundred acres of arable land, and sixty of pasture and wood)

is performed with ease by six oxen; together with my statute-duty on the high-ways, timber and corn, carting, harrowing, rolling, and every part of rural business. They are shod constantly: their harness is exactly the same as that of horses, (excepting the necessary alterations for difference of size and shape) they are drove with bridles, and bits in their mouths, and answer to the same words of the ploughman or carter as horses, and as readily. A single man holds the plough, and drives a pair of oxen with reins; they will regularly plough an acre of land every day, and in less than eight hours time; I believe they will do it in seven, but I would not assert more than I know they perform.

I have a small plantation, in which the trees are planted in rows ten feet asunder; the intervals are ploughed by a single ox with a light plough, and he is drove by the man who holds it. I mention this as an instance of their great docility.

My oxen go in a cart single, or one, two, three, or more, in proportion to the load. Four oxen will draw eighty bushels of barley, or oats, in a waggon, with ease; and if they are good in their kind, will travel as fast as horses with the same load.

I frequently send out eighty bushels of oats with only three oxen; and one ox with forty bushels in a light cart, which I think of all others the best method of carriage. My workmen are now perfectly reconciled to the use of oxen; and the following reasons determine me to prefer them greatly to horses:—

First; They are kept at much less expence. Mine never eat corn or meal of any sort. During the winter,

winter, they are kept in good order for work upon straw, with turnips, carrots, or cabbages; for want of either of the three latter, I allow one peck of bran a day to each ox, whilst in constant work. When my straw is finished, and the spring advances, they eat hay; and if they work harder than common in the seed time, they have bran beside. When the vetches are fit to mow and give them in the stable, they have nothing else. After the day's work in the summer they have a small bundle of hay to eat, and stand in the stable till they are cool, and then turned into the pasture.

I am of opinion, that the annual difference of expence in keeping a horse and an ox, each in condition for the same constant work, is at least four pounds.

Secondly; The value of a horse declines every year after he is seven years old; and is scarcely any thing if he is blind, incurably lame, or very old: But if an ox is in any of those situations, he may be fatted, and sold for much more than the first purchase; and will always fat sooner after work than before.

Thirdly; They are not so liable to illness as horses. I have never had one indisposed.

Fourthly; Horses (especially those belonging to gentlemen) are frequently rode by servants without their master's knowledge, and often injured by it. Oxen are in no danger of this kind.

Fifthly; A general use of oxen would make beef, and consequently all other meat, more plentiful; which I think would be a national benefit.

That it may not be thought, that a pair of oxen will plough an acre of land in a day only upon a very light soil; I must add, that the greater part of my arable land is too heavy to grow turnips to advantage. When my lighter lands are in fine tilth, I make use of a double plough: a single man holds it, and drives one pair of oxen, and will plough two acres a day.

I am well aware, that the method of working oxen with a yoke spares a considerable expence in the article of harness; but they move so much more freely with collars, and can be used with so much more advantage singly by the latter method, that I think it far preferable.

After experience has inclined me to give the preference to oxen, I will not omit in my account the only material inconvenience I have found in working them; which is, they are troublesome in shoeing, at least I have found them so in this country; and, I believe, chiefly because my smith never shoed any before. I have them confined in a pound whilst they are shoed, and a man attends the smith. However, I think this disadvantage amply recompensed by more material advantages; and can with great truth affirm, that the longer I have worked oxen, the better have I been satisfied with them.

With great respect,

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient Servant,

R. KEDINGTON.



*On Planting barren Lands with Wood; from the same.*

GENTLEMEN,

**A**MONG all the improvements which a lover of his country would naturally wish to see take place, there are none which seems to want, or to merit encouragement, more than that of planting barren soils and waste lands with wood. One principal cause of this improvement having made a slower progress than many others is, that the first expence is considerable, and the profits, although certain in the end, are remote; and therefore I have for several years wished to see your premiums increased on this article.

As I have made considerable plantations in my time, and always found the future profits, as well as the present pleasure attending it, to exceed my expectations, I do not offer my advice on an uncertain theory, but *know* what I take the liberty of recommending to you.

There are three kinds of land usually termed barren; and with respect to almost every purpose but that of planting, they are, and must remain so, unless an expence, greater than most people chuse to be at, be submitted to in improving them.

The first kind is mere sand. This soil, unless there is clay or marle at a few feet depth under it, (as is the case in the west part of Norfolk, about Thetford and Brandon) will pay better by being planted with Scotch Firs and Larches than any thing else; especially, if in making the plantations, a little clay or marle be

mixed with the sand in the holes where each tree is planted; and this may be done at a small expence.

These trees will grow here very well. I know several large plantations, where the soil has been so perfectly sandy, that there was not grass enough to keep one sheep on an acre, and yet after being planted twenty years, there has been two thousand trees on an acre, worth at the lowest estimate one shilling each as they stood. A few acres of such land thus planted would be a pretty fortune for the younger branch of a family.

The second kind is boggy or wet moors, which are sometimes so situated as not to be drained without too great an expence. Wherever this is the case, such soils may be planted to great advantage, as Mr. Fletcher in his letter on this subject, printed in your first volume, has justly remarked. Ash for poles or coping, will thrive here beyond expectation; and alders, with several species of the fallow tribe, will grow rapidly, and in twenty years after planting pay a profit of three pounds per acre per annum, for the whole time. The expence attending it is confined almost wholly to the first five or six years; for after that time little more is required than to keep up the fences, and the profit is certain.

The third soil on which planting answers better than any thing else, is barren rocky hills, which cannot be ploughed on account of the stones lying level with the surface, or growing above it. In such places there are numerous little clefts or fissures in the rocks filled

filled with veins of earth to a considerable depth, which the roots of trees will follow and find sufficient nourishment in. Many instances of this may be found in the counties of Somerset, Gloucester, and Dorset, where the wisdom of our forefathers induced them to try the experiment. On the North slope of Mendip hills in particular (a situation as unfavourable as most, on account of its being a bed of rocks exposed to the bleak North and East winds) we see beautiful woods of large extent hanging over the parishes of Compton-Martin, Ubley, Blagdon, Hutton, and Churchill. In these woods, although the timber is not large, the growth of the pollard trees and copse-wood must every twelve years bring in considerable sums to the owners, although the land for any other purpose would not be worth one shilling an acre.

In planting barren mountainous situations, full of stone, no particular directions can be given as to the number of trees per acre, for you must follow the veins of earth where they are deepest; but in general plant as thick as you can, for this will best prevent the bad effects of tempestuous winds, by the interior parts being sheltered from them.

In these situations intermix Scotch Firs, which will secure less hardy trees from the fury of the winds, especially if a double row of them form the boundary. As the surfaces of such places are mostly craggy and uneven, be careful to plant your trees in the little hollows, for two reasons: *first*, because there is most earth and moisture; and *secondly*, because in

these cavities the plants will, while young, be most sheltered from the winds. Fear not to plant too thick, for as the plants increase in size and hardness, you may thin them at pleasure, and the wood will pay for the labour.

Your young plants should be raised in a situation as similar as possible to that where you intend they should continue; for if they are transplanted out of a rich warm nursery, it would prove their destruction. As there is seldom sufficient depth of soil among the rocks to receive long tap-roots, the plants which naturally have them should be cut off when they are first taken from the seed-beds and planted in the nursery. By treating them in this manner, although their vigour will be checked for the first year or two, until they have sent forth a number of lateral roots, they will recover their strength, and prove equally thrifty with others.

These plantations may be made with beech, birch, oak, ash, sycamore, and black poplar; always observing to place the tenderest trees in the least exposed situations, where they are sheltered from North and East winds. In places where the soil is very thin, raise little hillocks about the young plants, which will greatly encourage their growth.

In such bleak situations, plant as late in the spring as you can with safety. April is a month in which it may be expected the most stormy weather is over, and all the kinds of trees I have mentioned may safely be replanted at that time. But your nursery should always be near the spot you intend

tend to plant, or else the roots of your young trees will get dry, and their buds be rubbed off in carriage.

During the first three months after planting, they should frequently be examined, and the earth made fast about the roots, otherwise they will be loosened by the winds; but after that time they will have put forth new roots sufficient to hold them securely.

The upright English elm, and the wick elm, may also be properly introduced in these situations, for they are hardy trees, and, when once rooted, grow well on rocky soils. The timber of the latter is very valuable for naves of carriage-wheels, and boring for water-pipes.

If oaks, chesnuts, or beech, or indeed any other tree that sheds its leaves in winter, grow crooked, make incisions with the point of a knife from top to bottom in the hollow part. This will occasion the tree to increase in bulk more in those parts than in any other; and by this simple easy method, I have known many a crooked tree grow strait and handsome.

I shall be happy if these few observations may in any degree prove useful, or tend to encourage planting in your counties.

I am, your's, &c.

Somerset.

R. E.

*On Watering Meadows; from the same.*

**I**T having been a point much disputed, which is the best water for throwing over meadows,

that which comes fresh from the springs, or that which has run a considerable course above ground, we shall give the following extracts from divers letters which have been sent to the society on the subject, without presuming ourselves to determine on the point in dispute.

### I.

I apprehend that in most of the flat parts of this county hot-springs may not abound; and that in places where there are any, their virtue is not known; so that the inhabitants (without choice or consideration, in many instances) use only that water which has run some way, and is become foul by floods. But in the neighbourhood of Chard, and doubtless in many other places in the county where the benefit of good spring water is known, it is preferred, and the farmers flood their meadows with it immediately from the springs, finding its effects so fertilizing as sufficiently to maintain their meadows in good heart, without any other aid.

*Near Taunton.*

R. P. A.

### II.

I should have answered your letter sooner, but wished to know the opinion of some of my friends on the subject. On enquiry, I find that their sentiments coincide with my own; and are as follow:—

That water running from a spring, or out of a rock, is often preferred to water from a river that has passed some way. I apprehend, however, that this is not always the case; but sometimes quite the reverse. Springs coming immediately from a rock, or from the earth, are, I apprehend, of very different qualities. A spring coming

coming from a lime-stone rock, I should think by much the best for watering meadows, which is the case at Orcheston in Wilts, where that famous grass grows, which produces an amazing crop in those seasons when the meadow can be watered with the springs gushing out of the lime-stone rocks. At other times, when the springs are low, the land does not produce more than a third of the quantity.

It is understood by the farmers here, that water is very much impoverished by watering a great many meadows on the same stream; and that those meadows at the head of the stream are much the best on that account, except where there are a great number of farm-yards draining into it; which, in my opinion, makes up in part at least for the deficiency.

*Maningford.*

J. A.

### III.

Water seldom, if ever, promotes vegetation, unless it be in a mixed or heterogeneous state. It is therefore necessary, previous to the flooding of meadows, to examine of what nature and quality your water is. All water that passes through beds or veins of minerals, or which contain calcarous nitre, copperas, allum, &c. is highly prejudicial to grass lands. But water that issues from chalk cliffs, or lime-stone rocks, or sand and gravel, is in general friendly. The best test is its softness, which may easily be known.

The quantity of water that is let over the land should be in proportion to the nature of the soil, and the heat of the season. If the soil be sandy, gravelly, or chalky, and the declivity considerable, the

more water is wanted, and it should remain the longest, especially if the weather be warm, and it be a south aspect.

If your water has run a long course above ground, the foulest is the best; but that coming immediately from chalk or lime rocks is warmest, and much to be preferred to foul muddy water in general. I must however observe, that water in a state of putrefaction is poison to vegetables, and therefore ought never to be used for this purpose.

S. B.

### IV.

Water when carried over meadow-lands after heavy rains, deposits a fertilizing sediment which enriches the soil, and turns the mould blackish. It also promotes the speedy putrefaction of every vegetable and animal substance found in the earth, and thereby contributes to the melioration of the soil under the sward or turf.

Care should however be taken, that the quantity of water brought on the land be only enough to give vigour to the plants without overcharging their vessels. Never water your lands in very hot weather, for when the vessels of the plants are filled, by the heat causing it to ascend suddenly, a sudden cold morning will greatly injure the herbage.

If the spring proves dry, pastures may be watered as soon as the frosty season is over. But if the winter has been severe, and the earth remains moist, no current of water should be admitted till the earth is settled, and the surface becomes dry; for the gentlest stream would carry off the fine mould loosened by the frost. After the grass shoots, and the season becomes

becomes mild, water sparingly. In the summer never water but in great drought, nor even then, unless the water be perfectly clear and sweet; for muddy water would render the grass foul, and give it a bad taste.

The best water is that from clear warm springs, and the softer the better; but if that cannot be had, brooks which are become foul by running in a muddy channel, will be the next best. For a stream which continues clear after it has run a considerable way above ground, is generally cold, and impregnated with metallic, or mineral particles, both which are destructive to vegetation.

J. F.

## V.

On the receipt of your letter I consulted my meadow floaters, who are unanimously of opinion, that the sooner the water is thrown over the meadows after it arises out of the springs, the more efficacious it will be.

We have no springs on the hills in this part of the country, as in the neighbourhood of Bath; but our meads are full of them, and we apply the water issuing therefrom as soon as possible to the lands. We find the spring water is better for this purpose than river water, on account of its being warmer in winter, and cooler in summer.

Ramsbury.

W. J.

## VI.

I have a range of meads lying nearly on a level by the side of a little river, which has run near thirty miles before it reaches my lands. And in the upper part of my meadows a spring rises of very

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clear soft water. Being desirous of proving which would be most beneficial to the land, I have divers times in different years tried both.

In a wet winter, I can easily, at flood-time, when the river is very foul and muddy, float all my meads by opening the bank by the river side. This I have done several times, and a great deal of sediment has been left behind on the retiring of the water. In this case I have generally had a large crop of grass the succeeding summer, but I have always found it ranker, and the hay less sweet, than at other times.

When I have turned the water of my spring over the land, I have found the produce equally great, and the hay much finer and sweeter than in the other instance. I have also observed, that those meads which first received the water from the spring, were most luxuriant; and those which it ran over last the least so. I am therefore of the opinion, that the best and most fertilizing water for meadow land, is that which issues immediately from warm soft springs.

W. M.

*The following very ingenious letter on this subject we give entire.—*

## VII.

Woolhampton, Jan. 22, 1783.

DEAR SIR,

I esteem myself much honoured by the notice the gentlemen of your Society have been pleased to take of my poor, but very willing endeavours to add my mite to promote the views of their very useful institution.—To your present question,

H

First;

First; "What kind of water have you found most efficacious?" &c. I answer, That which has first ran a considerable way as a brook or rivulet, or rather as a large and rapid river.

I formerly occupied some water-meadow not many miles distant from this place, where there is a great deal of land watered from the Kennet, a very considerable river which rises at a village of that name not far from Marlborough. The occupiers of those lands are uniformly of opinion, that the more thick, turbid, and feculent, the water is, the greater will the benefit to be derived from the use of it: and the opinion is certainly well supported both by reason and experience. Hasty showers, and very heavy rains, dilute the manure, and wash away the fine pulverized earth from the adjacent lands for many miles around; so that as the waters increase, and become more rapid, they also become more replete with fertilizing matter, as is visible to the eye by the quantity of scum, mud, and fine earth, remaining on the surface when the water is drawn off. The benefit derived from flooding may in general then be computed, *cæteris paribus*, from the quantity of feculent matter deposited by the water, for it is, I believe, invariably found to be in proportion thereto.

Secondly; "Is the water of land-springs?" &c. I apprehend no certain particular answer can be given to this general question.

The effects of the water of land springs must depend upon the nature of the strata through which it passes, and may be beneficial or

otherwise to vegetation, as that might be if applied in substance.—Calcareous earths, in general, are friendly and conducive to vegetation; and from thence it seems probable, that water issuing from limestone-rocks, would promote the growth of vegetables in proportion to its impregnation by the calcareous matter.

The effects of limestone-water have never fallen within my observation; but from what I have observed of land-springs, I have often thought the benefit from them was nothing more than from the simple fluid as a constituent part necessary to the accretion of all bodies, abstracted from every principle of nutriment but what is contained in water as such only.

However, there cannot be a doubt, but different springs are impregnated with different qualities, the particulars of which cannot be known but from observations of their effects.

Thirdly; "Which ever is preferred, or found best, why is it so?" &c. The answer to the first part of this question is contained in the answer to the first question.

It is so, because it supplies more copiously that matter or substance which is the pabulum, or food of plants, and what is the material support of vegetation; without which it would as necessarily cease as an animal would die without food.

And, fourthly; "What is the *modus operandi* of the benefit arising from the flooding of meadows?"

Perhaps this question, strictly and philosophically speaking, is as little capable of a satisfactory answer, as, What is the essence of matter, or that substance which supports



supports its extension, solidity, figure? &c. That heat and moisture are the *sine qua non* of vegetation, is abundantly manifest; for it is universally certain, that neither seeds nor roots, if kept perfectly dry, will ever vegetate; and if kept wet without heat, they corrupt and rot, but never grow.

Heat and moisture, therefore, are two universal agents indispensably necessary to the life and growth of plants; but how far either or both supply the principles or material substance which causes the accretion, and increase of bulk and size, or by what mode of operation it derives principles from dead, inert, stinking, corrupted, and impure substances, and converts them into parts of living organized bodies, which charm the sight, the smell, and the taste of animals, and furnish aliment for their comfortable subsistence, is, perhaps, beyond the utmost stretch of human understanding to conceive.

It is in every one's experience, that the excrements, and corrupted substance of animals, when properly digested, are the most powerful promoters of vegetation; and plants so produced become the wholesome and necessary support and food of man: So that what was last year a poisonous, putrid mass, is this, by the wonderful chemistry of nature, and a rapid circulation thro' a system of organized bodies, converted into a substance endued with life, sensation, &c. If that should be doubted, they certainly are necessary to the support of life, sensation, &c. And perhaps it is not a jot more conceivable how a poisonous, putrid substance, should be convert-

ed into the wholesome nourishment for the support of living animal substance, than it is for the former to be converted into the latter; that is, a dead, inert substance, into a living and active one.

By creation is commonly meant the production of something out of nothing; or the calling of something into being which had no existence before. But by propagation and generation, is meant the existence of some being as derived from another. But is such generation any thing more than a real transmutation of one thing into another? Every cherry-stone virtually contains in it more of those trees, and of that fruit, than ever existed together at any one time in the world. Is it possible to conceive, that the seminal principles of the kernel substantially contains such an infinity? What then, but extraneous matter, under a very different heterogenous form, being circulated through a system of pipes of organized matter, can produce such an infinite number, and immense magnitude, of any class of living beings, from a principle originally too minute to be visible to the eye.

The earth may be conceived to be the matrix of vegetation; and the husbandman certainly knows from experience, that by impregnating it with certain substances, by laying them upon it at proper seasons, a soil naturally sterile may be rendered fertile. So a meadow floated with water, copiously abounding with putrescent particles, and substances impregnated therewith, would infallibly be benefited thereby; the *modus operandi* of which may literally, though in a gross

a gross sense, be certainly imputed to the action of the fertilizing matter deposited by the water in the form of an unctuous sediment, in the same manner as all lands are benefited or improved by the accession of manure, by whatever means it is deposited there.

I am, dear Sir, with great respect and esteem,

Your most obliged servant,  
Jos. WIMPEY.

*On the Scab in Sheep; and some approved Remedies recommended; from the same.*

[By a Gentleman Farmer near Norwich.]

GENTLEMEN,

**A**S the disease called the scab in sheep is very often fatal, and occasions great loss to the farmer, I beg leave to trouble you with a few remarks thereon; and also to mention some of the best remedies yet discovered among our sheep breeders.

The disease is generally found most prevalent where the lands on which sheep are kept are wettest, or in the most rainy seasons.

In the isle of Ely some years since most of their flocks were diseased, and great numbers died. But I am of opinion, that this disorder is not always the effect either of moist air and food, or of lying on wet ground. It is doubtless often occasioned by the blood and juices of the animal being in an impure state; to which, however, an excess of moisture and rank food may very much contribute.

Many persons have supposed the scab to be merely a cutaneous disease, and of course applied only external remedies to the part im-

mediately affected, without considering that a purification of the blood was necessary to a radical cure. In such cases, these applications, administered singly, often do more harm than good, because they drive in the eruption, and fix the disease in the internal and more noble parts of the animal.

The best way therefore to treat this disorder is, on its first appearance, to give the sheep something inwardly to drive out the eruption; and then external applications are made with propriety, and generally with success.

The following recipe has been tried and found effectual in numerous instances in this county and in Suffolk, where very large flocks are kept;—

Take a gallon of soft well or pond water, and divide it into two equal parts. In one part dissolve eight ounces of old hard soap, to which, when dissolved, add two ounces of spirits of hartshorn, and half a pound of common salt, with four ounces of roll brimstone, finely powdered and sifted. In the other part of the water put two ounces of leaf tobacco, and one ounce of hellebore root. Boil this second part till you have a strong infusion, and then strain it off.

Next take that part of the water first mentioned, and set it over the fire; let it boil half an hour, stirring it all the while with a wooden ladle. In the mean time heat again the second part, in which the tobacco and hellebore were infused; and when hot mix the two parts gradually together over the fire, keeping the mixture stirring all the time, which should be

be about a quarter of an hour. When quite cold, put it in a stone bottle for use, and set it in a cool place.

Then take four quarts of new ale or beer, put into it twelve ounces of salt, two ounces of bay salt, and eight ounces of pounded nitre, together with twelve ounces of pounded roll brimstone. Set them over a gentle fire, and when the ale boils take off the scum. When it has boiled half an hour set it by to cool, and when cold put it in a stone bottle for use.

When you are thus far prepared, take one quart of ale, and set it on the fire, mix into it by degrees three ounces of sulphur; when just ready to boil, take it off the fire, and let it stand to cool; and when only blood warm, give this quantity inwardly to three sheep. Repeat the dose three times, allowing one day's interval between each dose. This will drive out the disorder, and then the first mixture is to be rubbed on the distempered parts; and two days afterwards the second mixture, and so on alternately for eight or ten days, till the cure is effected. Sometimes two rubbings will be sufficient.

The only objection to this mode of cure is, that it is compound, troublesome, and rather expen-

sive. This certainly has weight, because, where a large number of sheep are affected, it could not easily be practised. On this account some persons have adopted the following method of treating the disease, and with success also:—

Take half an ounce of good corrosive sublimate, and dissolve it in two quarts of rain water, to which add a common gill glass of spirits of turpentine. When the sheep is struck, make a circle round the maggots with some of the water, dropping it out of a bottle. This will prevent their getting away and hiding themselves among the wool. Then drop a little among them, and rub it about with the finger, with will presently kill them.

But I am still of the opinion, that something given inwardly is necessary to purify the blood; and perhaps nothing can be more efficacious than the first mixture described above. I have tried both methods, and always found, that when internal as well as external applications were used, the cure was most radical and lasting.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your faithful friend  
and servant,

T. B——R.

H——I, March 12, 1781.



H 3

ANTI-

# ANTIQUITIES.

*On the Office of High Steward of England; from Hearne's curious Discourses\*. Appendix to No. 7 of the Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica.*

*Here is shewed who is the High Steward of England, and what his Office is.*

**T**HE seneschalcy, or high stewardship of England, belongeth unto the earldom of Leicester, and of old tyme did thereunto appertayne; and it is to be understood that it is his office, under and immediately after the king, to oversee and govern the whole kingdom of England, and all the officers of justice within the said kingdome, in times boeth of peace and war, in manner following:

“The manner how and when the lord high steward ought to exercise his office by duty and the oath of fealty is such: whenever man or woman shall come unto the king's court, in whatsoever court it be, and possibly unto the king himself, to seek for redress against injury done unto them, and he or she not being able in due season to obteyne remedy, then

the high steward of England ought, and is bound to receive their petitions and complaynts, and to keepe them until the next parliament thereafter to be holden, and to assign unto such complaynants, if he think fit, a day wherein they may exhibit and prosecute their petitions; and in full parliament, in the ptesence of the king, to reprehend or blame that officer, or those officers, whoever they bee, that soe have failed in doing of justice, and those thereof to call to account, unto whom in such cases every one throughout the kingdome is bound to answer, the kinge onely except. If the chancellour of England have tayed of making original remedy and amends, and the justices, treasurers, barons, and chamberlaines of the exchequer, steward of the king's house, escheatours, coroners, sheriffes, clearkes, bayliffes, and other officers, of what place or records soever they be, in their processses, judgements, executions of judgements, and justice to be made to the favour of one, and loss of the other party, for gifts, bribes, or other procurements, shall fyle or give over at the least ways; if any justiciar, when as

\* In the British Museum is a Latin copy of the above piece; it is much damaged and imperfect, and seems to have been written about the time of Henry VI. Cott. MSS. Nero D. VIII.

both parties pleading before them shall stand in judgement, shall by such false procurements deferr judgment, contrary to justice, and the laws and customes of the land; if then the chancellour of England, or any other of the king's officers, in such case, shall alledge in parliament, and say for their excuse, that in that case such hardnes and doubtfullnes of the law and right did arise when the same was heard and proponed before them, that neither he nor the court of chancery, or any other courts wherein he is an officer, were able or know to attaine unto the safe determination of the right, then shall he declare and open the same ambiguity and doubt in parliament; if then it be found that the law was doubtful in that case, the chancellour or other officers shall be held accused, and then shall the high steward of England, together with the constable of England, in the presence of the king, and other of the parliament, make choice of five and twenty persons more, more or lesse, according as the case shall require, together with such other cases in the parliament rehearsed; amongst whom shall be earles, barons, knights of the shire, citizens, and burgeses, who there shall ordaine, agree upon, and establish remedye by law in all such cases, for ever after to endure. And those laws shall be recited, written and allowed in full parliament, and sealed with the great seal, and delivered forth to all places of law and justice from thenceforward to be holden for laws, and in public places where it shall be thought expedient they shall be proclaimed and divulged, whereas all other

common laws, and chiefly statute lawes, throughout the whole kingdom ought to be publickly proclaimed.

“ If it so happen that there was in such like case either common law, or statute law, soe that the king's steward and others of the parliament may understand and perceive that such defaults and delays in proceses and judgments do happen by such officers, when as the deceit and malice of such officers hath openly and often before been apparent, then shall he be removed out of his office, and some other officer fit shall be put in his place. If they shall presume against the justices and officers, or, by excusing themselves, shall say that they have not heretofore known themselves, and the courts whereby they are in such cases to be deliberate and take advisement, then shall they be admonished by the steward on the behalf of the king and parliament, to study and search better the common Laws, that noe such ignorance nor negligence be found in them in the like cases afterwards. If they shall happen to offend in the like again, they then shall be put out of their offices, and other discreter and more diligent persons shall, by the king and his council, be appointed in their roomes.

“ Likewise it is the steward's office (if the king have evil counsellours about him that advise him to doe things tending openly and publickly to his dishonour, or to the disinheriting, and public hurt of his people) for the steward of England, taking with him the constable and other great estates, and others of the communalty, to

send to such a counsellour, forbidding him in such sort to leade and counsel the king, and of such his evil counsel he shall make rehearfall, enjoining him to depart from the king's presence, and longer not to abide with him to his dishonour, and the public hurt as is aforesaid; which if he shall not doe, they shall send unto the king to remove him from him, and to give no more ear unto his counsell, for that amongst the people he is esteemed to be an evil counsellour between the king and his subjects. If hereupon the king do not put him away, againe and often shall they send, as well unto the king as unto him: if at the last neither the king nor such counsellours of his have regard unto the messages and requests made unto them, but shall refuse to do thereafter, then, for the weale publick, it is lawfull for the steward, constable of England, noblemen, and others of the communaltye of the realme, with banner in the king's name displayed, to apprehend such counsellour, as a common enemy to the king and the realme, to commit his body to ward until the next parliament, and in the mean time to seyze on all his goods, lands, and possessions, till judgment be pronounced of him by advice of the whole kingdom in parliament, as it happened unto Godwyn the Earle of Kent, in the days of king Edward the Confessor, next predecessor to William duke of Normandy, conquerour of England, who, for such evil acts and counsell of his, was deprived of his earldome, which escheated to the aforesaid

king: notwithstanding, at the king's suite, and by the noblemen's permission, Godwyn came againe to England, and did after forfeit as before. And as it happened likewise to Hubert de Burgh, Earle of Kent in the tyme of king Henry III. that was son of king John, who for his evill deeds and bad counsell was apprehended, and by the high seneschall and other peers deprived of his earldome by the allowance and consent of the whole parliament. So likewise did it befall unto Pierce of Gaveston, who in the days of king Edward the son of king Henry, for such his evil acts and counsell, was banished out of all the king of England's dominions, as well on this side as beyond the seas, which Pierce afterwards by the king's means, and the permission of the nobility, returned to England and had of the king's gift the earldome of Cornwall; but was after that, for his evil deeds and counsell, banished the realme again by the nobles and commons, and had his said earldome escheated unto the king: but he returned afterwards without the noblemen's consent and leave, and did resort and associate himself to the king, as before tyme he had done; which when the high steward, constable, and other of the nobility understood, hee was by them apprehended and beheaded at Blacklow in Warwickshire, as a public enemy to the king and the realme. Soe have you as much as in the sayd old booke is to be seene touching the office of high steward\*."

*Higb*

\* Lord chief justice Coke's account of this high office, essentially differing from that here quoted, is given at large, and freely controverted, in a tract on  
"The



*High Stewards of England, from the Conquest to the present Time.*

1. Hugh de Grentemeisnel, Baron of Hinckley.
2. Yvo de Grentemeisnel, Baron of Hinckley.
3. Hugh de Grentemeisnel, Baron of Hinckley.
4. Robert de Bellomont, Earl of Leicester and Lord of Hinckley.
5. Robert Fitz-Parnel, Earl of Leicester and Lord of Hinckley.
6. Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester and Lord of Hinckley.
7. Simon de Montfort, jun. Earl of Leicester and Lord of Hinckley.
8. Edward Crouchbacke, Earl of Lancaster, Leicester, and Derby, and Lord of Hinckley.
9. Thomas Earl of Lancaster, &c. and Lord of Hinckley.
10. Henry Earl of Lancaster, &c. and Lord of Hinckley.
11. Henry Duke of Lancaster, &c. and Lord of Hinckley.
12. William of Bavaria, Earl of Leicester, &c. and Lord of Hinckley.
13. John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, Earl of Leicester, Lincoln, and Derby, constable of France, and Lord of Hinckley.
14. Henry Duke of Lancaster, &c. and Lord of Hinckley; afterwards king of England by the title of Henry IV.
15. King Henry V.

Hinckley, have granted the important office of Lord High Steward to particular noblemen only *pro hac vice*.

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*Translations of three authentic Registers of the Monastery of St. Edmund's Bury, formerly kept by the Sacrist; from the Gentleman's Magazine for November 1783.*

“**T**HIS indenture certifies, that master John Swaffham, sacrist of the monastery of St. Edmund's Bury, with the consent and permission of the prior and convent of the same, hath demised and to farm let to Simeon Lolepeke, of Bury aforesaid, yeoman, the manor called Habyrdon in Bury aforesaid, &c. to have and to hold for the term of seven years, &c. paying yearly, &c. And the said Simeon, his executors and assigns, shall find or cause to be found *one white bull* every year of his term as often as it shall happen that any gentleman (*mulierem generosam*) or any other women, from devotion or vows by them made, shall visit the tomb of the glorious king and martyr St. Edmund, to make the oblations of the said white bull, &c. In witness whereof, to one part the seal of the sacrist is affixed, &c. Dated the 4th day of June, in the 2d year of the reign of king Henry, king of England, the seventh since the Conquest.”

“The Lord High Steward of England, printed in 8vo, 1775. “Great writers,” says the ingenious author of this pamphlet, “frequently betray the dulness of common minds, in works looked up to by the world with admiration and awe.”

*Another*

*Another Register of the said Monastery.*

" This indenture, made the 12th day of September, in the 11th year of the reign of king Henry the VIIIth, between master John Eye, sacrist of the monastery of St. Edmund's Bury, and Richard Skinner, of Bury aforesaid, husbandman, certifies that the aforesaid John Eye, with the consent, &c. hath demised and to farm let to the aforesaid Richard the manor of Habyrdon, &c. for the term of ten years, &c. And the said Richard shall find *one white bull* as often as it shall happen," &c. as before.

*Another original Instrument, with the capitular Seal of the monastery annexed.*

" This indenture certifies that we John, by divine permission, abbot of the monastery of St. Edmund's Bury, with the consent and permission of the prior and convent of the same, have demised and to farm let to Robert Wright, glazier, and to John Anable, pewterer, of Bury aforesaid, our manor of Habyrdon, with the appurtenances pertaining to the office of sacrist of our said monastery, &c. to hold from the feast of St. Michael the Archangel next ensuing after the date of these presents, for the term of twenty years, &c. paying yearly to the said abbot and his successors, for the use of the office of sacrist, 20l. 4s. &c. And the said Robert and John shall find *one white bull* every year of the aforesaid term, as often as it shall happen that any gentlewoman, or any

other women, from devotion or vows by them made, shall visit the shrine of the glorious king and martyr St. Edmund, to make the oblations of the said white bull, &c. In witness whereof, to one part of this indenture remaining with the above-named abbot, prior and convent, the said Robert and John have affixed their seals, and to the other part remaining with the said Robert and John, we the above-named abbot, prior and convent, have caused the common seal of our chapter to be affixed. Given in our chapter-house the xxviiiith day of April, in the xxvth year of king Henry the Eighth, and in the year of our Lord 1533."

The waxen impression, still perfect, has on the face St. Edmund sitting on a royal throne, with a bishop standing on each side; on the reverse he is bound to a tree, and transfix'd with arrows. Below, in another compartment, is the body of St. Edmund, headless; and near it a wolf, bringing back the royal head to restore it to the body. The instrument is thus indorsed, *Irrotulatur per me, Walterum Mildemey*. A transcript of this sealed indenture remains in the court of augmentations.

Whenever a married woman wished to be pregnant, this white bull, who enjoyed full ease and plenty in the fields of Habyrdon, never meanly yoked to the plough, nor ever cruelly bated at the stake, was led in procession through the principal streets of the town, viz. Church-street, Guildhall-street, and Cook row, of which the last led to the principal gate of the monastery, attended by all the monks singing, and by a shouting crowd,

crowd, the woman walking by him, and stroking his milk-white side and pendant dewlaps. The bull then being dismissed, the woman entered the church, and paid her vows at the altar of St. Edmund, kissing the stone, and intreating with tears the blessing of a child. This reminds one of the Luperci among the Romans, who ran naked about the streets, and with thongs of goatskins struck women with child in order to give easy labour. *Virg. Æn. VIII. 663.*

N. B. *The above are extracted from the Corolla Varia of the Rev. William Hawkins, M. A. schoolmaster, of Hadleigh, in Suffolk, an entertaining and classical but now scarce publication, printed at Cambridge in 1634.*

*Description and Account of the Castle of Caernarvon; from the 2d Vol. of Pennant's Tour in Wales.*

“THIS town\* is justly the boast of North Wales, for the beauty of situation, goodness of the buildings, regularity of the plan, and, above all, the grandeur of the castle, the most magnificent badge of our subjection. The place sprung from the ruin of the ancient Segontium; but it does not owe its name to Edward I. as is generally supposed. Giraldus Cambrensis mentions it in his journey of the year 1188†; and Llewelyn the Great dates from it a charter in the year 1221‡. I greatly suspect the Caernarvon of

those times to have been no other than the ancient Segontium, whose name the Welsh had changed to the apt one of *Caer ar Fon*, or, the strong hold opposite to Anglesey. But the present town was in all probability a creation of our conqueror. A judicious warrior, such as Edward, could not fail profiting of so fit a situation for a curb on the new-conquered country. It had natural requisites for strength; being bounded on one side by the arm of the sea called the Menai; by the estuary of the Seiont on another, exactly where it receives the tide from the former; on a third side, and part of the fourth, by a creek of the Menai; and the remainder has the appearance of having the insulation completed by art. Edward undertook this great work immediately after his conquest of the country in 1282, and completed the fortifications and castle before 1284; for his queen, on April 25th in that year, brought forth within its walls Edward, first prince of Wales of the English line. It was built within the space of one year, by the labour of the peasants, and at the cost of the chieftains of the country, on whom the conqueror imposed the hateful task||. Henry Ellerton, or de Elreton, was appointed master mason of the castle, and perhaps was the architect; and under him must have been numbers of other skilful workmen: for I dare say that the Welsh peasants were no more than cutters of wood and hewers of stone. It is

\* Caernarvon.

† This charter is to the canons of Penmon. Sebright MSS.

‡ Sebright MSS.

† Iter. Cambr. 865.

¶ Sebright and Gledaeth MSS.

probable

probable that many of the materials were brought from Segontium, or the old Caernarvon; and tradition says, that much of the lime-stone, with which it is built, was brought from Twr-kelyn in Anglesey; and of the grit-stone, from Vaenol in this county. The Menai greatly facilitated the carriage from both places.

The external state of the walls and castle are at present exactly as they were in the time of Edward. The walls are defended by numbers of round towers, and have two principal gates: the east, facing the mountains: the west, upon the Menai. The entrance into the castle is very august, beneath a great tower, on the front of which appears a statue of the founder, with a dagger in his hand, as if menacing his new acquired unwilling subjects. The gate had four portcullises, and every requisite of strength. The court is oblong. The towers are very beautiful; none of them round, but pentagonal, hexagonal, or octagonal: two are more lofty than the rest. The Eagle tower is remarkably fine, and has the addition of three slender angular turrets issuing from the top. Edward II. was born in a little dark room in this tower, not twelve feet long, nor eight in breadth: so little did, in those days, a royal consort consult either pomp or conveniency. The gate through which the affectionate Eleanor entered to give the Welsh a prince of their own, who could not speak a word of English, is at the farthest end, at

a vast height above the outside ground; so could only be approached by a draw-bridge. In his sixteenth year, the prince received the homage of his duped subjects at Chester\*, invested, as marks of his dignity, with a chaplet of gold round his head, a golden ring on his finger, and a silver sceptre in his hand†.

The walls of this fortress are about seven feet nine inches thick; and have within their thickness a most convenient gallery, with narrow slips, for the discharge of arrows. The walls of the Eagle Tower are near two feet thicker. The view from its summit is very fine, of the Menai, Anglesey, and the nearer parts of the British alps.

The first whom I find appointed by Edward to be governor of the castle, was John de Havering, with a salary of two hundred marks; for which he was obliged to maintain constantly, besides his own family, fourscore men, of which fifteen were to be cross-bowmen, one chaplain, one surgeon, and one smith; the rest were to do the duty of keepers of the gates, centinels, and other necessary offices‡.

In 1289, I find that the king had appointed Adam de Wetenhall to the same important office§.

The establishment for town and castle was as follows:

The constable of the castle had sometimes sixty pounds, at others only forty.

The captain of the town had 12l. 3s. 4d. for his annual fee; but this office was sometimes an-

\* Powel, 382.

† Dodridge's Wales, 6.

‡ Sebright MSS.

§ Ayloff's Rotulæ Walliæ, 98.

nexed to the former, and then the fee was 60l. for both.

The constable and the captain had twenty-four soldiers allowed them for the defence of the place, at the wages of 4d. per day each. Surely this slight garrison was only during peaceful times!

The porter of the gates of the town had for his annual fee 3l. 10s\*.

I can discover no more than two instances of this place having suffered by the calamities of war. In the great insurrection of the Welsh, under Madog, in 1294, they surprised the town during the time of a fair, and put many English to the sword †; and, according to Mr. Carte ‡, took the castle, that of Snowdon (Conway), and made himself master of all Anglesey.

In the last century, Captain Swanly, a parliamentary officer, took the town in 1644, made four hundred prisoners, and got a great quantity of arms, ammunition, and pillage. The royalists afterwards repossessed themselves of the place. Lord Byron was appointed governor; was besieged by General Mytton in 1646, and yielded the place on the most honourable terms. In 1648, the general himself and Colonel Mason were besieged in it by Sir John Owen; who hearing that Colonel Carter and Colonel Twisselton were on the march to relieve the place, drew a party from the siege, in order to attack them on the way. The parties met near Llandegay: Sir John was defeated, and made prisoner; and after that

all North Wales submitted to the parlement ||."

*An Account of the ancient British Games; from the same.*

“OF British games, we had twenty-four; *Pedair Camp ar bugain*, whose names as preserved by Dr. Davies in his dictionary, I shall give, with their explanation, as far as in my power. Of these, ten were called *Gavrol-gampau*, or manly games; of these, six depended on bodily strength alone, and were styled *Tadogion*, i. e. *Father Games*, because no instrument whatsoever was necessary to perform them: for they depended on the man, naked as he was born. The Greeks had their *Pentathlon*. We had one more. i. Strength to raise weights; ii. Running; iii. Leaping; iv. Swimming; v. Wrestling; vi. Riding. I imagine that the word *Marchogaeth* extends farther than the common acceptation, and that the game intended was a contest between charioteers; for no people were more skilled in the use of chariots in war than the Britons: it is therefore improbable that they would not, in time of peace, exert their art in mimic combat, or in competitions of speed in the festive field. And these six were undoubtedly original games of this island, and from the earliest of times: of others, some doubt may be made.

The remaining four manly games were, *O Rym-arfau*, or

\* Dodridge, 56.

† Powel, 380.

‡ Carte, ii. 237.

|| Whitelock, 7, 208, 311.

selves, as well as damage to the Welsh.

The kings of England, seeing it difficult to make a conquest of Wales by a great army, gave to the lords, and other great men of England, such countries in Wales as they could win from the Welshmen. These are the words of divers of their grants.

By these means many were drawn to bring great armies of Englishmen and Normans into Wales; who conquered many great lordships; which they held to them and their heirs for ever, of the kings of England, as lands purchased by conquest.

The kings of England having built divers strong towns of garrison on the frontiers of Wales, after the Conquest; such as Bristol, Gloucester, Worcester, Salop, and Chester; as places ready to chastise the Welshmen upon all attempts, the great men began to invade the countries next to those towns; as namely, Peter Corbet for Cause; Mortimer for Wigmore; Fitz-alan for Clun and Oswestry; Walter Lacy for Ewyas-Lacy; Dru de Baladan for Abergavenny; Monthault for Hawarden; Gilbert lord of Monmouth for Monmouth; Fulk Fitz-warren for Whittington; Roger le Strange for Elestmere; and shortly after came Robert Fitz-hamon, with his twelve knights, into Glamorgan; Bernard Newmarch into Brecknock; Strongbow to Dyfed or Pembrokehire; Martin to Kemes; Morris de Londres to Cydwely and Cornwallon; Lacy Earl of Lincoln to Rhos and Rhyvoniog, now the lordship of Denbigh; Brewis to Gower, Buelt, Radnor, Melenith, and Elvel; and

to Roger Mortimer the country now called Chirk, then called Mochnant, and to Cynlleth and Nantheudwy; and others to other lordships.

That the lords might the better govern the people when subdued, they were suffered to take upon them such prerogative and authority, as were fit for the quiet government of the country.

The ancient historiographer, Lampridius, saith, that the kings of England did then use the same policy with lands on the borders of Scotland.

No record to be found in the Tower of London, or elsewhere, of any grant to be a lordship marcher in Wales. The king's writs, out of the courts at Westminster, did not run into Wales, except Pembrokehire; which was counted part of England, and called Little England, beyond Wales. Nor were there any sheriffs to execute such writs; but the lords did execute laws themselves over the people which they subdued; which the kings permitted for a time.

No charters of these liberties could conveniently be granted, for three reasons.

1. The kings of England did not know beforehand what lands a lord should conquer, or whether he should conquer any; and therefore could not grant any liberties within a certain precinct or territory.

2. The lords, after their conquest of any country, were not over-hasty to purchase any charter; because they were not sure but that those lands might be restored, by composition between the kings of England and the princes



princes of Wales, as they sometimes were: or they might be recovered by force, and the lords expelled. But,

3. The learned say, that the lords marchers had no charters of such liberties, because the liberties were of so high a nature, so royal, and so united to the crown, that, by the law, it was not in the king's power to grant them from the crown.

The government by lords marchers continued in Wales till the time of Henry VIII. who, perceiving the Welsh to live in quietness and subjection, thought they might be governed by civil laws, as the English were. And therefore, anno. 27, c. 24. he resumed most of those jurisdictions into his own hands, and appointed justices of peace, sheriffs, and other officers; and divided the country into shires. He governed them by the laws of England; and left little or no authority to the lords marchers.

The lords, at their conquest of the country, built castles for themselves, and towns for their followers, in the most fertile part: and by this means the towns and castles in Wales were built, as may be seen in the antient charters of those towns.

Pembroke, Tenby, and Haverfordwest, by Strongbow; William de Valence, and the Hastings, being his posterity: Newport, by Martin Lord of Kemes: Cydwely, by Londres; and augmented afterwards by the Duke of Lancaster, to whom it came by marriage.

Swansey, Oystermouth, Loghor, Radnor, Buelt, Raiadr, and others, by the Brewises; from

whom they came to the Mortimers and Beauchamps, by a female issue of Brewis: Brecknock, by Bernard Newmarch.

Blaen Llyfney, by Herbert: Caerdiff and Cowbridge, by Fitzhamon, and the Earls of Gloucester: Neath, by Greenfield: Abergaveny, by Dru de Baladan, Miles Earl of Hereford, and others, his posterity: Ruthin, by Lord Grey: Denbigh, by Lacy Earl of Lincoln.

Some of these were towns before the Conquest; but, being destroyed in the winning of them, they were rebuilt by the lords.

The lords held their lordships of the kings of England in chief, as of the crown immediate, by serving the king in his wars with certain numbers of men; and they were bound to keep their castles with sufficient men and ammunition, for the keeping of the king's enemies in subjection.

They executed the English laws, for the most part, within their lordships; and brought them to be of English tenure; and to pass the same according to the laws of England, by fine, recovery, feoffment, and livery of seisin. But such parts as they left to the antient inhabitants to possess, were by some lords suffered to be held after the old Welsh custom, the laws of Howel Dda; which was, to pass the same by surrender in court (which they called Cof Lys, and Ystyn Wialen, whereof the word Ystynnoi was derived); and where that custom was permitted, there is no deed to be found of any lands before the 27th Henry VIII. when Wales was made shire-ground; but, for such lands as

were turned to English tenures, you may find deeds of two, three, or four hundred years past, written in Latin, or French, as was used in England in those days.

The laws of England were brought in by the lords marchers, because the laws of the land were unknown to the English: but they suffered the antient tenants to retain some part of the old Welsh laws; such as the use of gavelkind, for parting lands between the brothers, and the passing of lands by surrender in court. And for this, in many lordships, there is a Welsh court for the Welshmen, called *Welchrie*; and another for the English, called *Englischrie*. In some lordships the lands were divided by gavelkind, but passed by scoffments; from whence comes English tenure, and Welsh dole; in Welsh, *Cysraith Saefnig*, a *Rhan-Cymraig*. And the lords had the wardship of all the brethren, as if they had been sisters.

The lords marchers increased in number, till Llewellyn ap Griffith, the last prince of Wales, was slain, anno. 11 Ed. I. who then took the principality of Wales into his hands, and gave it to Edward II. his son, and made him prince of Wales. Since which time no more lordships marchers could be erected; for the Welsh in general submitted themselves to the kings of England.

Since the principality came to the kings of England, no lord marcher could claim any liberty or prerogative, more than they had before, without a grant.

Edward I. immediately held a parliament at Ruthlan castle; and

there ordained laws and officers, to govern Wales after the English manner.

The lordship of Powys had not its original from conquest, as the lordships marchers had; but in this manner:

Griffith, son of Meredith ap Blethyn, lord of Powys, seeing the king of England, and English lords, preparing themselves to conquer Wales, did, in discretion and policy, submit himself to Henry I. and yielded to hold his lordship of the king of England in chief, as the lords marchers did, and to do the king the like service; and thereupon was suffered to hold the same to him and his heirs; and was created lord Powys by the said Henry I. and made baron of the parliament of England.

His descendant, Hawys Gardarn, fell to be the king of England's ward, by reason of the alteration of the tenure in capite; who gave her in marriage to a valiant gentleman of his, named John Charlton. And so the lordship of Powys came to the possession of the English lords. (Mowthwy, and others, did the same). These (with the lords marchers) held their lordships of the kings in chief, and not of the princes of Wales.

The lord of Powys thus submitting himself to the king of England, the comots in that lordship continue whole and entire to this day; and there is a court baron in every one of them. But the lords marchers, to reward those that assisted them in their conquests, gave them divers manors; and so divided the comots into several parts, and erected a court.

court-baron in each. The comots were six; Carcinion, Mechanuwch-Coed, Mechanis-Coed, Mochnant, Llannerch-hudol, and Ystrad-marchell.

The like may be found in the counties of Anglesey, Caernarvon, Merioneth, Flint, Carmarthen, and Cardigan; where the antient comots remain entire, without alteration; and retain their antient names and bounds, and keep the same courts. The reason is, because they were not conquered by the lords marchers, but continued in the hands of the princes of Wales, till Llewellyn, the last prince, was slain by Edward I.

It appears by antient record, that the lordship of Bromefield and Yale, antiently called Dinus Bran, being the chief castle of the lordship, came to the possession of English lords, as follows:

Emma, daughter to Lord Audley, and widow to Griffith ap Madog, Lord of Bromefield and Yale, Chirk, Nantheudwy, Maelor, and other lands, parcel of antient Powys, having four sons, between whom their father's inheritance was divided; strife grew between her and her husband's kindred about the custody of her sons: they fearing, that if the sons should be brought up by the mother in England, they would become English; and rather incline to the king of England, than to the princes of Wales. But the mother getting into her possession the two eldest, Madog and Llewellyn; the first having to his part Bromefield and Yale, and the other, Chirk and Nantheudwy; and not being able to keep them to herself, nor to remain in

quiet upon her jointure, she delivered her sons to Edward I. shewing that by right they were his wards, because their ancestors had formerly made their submission to the kings of England. The king took them to his ward; and committed Madog, the eldest, to the care of John Earl Warren; and Llewellyn to Roger Mortimer, third son to Ralph Lord Mortimer, of Wigmore. The two guardians having the sons and their lands in their custody, Earl Warren built the castle of Holt in Bromefield, and Roger Mortimer the castle of Chirk, and placed garrisons of English in each, to defend the country from the Welsh. And the wards dying shortly after, without issue, the said guardians still kept the lands, and obtained grants of the king to hold the same, 10th of Edward I. only the castle of Hope, and lands thereto belonging, were reserved to the king in Earl Warren's grant. The antient rent of Bromefield and Yale was 730l. a year.

Emma being molested in her jointure, because she had delivered her sons to the king, and so procured the coming of those lords to build the castles of Bromefield and Chirk, she desired the king to take Maelor, her jointure, and to give her lands in England for it; which the king did, and so got into possession of Maelor Saefnaeg, and held the same ever after; not suffering any of the heirs to have it, pretending that they were rebels against him.

No lord marcher without a castle, and a sufficient garrison to suppress such of the Welsh as should annoy the king's subjects; and therefore all castles had towns

close to them, inhabited by the English. And, by 4 Henry IV. c. 32, it is enacted, that castles and walled towns in Wales should be possessed by valiant Englishmen, strangers to the feignories.

The charters of those towns give great liberty to the English; but no Welshman might be a burgess, or purchase any land therein; see 2 Henry IV. c. 12. and 20. It was also enacted, that no Welshman should have any castle or fortress, saving such as was in the time of Edward I. except bishops and temporal lords.

The more to encourage the English to conquer Wales, the kings of England created them peers of the realm, by the name of lords baron of the places they conquered. Their number once was twenty-one; but now are reduced to one, viz. Abergaveny, who is the first lord baron of England. The rest lost their name and place, by coming either to the crown, or to lords who had other places and titles in parliament. The castles in Wales were about 143.

The Welsh submitted to Henry VII. because he was paternally descended from their princes: and his son, Henry VIII. made several statutes for the future government of them, anno 27.

Lords marchers seized on the goods of their tenants, who died intestate.

All the lordships marchers have lost their antient jurisdictions and authorities, which were the common signs whereby they were known; so that it is now a doubt which were such lordships. But they may still be known by several tokens,

1. There can be no lordship marcher but such as was subdued before the death of Prince Llewellyn.

2. Such lordship must be held of the king in chief, and not of the principality of Wales.

3. It must have been in antient time the inheritance of some English lord.

4. If any suit arose about the title, it was to be pleaded at common law, in Westminster-Hall; and there were fines levied of those lordships, and none other in Wales.

5. The escheator of the marches of Wales did in antient time inquire of the tenure, and find *of fice post mortem* of the lord; and that by writ out of the chancery of England. And as those lordships were not in any shire in England, and the king had no escheators to enquire of the tenure of them, the same was laid on the escheator of the next English shire. And such escheators had the charge, care, and survey of all lordships marches that were holden of the king. And such escheator was to go into any lordship marcher in Wales, and swear an inquest, and find an office after the death of the lord, and inquire of the tenure and value of the lordship.—*N. B.* All offices of other manors, that were holden of the king, as of his principality, were found, by virtue of writs out of the king's exchequer, of Caernarvon, or Chester, for North Wales; and Carmarthen, or Cardigan, for South Wales; and out of Pembroke, for lands in that earldom.

6. These lords, by stat. 24 Henry VIII. c. 9, have the penalty

malty for killing of wainlings, and for non-appearance at their courts; and, by stat. 26 Henry VIII. c. 4, and 27, c. 26, they have the forfeiture of common mainprize, recognizances, mizes; power to keep court-batons and court-leets; and to have waifs, strays, infang these, outfang these, treasure trove, deodands, goods and chattels of felons, persons condemned, and outlawed: and also wreck de mere, wharfage, and custom of strangers.

From the river Tisi, in South Wales, to the river Conwy, in North Wales, there was no lordship marcher; but all that country remained wholly to the princes of Wales, until the principality came to the crown by Prince Llewellyn's death.

As the river Severn was the antient limit between Wales and England, a doubt hath arisen, why all the land that is over that river, viz. all Herefordshire, and so much as is part of Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, and Shropshire, had not been lordships marchers, as the rest of Wales was, that was won since the Conquest.

The reason is this: all Herefordshire, and those parts of the other counties, were won from the Welsh in, or shortly after, the time of Offa, king of Mercia. The Welsh were expelled thence; the country was new planted with Englishmen; and this was long before the dividing of England into shires. The same was annexed to the kingdom of Mercia; and so, as part of that kingdom, it came to the hands of king Alfred, who first divided England into shires. He finding those countries subdued, and the Welsh

expelled, divided them with the rest on the other side Severn. He added part to Gloucestershire, part to Worcestershire, and part to Shropshire; and made Herefordshire a shire of itself.

Here lies the difference between conquering of Wales by the Saxons and the Normans.

So much of Wales as the Saxon kings won, they did it at their own charge, and for their own use; and did not suffer their subjects to deal therein. But the Norman conqueror, contenting himself with the realm of England, did not bend his forces against Wales more than he was forced to do, by their invading of his people and country; and he, and his successors, thought it better policy to give to the nobility such parts of Wales as they could conquer.

Herefordshire was not won since the Conquest, appears from the lordship of Urchinfield; which is anient demesne-lands; such as is not to be found in England, but what was in the possession of its kings before the Conquest. See Silas Taylor, of Urchinfield, in his History of Gavelkind, p. 106; and Humphrey Lhwyd, in his Fragment of the Description of Wales; his Latin book, p. 52, first edition; English translation, p. 63: whose words, as Bryan Twyne translates, are, Gwyr Reunwe makes one of the six states, that met at the mouth of the river Dyvi, to chuse Maelgwyn Gwynedd king, about the year 560. P. 74, of his Breviary of Britain.

Not far from thence, viz. Llanfistrev, or Llanlieni, is the antient city Henfford, standing upon Wye,

or more truly Gwy: in old time called Ferleg, now Hereford.

Towards Severn are Malvern hills; and in the corner between Severn and Wye, not far from the town of Ross, is that renowned wood, which, from the Danes, is called the Forest of Dean.

These regions, with all Herefordshire beyond Wye, before they were possessed by the English, were termed, in British, Euryenwe; and the inhabitants, Eurnwyr: of which there remains somewhat in the word Urchinfield. The Welsh called it Ernig, and afterwards Ergenel; and no marvel, since the last portion thereof retains now the name of Powys.

Ballivis mercatoribus et probis hominibus de — Swansey.

This is the chief town of the lordship of Gower.

Majori, ballavis, probis hominibus et mercatoribus de Bristol.

Ballivis, &c. de — Cardiff.

The chief town of Glamorgan.

Ballivis, &c. de/ — Strongoule.

The chief town of Netherwent in Monmouthshire.

Ballivis, &c. de — Haverford.

Ballivis, &c. de — Pembroke.

Ballivis, &c. de — Thalgarn.

Ballivis, &c. de — St<sup>o</sup> Claro.

Ballivis, &c. de — Kemys.

Ballivis, &c. de — Kilgaran.

Ballivis, &c. de — Caerleon.

Ballivis, &c. de — Caermardyn.

Ballivis, &c. de — Cardigan.

Ballivis, &c. de — Brecknock.

Ballivis, &c. de — Kydwely.

Ballivis, &c. de — Uske.

Ballivis, &c. de — Lanstephan.

Ballivis, &c. de — Austedyn.

Ballivis, &c. de — Monmouth.

Ballivis, &c. de — Bergaveny.

Ballivis, &c. de — Blenlleyny.

Ranulph, monk of Chester, saith (l. 7. c. 38. fol. 379.) that Prince Llewelin was slain about the feast of St. Lucy.

It appears by some records in the Tower,

1. That King Edward I. anno 11, (when he slew Prince Llewelin, and thereby got possession of the principality of Wales) being at Aberconwy, and fearing that there would be a scarcity of victuals, wrote to the officers of all the good towns and countries in South Wales, (that were subdued by the lords marchers) that they should cause victuals to be brought out of those parts to Montgomery, in Quindena Paschæ next following, to furnish the king's army. In this manner:

2. That King Edward II. in his wars against Robert de Bruce, king of Scotland, wrote to these lords marchers, to send to his aid a certain



a certain number of men, there mentioned, out of their several lordships. His letters patents are dated June 18, anno 3 Edward II.

The same king, in the same year, writes to those lords, to abate a certain number of their men; because he did not want them.

King Edward III. fearing the invasion of the Scots, writes to the lords marchers, to have sea-coast watched, the men of the country armed, their castles strengthened and furnished, and themselves to act as lieutenants in their several lordships. Dat. apud Berewicum super Twedam, Jun. 24, anno regni 10.

And he appoints William de la Zouch de Mort. Mari, and Gilbert Talbot (his justices of South Wales) to be captains and leaders of the said lords and their people against the Scots, if they should invade those parts.

N. B. The king did not write to any part of the six shires which were the principality of Wales; but only to such parts as were subdued by the lords marchers; who held their lordships immediately of the king. The king had men out of the principality-lands, to serve him in those wars; but the commissions are not to be found among the king's records in the Tower. For the prince of Wales (who then held the principality) wrote for men out of the principality, to serve his father in his wars.

The records of this remain among the prince's records; and are not to be found among the records in the Tower.

*Account of Sir Richard Bulkeley; in which is a strong Description of the Tyranny of the favourite Earl of Leicester. From the same.*

SIR Richd Bulkeley served in part for the county of Anglesey, the 2d and 3d sessions of Q. Mary, the 3d of Eliz. and 1st of James.

He was of goodly person, fair of complexion, and tall of stature. He was temperate in his dyet, not drinking of healths. In his habit, he never changed his fashion; but always wore round breeches, and thick bombast doublets, though very gallant and rich. In the last year of Queen Eliz. being then somewhat stricken in years, he attended the counsil of marches at Ludlow, in winter-time. When the lord president Zouch went in his coach to church, or elsewhere, Sir Richard used to ride on a great stone horse; and some time he woud go from his lodging to church, in frost and snow, on foot, with a short cloak, silk stockings, a great rapier and dagger, tarry all prayers and sermon in very cold weather; insomuch yt Ld Zouch was wont to say, he was cold to see him.

He was a great reader of history, and discourses of all estates and countries; of very good memory; and understanding in matters belonging to housekeeping, husbandry, maritime attayres, building of ships, and maintaining them at sea. He drew his own letters, and answered all letters with his own hand: and being complayned of at the counsil

of the marches for breach of an order of that court, he drew his own answer—that he could not be evicted out of his possession but by course of common law—pleaded *Magna Charta*—and demanded judgement: which answer being put into court, the chief justice, Sir Richard Shuttleworth, called for a sight thereof; and after perusal, said to the counsellors at the bar, “Look, my masters, what a bone Sir Richd Bulkeley hath cast into the court, for you to tire upon; and the matter being argued, it was referred to the common law.

He was a great housekeeper, and entertainer of strangers, especially such as passed to or from Ireland. He nobly entertained the Earl of Essex in his way there, to be lord lieutenant. He made provision of all necessaries for his table beforehand. He sent yearly two ships to Greenland for cod, ling, and other fish; which he did use to barter in Spain for Malaga and sherry wines; and always kept a good stock of old sack in his cellar, which he called *Amabile*, besides other wines. He kept two parks well stored with Red and Fallow Deer; which did afford such plenty of venison, as furnished his table 3 or 4 times every week in the season, besides pleasuring of friends. He kept several farms, besides his demesne, in his hands, which furnished his house with fat beef, mutton, lamb, &c. &c. He was an excellent horseman, and an expert tilter; keeping two great stables of horses, one in Cheshire, and another in Beaumaris, and a great stud of mares. His estate in Anglesey was 2500l. in Carna-

vonshire 800l. and in Cheshire 1000l. a year: having always a great stock of ready money lying in his chest. He kept many servants and attendants, tall and proper men: two lacqueys in livery always ran by his horse: he never went from home without 20 or 24 to attend him. He was a great favourite of Queen Eliz. He had powerful friends at court, and had the gentry and commonalty of the county of Anglesey at his service, except the Woods of Rhosmore, who were always his enemies.

He had great contests with Dudley Earl of Leicester; who obtained the queen's letters patents under the great seal, to be chief ranger of the forest of Snowdon: in which office he behaved very injuriously to the counties of Merioneth, Carnarvon, and Anglesey; attempting to bring within the bounds and limits of that forest most of the freeholders lands in those 3 counties; and for that purpose the earl procured several commissions from the queen to inquire of encroachments and concealments of lands. The return of the jury, in Anglesey, not being agreeable to the earl's commissioners, they went in a rage to Carnarvon, forcibly entered the exchequer there, ransacked the records, and carried away what they pleased; but the earl, after making many attempts, to the great grievance of the country, was obliged to desist, being defeated in all schemes upon Snowdon, by the power and interest and spirit of Sir Richd Bulkeley. But, *manet alta mente repostum*, the earl bore a poisonous hatred to Sir Richd; yet he continued

tinued still in favor with the queen and counsel; though often molested by the earl, his agents and creatures.

Sir Richard being one of the deputy lewtenants of Anglesey, (upon intelligence of the Spanish Armadas threatening England) was to cesse the country in arms; and cefling Mr. Woods of Rhosmore, he was highly offended, and thought himself too heavily loaden: therefore went up to court to the Earl of Leicester, carrying a false tale with him, that Sir Richard Bulkeley (a little before the attainder and execution of Thos Salusbury, one of the accomplices of Anthy Babington, the traytor, 1585) had been in the mountains of Snowdon conferring with him, and that at a farm of Sir Richards, called Cwmligie, they had layne together two or 3 nights. The earl, glad of this information, presently acquaints the queen and council therewith. Sir Richard being called before the council, and examined, absolutely denied the whole matter. And when the earl, at yt time president of the queens counsil, did severely enforce it agt him, he told the earl to his face, "Your father, and the very same men as now informe against me, were like to undoe my father; for, upon the death of K. Edw. 6, by letters from your father, he was commanded to proclayme Queen Jane, and to muster the country; which he did accordingly: and had not my mother been one of Queen Maries maids of honor, he had come to great trouble and danger." Hearing these words, the counsil hushed, and rose; and Sir Rich-

ard departed. The earl hastened to the queen, and told her the counsil had been examining Sir Richard Bulkeley about matters of treason; that they found him a dangerous person, and saw cause to commit him to the Tower; and that he dwelt in a suspicious corner of the world. "What! Sir Richard Bulkeley!" said the queen; "he never intended us any harm. We have brought him up from a boy, and have had special tryal of his fidelity: you shall not comit him." "We," said the earl, "who have the care of your majestys person, see more and hear more of the man than you doe: he is of an aspiring mind, and lives in a remote place." "Before God (replied the queen) we will be sworn upon the holy Evangelists, he never intended us any harm;" and so ran to the Bible and kissed it, saying, "You shall not comitt him: we have brought him up from a boy." Then the lords of the counsill wrote a letter to Dr Hugh Bellor, lord bishop of Bangor, to examine the truth of the accusation layd to Sir Richards charge: which the bishop found false and forged; and so certified to the counsil. Whereupon he was cleared, to the queens majestys great content, to the abundant joy of his country, and to his own great credit and reputation: and afterwards diverse of the lords of the councell wrote letters to the justices of assize of North Wales, to publish Sir Richards wrongs, and to notify to the queens subjects his clear innocence.

But that Sir Richard might not rest in peace, one Green, belonging to the Earl of Leicester, in the

the name of one Bromfeild, a pensioner, came to him, to challenge him to meet Bromfeild in the feild. "Have you no other errand (quoth Sir Richard)?" "No," says Green. Then Sir Richard drew his dagger, and broke Greens pate, telling him to carry that as his answer; he scorning to meet such a knave as Bromfeild. This treatment of Green highly encreased the anger of the earl. Bromfeild, Green, and others of his retayners, plotted mischief to the person of Sir Richard; but he stood upon his guard, keeping always 24 stout men, with swords, bucklers, and daggers, to defend him from their attempts. They hired boats and wherries upon the Thames, with a design to drown Sir Richard, as he shod go from Westminster to London; but he, being privately informed thereof, borrowed the lord mayor of Londons barge, furnished it with men, musquets, billets, drums, and trumpets, and rowed along the Thames, shot the bridge, and went down to Greenwich, where the queen kept her court at that time; and at the landing place, over against the pallace, he caused his companie to discharge their musquets, to beat their drums, and sound their trumpets. The Earl of Leycester hearing thereof, repaired to the queen, and informed her that Sir Richard Bulkeley, more like a rebel than a subject, had come with barges, men, musquets, drums, and trumpets; and had shot several pieces over against her majestys palace, to the great terror of her court; a matter not to be suffered. The queen sent for Sir

Richard, and, after hearing his apology for himself, made the earl friends with him. Within a while after, the earl sent for Sir Richard to his chamber; who coming thither, the earl began to expostulate with him on several wrongs and abuses he pretended to have received at his hands; and that he had lost 10,000l. by his opposition. But the discourse ended in milder terms, and Sir Richard was bidden to dinner; but did eat or drink nothing, save of what he saw the earl tast, remembering Sir Nics Throgmorton, who was said to have received a fig at his table.

But the Earl of Leycester dying in Octr 1588, Sir Richard Bulkeley, and his country, enjoyed peace and quietness from his tyrannical oppressions, his devices and wicked practises: and Sir Richard survived to the 28 June 1621, when he dyed, aged 88. He had attended the coronation of ye queens Mary and Elizabeth, and of James the 1st. His cloak, at this last coronation, cost him 500l.

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*Account of two ancient Oil Mills, Translated from the Notizie Enciclopediche of Milan, Number XXXVII. for the Year 1782. From the London Magazine for December 1783.*

THE fame of the two oil-mills discovered, one in the ancient Pompeja, the other in the excavations of Stabia, in the kingdom of Naples, has been rapidly spread. In the public papers of Venice and Florence of last year, they were mentioned with

with high encomiums: but we are now informed, by a judicious observer, that the description given by former delineators is defective, and that the following may be depended on, as true and genuine. We, therefore, publish it with pleasure, as it treats of a machine which does honour to the genius of the ancients, and to the simplicity of their inventions, and which could not have fallen from its rank as a valuable piece of mechanism, but with the loss of all their other ingenious discoveries, after the lamentable invasion of the barbarians.

This machine is composed of two spheres, one hollow, the other solid; the convexity of the one being fitted to the concavity of the other; with this difference, that of the one, only half is employed, cut in a block of stone, in form of a large mortar; of the other, only two segments of the same materials. To have a clearer idea, the former may be compared to the horizon in an armillary sphere, the two latter to the two portions of the same sphere cut off vertically by the polar circles. The external diameter of the concave hemisphere, or mortar, is about half a Neapolitan ell, the brim is six inches thick, consequently the internal diameter is twelve inches less than the external. We conceive, however, that these proportions may be varied, according to the hardness of the stone. The two of which we speak, are of the lava of Vesuvius, which is both friable and porous in no inconsiderable degree.

From the bottom of the concave

hemisphere rises a cylinder, or small column, a palm and six inches in circumference, and nearly two inches higher than the periphery or brim of the mortar. On the top of the cylinder an iron pivot is fixed with lead, on which turns a wooden axle, strengthened by an iron rod running through it from end to end. To the extremities of this axle the two segments ought to be fixed, nearly in the same manner in which we fix the two small wheels of our chariots. This is sufficiently evident from one extremity, which may still be seen unconsumed by the fire of the eruption in the mill of Pompeja. It exhibits no appearance of having been lengthened, but is cut short off where the small part of the axle ought to be. Hence, also, we may conjecture, that a handle or pole, drawn by an animal, or worked by a man, must have been contrived to give motion to the segments. And this seems to have been divided in two, like a fork, and made fast with two braces to the two opposite ends of the axle.

The advantages of this ancient mill over the modern are many. The perfect coincidence of the concave and convex surfaces of the two spheres presents an infinitely greater number of points for the trituration of the olives, than the periphery of the millstone, or vertical wheel, touching a plane, as in the modern. The double motion too of rotation round the axis, and circumvolution round the cylinder, like that of the planets, multiplies every instant the points of attrition, and proportionally shortens the time of the grinding. In fact, it appears from

from the trial made before his majesty, by the Marquis Grimaldi, that a quantity of olives, which the modern mill employs half an hour, is ground in the ancient in a minute and an half.

The ancient, moreover, in the first grinding, crushes only the pulp, and, consequently, produces the most perfect virgin oil for the use of the table, which, from the perfection to which the sun brings the fruit in this climate, does not yield in the least to the most delicate butter of the north, and after some years, becomes balsam, as experience has long shewn in Calabria, and other

southern parts of Naples. After the olives, thus mashed, have been squeezed in the press, or *trappeto*, for so it is called by the ancient Greek name, in these provinces, they are again poured into the mill, and the axle being lowered by removing a small pin, the stones are also triturated. But as the heterogeneous juice of them incorporates with the remaining oil, it produces a mixture of inferior quality, which would be fit only for making soap or manufacturing cloth. The coarse palates, however, of labourers, do not disdain to use it in dressing their victuals.



# MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

*Difference between Memory and Imagination; from Dissertations Moral and Critical by J. Beattie, L. L. D. Professor of Moral Philosophy and Logick in the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen; and Member of the Zealand Society of Arts and Sciences.*

SOME philosophers refer to memory all our livelier thoughts, and our fainter ones to imagination: and so will have it, that the former faculty is distinguished from the latter by its superior vivacity. We believe, say they, in memory; we believe not in imagination: now we never believe any thing, but what we distinctly comprehend; and that, of which our comprehension is indistinct, we disbelieve. — But this is altogether false. The suggestions of imagination are often so lively, in dreaming, and in some intellectual disorders, as to be mistaken for real things; and therefore cannot be said to be essentially fainter than the informations of memory. We may be conscious too of remembering that whereof we have but a faint impression. I remember to have read books, of which I cannot now give any ac-

count; and to have seen persons, whose features and visible appearance I have totally forgotten. Nor is it true, that we believe, or disbelieve, according to the vivacity, or the faintness, of our ideas. No man will say, that he has a distinct idea of eternity; and yet, every rational being must believe, that one eternity is past, and another to come. I have a livelier idea of Parson Adams, than of the impostor Mahomet; and yet I believe the former to be an imaginary character, and the latter to have been a real man. I read, not long ago, Vertot's *Revolutions of Sweden*, and the *Adventures of Tom Jones*: I believe the history, and I disbelieve the novel; and yet, of the novel I have a more lively remembrance, than of the history.\*

Memory and imagination, therefore, are not to be distinguished, according to the liveliness or faintness of the ideas suggested by the one, or by the other. The former may be faint, while the latter is lively: nay, a great poet has observed, that

Where beams of warm Imagination play,  
The Memory's soft figures melt away†:

A maxim, which, though not always, will sometimes be found to

\* See an Essay on Truth, Part I. Chap. ii. Sect. 4.

† Pope's Essay on Criticism.

hold true. — Besides, belief may be said to imply disbelief. If I believe the existence of Julius Cæsar, I disbelieve his non-existence. If I admit the history of that commander to be true, I reject every suspicion of its being false. And yet, of Julius Cæsar, and his actions, — my ideas are equally clear, whether I believe or disbelieve. The faculties in question I would therefore distinguish in the following manner.

“ I remember to have seen a lion ;  
 “ and I can *imagine* an elephant,  
 “ or a centaur, which I have ne-  
 “ ver seen : ” — he, who pronounces these words with understanding, *knows* the difference between the two faculties, though perhaps he may not be able to *explain* it. When we remember, we have always a view to real existence, and to our past experience ; it occurs to our minds, in regard to this thing which we now remember, that we formerly heard it, or perceived it, or thought of it† ; “ I remember to have seen a lion : ” — When we imagine, we contemplate a certain thought, or idea, simply as it is in itself, or as we conceive it to be, without referring it to past experience, or to real existence ; “ I can imagine such a figure as that  
 “ of the elephant, though I have  
 “ never seen one ; or a centaur,  
 “ with the head and shoulders of  
 “ a man joined to the body of a  
 “ horse, though I know that there  
 “ is no such animal on earth.” I remember what has actually happened, and what, in consequence of my remembering, I believe to have happened : I can imagine a

a series of adventures, which never did, or which never can, happen. He who writes the history of his own life, or who compiles a narrative from the books he has read is guided by the informations of memory : he who composes a romance, puts those things in writing which are suggested by his imagination.

A friend describes an adventure in which he says that he and I were engaged twenty years ago, and informs me of what I said and did on the occasion. I tell him, that I can distinctly imagine every thing he relates, but that I remember nothing of it. He mentions a circumstance, which on a sudden brings the whole to my memory. You are right, I then say, for now I remember it perfectly well. At first, I could only imagine the facts he spoke of ; but, though I might believe his word, I could not recall any experience of mine, by which, in this particular case, it might be verified. But now, my memory informs me, that the adventure was real, and that I was an agent in it, and an eye-witness. Hence it appears, that in some cases imagination may become remembrance. And it may be further observed, that remembrance will sometimes decay, till it be nothing more than imagination : as when we retain the appearance of an object, without being able to affirm with certainty, where we perceived, or whether we ever perceived it : a state of mind, which one is conscious of, when one says, “ I either  
 “ saw such a thing, or I dreamed  
 “ of it.”

† Αἰεὶ γὰρ ὅταν ἐνεργῇ κατὰ τὸ μνημονεύειν, αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ λέγει. ὅτι πρότερον τὴν ἔκρινεν, ἢ ἤσδετο, ἢ ἐνόησεν. Aristot. de Memoria et Reminiscētia, cap. 1.

*Of Accent. Its Nature and Use.—  
Standard of Pronunciation. From  
the Theory of Language, in the  
same Work.*

**E**MPHASIS is the work of the lungs; but ACCENT is performed by the contraction or dilatation of the glottis. For, while we speak with understanding, our voice is continually varying, not only its emphasis, but also its tone, from acute to grave, and from grave to acute. This is Accent. Inaccurate observers are not sensible of it in themselves, but think they speak without any tone; though at the same time they allow, that people who come from a distance have a tone in their speech, that is perceptible enough, and not very agreeable. And the stranger complains of their accent in the same terms, and with equal justice.

Thus I have heard a man of Edinburgh say, We have no tone; our voice in speaking is uniform, and not more grave, or more acute at one time, than at another; but go to Glasgow, and there you will hear a tone; or go to Aberdeen, and you will hear a tone still more remarkable, though of a different kind. Nay, a Londoner, a man of wit and genius, affirmed in my hearing, that the English spoken in the metropolis was for this particular reason the most elegant, because there, in polite company, the speech was unaccented, whereas, in every other part of the British empire, people spoke with a tone. And a clergyman of Virginia assured me very seriously, that the English of that province was the best in the world; and assigned the

same reason in favour of the Virginian pronunciation. But every word these gentlemen spoke was to my ear a convincing proof, that they were mistaken. It is true, the North-American English accent is not so animated as that of Middlesex, and the adjoining counties; but it is very perceptible notwithstanding. In fact, there is no such thing in language as monotony, or a continuation of the same note in speech, without ever rising above, or falling below it. Some children are taught to read in this manner; but their pronunciation is insipid and ridiculous. And though a man, who has a musical ear, and the command of his voice, might no doubt utter many words without any variation of accent, yet, if he were to speak so in company, he would be supposed to have lost his wits.

But, if every body speak with a tone, why, it may be said, does not every body perceive his own, as well as his neighbours? It may be answered, that some, nay that many, persons do perceive their own accent; and that they, who do not, become insensible of it by habit. We sometimes meet with those who have acquired a custom of speaking very loud, or very low, and yet are not sensible, that they speak lower or louder than other people. Nay profane swearers have been heard to affirm with an oath, that they were not swearing. Our native accent, especially if we have never been from home, being continually in our ear, it is no wonder that we should not discern its peculiarities. But let a man, who has been born and bred in Aberdeen, live two

or three years in Edinburgh or London; and he shall become both insensible to the tone of the place of his residence, and also sensible of the accent that adheres to the dialect of his native town. In England, in Ireland, in the south and in the north of Scotland, the people speak dialects of one and the same language; and yet it is not difficult to know, by the tone of his voice in speaking, even before we hear him so plainly as to distinguish the words, whether the speaker be of England or of Ireland, a native of Lothian, or of Kincardineshire, of Aberdeen, or of Inverness. And if even the provincial dialects of the same tongue are distinguishable by their accents, we may with reason conclude, that the languages of different nations will be more remarkably distinguished in this way, which in fact is found to be the case.

Of all the nations upon the earth, the ancient Greek seem to have been the most attentive to language. Their own they studied, both in the composition, and in the pronunciation, with extraordinary care. The tones of it could not escape the notice of that sagacious people. In order to

make these of easier acquisition to strangers, they did what no other nation ever thought of doing, they used in writing certain characters, still retained in their books, and called the Greek accents, of which the meaning was, to regulate the tone of the voice in speech. We know they were invented for this purpose; though we cannot now make any use of them in our pronunciation of the Greek tongue.

It has been said, that the syllable marked with the *acute* accent was pronounced four or five notes higher than the non-accented syllables; that the *grave* accent signified a fall of the voice through the same interval nearly; and that the *circumflex* denoted a rise followed by a fall, which, as it took up double the time of a simple fall or rise, made the syllable so accented necessarily long. But I am not satisfied with this account; for the passage quoted by a learned author, from Dionysius of Harlicarnassus, in proof of it, is very obscure. At any rate, these marks could have regulated the syllabic accents only: whereas, with us, accent is more distinguishable in the cadence of words and phrases\*, than in syllables. Be this, however, as it

\* Mr. Sheridan, in those elegant Lectures which I heard him deliver at Edinburgh about twenty years ago, distinguished (if I rightly remember) the English interrogatory accent from the Irish and the Scotch, in this manner. His example was: "How have you been this great while?"—in pronouncing which, he observed, that towards the end of the sentence an Englishman lets his voice fall, an Irishman raises his, and a Scotchman makes his voice first fall, and then rise. The remark is well founded; but it is difficult to express in unexceptionable terms a matter of so great nicety. I shall only add, that what is here said of the Scotch accent, though it may hold true of the more southerly provinces, is by no means applicable to the dialects that prevail in Aberdeenshire, and other parts of the north: where the voice of the common people, in concluding a clause or sentence, rises into a very shrill and sharp tone without any previous fall. "You bark in your speech," says a man of Edinburgh to one of Aberdeen: "And you growl and grumble in yours," replies the Aberdonian. In Inverness-shire, and the western parts of Moray, the accents become totally different, and resemble the tones and aspirations of the Eric.

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will, (for I affirm nothing positively in a matter so little known) it is evident, that the Latin word *accentus* (from *ad* and *cantus*), and the correspondent term in Greek † *prosodia*, (from *pros* and *ode*) must, in their primitive signification, have had a reference to song, or musical tone, and not (as some have thought) to those energies of the human voice, which are here expressed by the word *Emphasis*.

But let it be observed, that though in speech the voice is continually varying its tone, and is sometimes more acute, and at other times more grave, it does not, in modern languages at least, ascend or descend, by those musical intervals which are called notes, but rises and falls by degrees of variation incomparably more minute, and which our musical language has no terms nor symbols to express. A musician, sounding the string of a violin by drawing his bow across, and at the same time making his finger *slide* up and down the string without *lifting* it, would produce a sort of sound somewhat similar, in its *mode* of rising and falling, to those varieties of accent which take place in language. An attempt has lately been made by Mr. Steele, to express certain accents of the English tongue by a new-invented sort of written characters. The work, I hear, is very ingenious; but, as I have not seen it, I can say nothing more about it.

From what has been said, we may learn, that, as every nation and province has a particular accent, and as no man can speak

intelligibly without one, we ought not to take offence at the tones of a stranger, nor give him any ground to suspect, that we are displeased with, or even sensible of them. However disagreeable his accent may be to us, ours, it is likely, is equally so to him. The common rule of equity, therefore, will recommend mutual forbearance in this matter. To speak with the English, or with the Scotch, accent, is no more praiseworthy, or blameable, than to be born in England, or Scotland: a circumstance, which, though the ringleaders of sedition, or narrow-minded bigots, may applaud or censure, no person of sense, or common honesty, will ever consider as imputable to any man.

Are, then, all provincial accents equally good? By no means. Of accent, as well as of spelling, syntax, and idiom, there is a standard, in every polite nation. And, in all these particulars, the example of approved authors, and the practice of those, who, by their rank, education, and way of life, have had the best opportunities to know men and manners, and domestic and foreign literature, ought undoubtedly to give the law. Now it is in the metropolis of a kingdom, and in the most famous schools of learning, where the greatest resort may be expected of persons adorned with all useful and elegant accomplishments. The language, therefore, of the most learned and polite persons in London, and the neighbouring Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, ought to be accounted the standard of the Eng-

† *προσῳδία*, from *προς* *ad*, and *ὠδὴ* *cantus*.

lish tongue, especially in accent and pronunciation: syntax, spelling, and idiom, having been ascertained by the practice of good authors and the consent of former ages.

And there are two reasons for this preference. One is, that we naturally approve as elegant what is customary among our superiors. And another, and a better, reason is because the most enlightened minds must be supposed to be the best judges of propriety in speech, as well as in every other thing that does not affect the conscience.

The standard of speech being thus ascertained, provincial dialects are to be considered as more or less elegant, according as they more or less resemble it. And it has been the wish of many, that the same modes of language should prevail through the whole empire. But this, however desirable, is perhaps impossible. At least there never yet was any instance of it in an extensive country. The Greeks themselves, with all their philological accuracy, had different dialects:—The apostle Peter, when at Jerusalem, was known by his speech to be a man of Galilee:—Livy has been accused of provincial idioms, though his native city Padua was but two hundred miles from Rome:—In the southern part of this island there have long been two distinct languages, the English and Welch; and two others in the north, the Scotch and Erse, which are different from these, as well as from one another:—the dialects of Lancashire and Yorkshire are hardly understood in London:—even in Kent, and in Berkshire, we hear words and

sounds, that are not known in Middlesex:—nay, the speech of the learned Londoner and Parisian differs not a little, both in idiom, and in accent, from that of his unlettered fellow-citizens.

As Emphasis gives energy to pronunciation, Accent renders it graceful; and is no doubt of further benefit, in distinguishing from one another the several tribes of mankind. For in many cases, it might be inconvenient to mistake a stranger for a fellow-subject; or not to have the means of proving a man's identity, or his birth-place, from the tone of his language. By their hand-writing, and features, individuals may be distinguished; and the national arrangements of mankind, by their words and accent. And of all the peculiarities of a foreign tongue, accent is the most difficult for a grown person to acquire. No Frenchman, who has not passed his infancy or childhood in England, will ever speak English with the true accent. Scotch men have lived forty years in London without entirely losing their native tone. And it may be doubted, whether it is possible for one, who has lived the first twenty years of his life in North Britain, ever to acquire all the niceties of English pronunciation.——The same thing may be remarked of other languages, and the natives of other countries.

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*An Extract from Illustrations on Sublimity; in the same Work.*

“POETRY becomes sublime in many ways; and as this is the only fine art, which can at present supply



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supply us with examples, I shall from it select a specimen or two of the different sorts of sublimity.

1. Poetry is sublime, when it elevates the mind. This indeed is a general character of greatness. But I speak here of sentiments so happily conceived and expressed, as to raise our affections above the low pursuits of sensuality and avarice, and animate us with the love of virtue and of honour. As a specimen, let me recommend the account, which Virgil gives in his eighth book, of the person, family, and kingdom of Evander; an Arcadian prince, who, after being trained up in all the discipline of Greece, established himself and his people in that part of Italy, where a few centuries after was built the great metropolis of the Roman empire. In the midst of poverty, that good old man retains a philosophical and a royal dignity. "This habitation (says he, to Eneas, who had made him a visit) has been honoured with the presence of Hercules himself. Dare, my guest, to despise riches; and do thou also fashion thyself into a likeness of God:" or, as some render it, "do thou also make thyself worthy of immortality."

Aude, hospes, contemnere opes; et te  
quoque dignum  
Finge Deo.——

There is a strength in the expression, whereof our language is not capable. "I despise the world (says Dryden) when I read it, and myself when I attempt to translate it."

2. Poetry is sublime, when it conveys a lively idea of any grand appearance in art or nature. A nobler description of this sort I do not at present remember, than that which Virgil gives, in the first book of the Georgick, of a dark night, with wind, rain, and lightning: where Jupiter appears, encompassed with clouds and storms, darting his thunderbolts, and overturning the mountains, while the ocean is roaring, the earth trembling, the wild beasts fled away, the rain pouring down in torrents, the woods resounding to the tempest, and all mankind overwhelmed with consternation.\*

Ipsæ Pater, media nimborum in nocte,  
corusca  
Fulmina molitur dextra; quo maxima  
motu  
Terra tremit, fugere feræ, es mortalia  
corda  
Per gentes humilis stravit pavor. Ille  
flagranti  
Aut Atho, aut Rhodopen, aut alta Ke-  
raunia telo

\* The following is a more literal translation; but I know not how to imitate in modern language, the awful, (I had almost said, the dreadful) simplicity of the original.

High in the midnight storm enthron'd, Heaven's Sire  
Hurls from his blazing arm the bolt of fire.  
Earth feels with trembling; every beast is fled;  
And nations prostrate fall, o'erwhelmed with dread.  
Athos rolls headlong, where his lightnings fly,  
The rocks of Rhodope in ruin lie,  
Or huge Keraunia. With redoubled rage  
The torrent rain and bellowing wind engage;  
Loud in the woods afar the tempests roar,  
And mountain billows burst in thunder on the shore.

Dejicit ; ingémillant austri, et densissimus  
imber ;

Nunc nemora ingenti vento, nunc littora  
plangunt.\*

This description astonishes, both by the grandeur, and by the horror, of the scene, which is either wrapt in total darkness, or made visible by the glare of lightening. And the poet has expressed it with the happiest solemnity of style, and a sonorous harmony of numbers.—As examples of the same sort of sublimity, namely of great images with a mixture of horror, I might call the reader's attention to the storm in the beginning of the *Eneid*, the death of Cacus in the eighth book, to the account of Tartarus in the sixth, and that of the burning of Troy in the second. But in the style of dreadful magnificence, nothing is superior, and scarce any thing equal, to Milton's representation of hell and chaos, in the first and second books of *Paradise Lost*.

In the concluding paragraph of the same work, there is brought together, with uncommon strength of fancy, and rapidity of narrative, a number of circumstances, wonderfully adapted to the purpose of filling the mind with ideas of terrifick grandeur : the descent of the cherubim ; the flaming sword ; the archangel leading in haste our first parents down from the heights of paradise, and then disappearing ; and, above all, the scene that presents itself on their looking behind them.

They, looking back, all th' eastern cliff  
beheld

Of Paradise, so late their happy seat,  
Waved over by that flaming brand ; the  
gate

With dreadful faces throng'd and fiery  
arms.

To which the last verses form the most striking contrast that can be imagined.

Some natural tears they drop'd, but wiped  
them soon.

The world was all before them, where to  
chuse

Their place of rest, and Providence their  
guide.

They, hand in hand, with wandering  
steps, and slow,

Through Eden took their solitary way.

The final couplet renews our sorrow ; by exhibiting, with picturesque accuracy, the most mournful scene in nature ; which yet is so prepared, as to raise comfort, and dispose to resignation. And thus, while we are at once melting in tenderness, elevated with pious hope, and overwhelmed with the grandeur of description, the divine poem concludes. What luxury of mental gratification is here ! Who would exchange this frame of mind (if nature could support it) for any other ! How exquisitely does the faith of a Christian accord with the noblest feelings of humanity !

3. Poetry is sublime, when, without any great pomp of images or of words, it infuses horror by a happy choice of circumstances. When Macbeth (in Shakespeare) goes to consult the witches, he finds them performing rites in a cave ; and upon asking what they were employed about, receives no other answer than this short one, " A deed without a name." One's blood runs cold at the thought ; that their work was of so accursed a nature, that they themselves had no name to express

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it by, or were afraid to speak of it by any name. Here is no solemnity of style, nor any accumulation of great ideas; yet here is the true sublime: because here is something that astonishes the mind, and fills it, without producing any real inconvenience.

Among other omens, which preceded the death of Dido, Virgil relates, that, when she was making an oblation of wine, milk and incense upon the altar, she observed the milk grow black, and found that the wine was changed into blood. This the poet improves into a circumstance of the utmost horror, when he adds, that she never mentioned it to any person, not even to her sister, who was her confidante on all other occasions; insinuating, that it filled her with so dreadful apprehension, that she had not courage even to attempt to speak of it.—Perhaps I may be more struck with this than many others are; as I once knew a young man, who was in the same state of mind, after having been frightened in his sleep, or, as he imagined, by a vision, which he had seen about two years before he told me of it. With much intreaty I prevailed on him to give me some account of his dream: but there was one particular, which he said that he would not, nay that he durst not, mention; and, while he was saying so, his haggard eyes, pale countenance, quivering lips, and faltering voice, presented to me such a picture of horror, as I never saw before or since. I ought to add, that he was, in all other respects, in his perfect mind, chearful and active, and not more than twenty years of age.

Horror has long been a power.

ful, and a favourite, engine in the hands of the Tragic poet. Eschylus employed it more than any other ancient artist. In his play called *the Furies*, he introduced Orestes haunted by a company of those frightful beings; intending thereby an allegorical representation of the torment which that hero suffered in his mind, in consequence of having slain his mother Clytemnestra, for the part she had taken in the murder of his father. But to raise the greater horror in the spectators, the poet was at pains to describe, with amazing force of expression, the appearance of the Furies; and he brought upon the stage no fewer than fifty of them; whose infernal looks, hideous gestures, and horrible screams, had such effects on the women and children, that, in the subsequent exhibitions of the play, the number of furies was by an express law limited, first to fifteen, and afterwards to twelve. There are, no doubt, sublime strokes in the poet's account of these furies; and there is something very great in the idea of a person haunted by his own thoughts, in the form of such terrifick beings. Yet horror of this kind I would hardly call sublime, because it is addressed rather to the eye than to the mind; and because it is easier to disfigure a man so, as to make him have the appearance of an ugly woman, than, by a brief description, or well-chosen sentiment, to alarm and astonish the fancy. Shakespeare has, in my opinion, excited horror of more genuine sublimity, and withal more useful in a moral view, when he makes Macbeth, in short and broken starts of exclamation, and without any pomp of images or of words,

words, give an utterance half-suppressed to those dreadful thoughts that were passing in his mind immediately before and after the murder of Duncan, his guest, kinsman, sovereign, and benefactor. The agonies of a guilty conscience were never more forcibly represented, than in this tragedy; which may indeed be said, in the language of Aristotle, to purify the mind by the operation of terror and pity; and which abounds more in that species of the sublime whereof I now speak, than any other performance in the English tongue.—See its merits examined and explained, with the utmost correctness of judgment, beauty of language, and vivacity of imagination, in Mrs. Montagu's *Essay on the writings and genius of Shakespeare*.

4. Poetry is sublime, when it awakens in the mind any great and good affection, as piety, or patriotism. This is one of the noblest effects of the art. The Psalms are remarkable, beyond all other writings, for their power of inspiring devout emotions. But it is not in this respect only that they are sublime. Of the divine nature they contain the most magnificent descriptions that the soul of man can comprehend. The hundred and fourth psalm, in particular, displays the power and goodness of Providence, in creating and preserving the world, and the various tribes of animals in it, with such majestick brevity and beauty, as it is vain to look for in any human composition. The morning song of Adam and Eve\*, and many other parts of Paradise

Lost, are noble effusions of piety, breathed in the most captivating strains: and Thomson's Hymn on the Seasons, if we overlook an unguarded word or two, is not inferior.

Of that sublimity which results from the strong expression of patriotic sentiments, many examples might be quoted from the Latin poets, particularly Virgil, Horace, and Lucan: but there is a passage in Homer that suits the present purpose better than any other that now occurs. While Hector is advancing to attack the Greek intrenchments, an eagle lets fall a wounded serpent in the middle of his army. This Polydamas considers as a bad omen, and advises him to order a retreat. Hector rejects the advice with indignation.

“ Shall I be deterred from my duty, (says he) and from executing the commands of Jupiter, by the flight of birds? Let them fly on my right hand or on my left, towards the setting or towards the rising sun, I will obey the counsel of Jove, who is the king of gods and of men.” And then he adds that memorable aphorism, “ To defend our country is the best of all auguries;” or, as Pope has very well expressed it,

Without a sign, his sword the brave man  
draws,  
And asks no omen, but his country's  
cause.

If we attend to all the circumstances, and reflect that both Hector and Homer believed in auguries, we must own that the sentiment is wonderfully great.

I might also quote, from the

\* Par. Lost, book v.

† Εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀπικοῦσιν αἰμύροναί τε καὶ παῖρες. Iliad. xii. 243.

same book of the Iliad, Sarpedon's speech to Glaucus; which contains the noblest lesson of political wisdom, and the most enlivening motives to magnanimity. I shall not translate it literally, but confine myself to the general scope of the argument; and I shall give it in prose, that it may not seem to derive any part of its dignity from the charm of poetical numbers.

"Why, O Glaucus, do we receive from our people in Lycia the honours of sovereignty, and so liberal a provision? Is it not in the hope, that we are to distinguish ourselves by our virtue, as much as we are distinguished by our rank? Let us act accordingly: that, when they see us encountering the greatest perils of war, they may say, we deserve the honours and the dignity which we possess. If indeed (continues he) by declining danger we could secure ourselves against old age and the grave, I should neither fight myself in the front of the battle, nor exhort you to do so. But since death is unavoidable, and may assail us from so many thousand quarters, let us advance, and either gain renown by victory, or by our fall give glory to the conqueror." The whole is excellent: but the grandeur and generosity of the conclusion can never be too highly applauded.

5. Poetry is also sublime, when it describes in a lively manner the visible effects of any of those passions that give elevation to the character. Such is that passage, in the conclusion of the same twelfth book of the Iliad, which paints the impetuosity and terrible

appearance of Hector, storming the intrenchments, and pursuing the enemy to their ships. Extraordinary efforts of magnanimity, valour, or any other virtue, and extraordinary exertions of strength or power, are grand objects, and give sublimity to those pictures or poems, in which they are well represented. All the great poets abound in examples.

Yet in great strength, for example, there may be unwieldiness, or awkwardness, or some other contemptible quality, whereby the sublime is destroyed. Polyphemus is a match for five hundred Greeks; but he is not a grand object. We hate his barbarity, and despise his folly, too much, to allow him a single grain of admiration. Ulysses, who in the hands of Polypheme was nothing, is incomparably more sublime, when, in walking to his palace, disguised like a beggar, he is insulted, and even kicked, by one of his own slaves, who was in the service of those rebels that were tempting his queen, plundering his household, and alienating the affections of his people. Homer tells us, that the hero stood firm, without being moved from his place by the stroke; that he deliberated for a moment, whether he should at one blow fell the traitor to the earth; but that patience and prudential thoughts restrained him. The brutal force of the Cyclops is not near so striking as this picture; which displays bodily strength and magnanimity united. For what we despise we never admire; and therefore despicable greatness cannot be sublime.

Homer and Virgil have, each of them, given a description of a horse,

horse, which is very much, and justly, celebrated. But they dwell rather upon the swiftness and beauty of the animal, or on such of his passions as have little or no dignity; and therefore their descriptions, though most elegant and harmonious, cannot properly be termed sublime. In the book of Job, we have the picture of a war-horse in the most magnificent style. The inspired poet expatiates upon the nobler qualities of that animal, his strength, impetuosity, and contempt of danger: and several of the words made use of, being figurative, and in their proper meaning expressive of human emotions, convey uncommon vivacity and elevation to the whole passage.

“Hast thou given the horse strength? Hast thou clothed his neck with thunder?”—alluding, perhaps, either to the noise of cavalry advancing; or to their speed, which the poet insinuates may be compared to that of lightning. “Canst thou make him afraid as a grasshopper? the glory of his nostrils is terrible;”—that is, the breath coming from his nostrils, which appear red with distension, make him look as if fire and smoke were issuing from them; an idea, which Virgil has finely expressed in that line,

Collectumque premens volvit sub naribus ignem.

“He paweth in the valley, and rejoiceth in his strength; he goeth on to meet the armed men. He mocketh at fear, and is not affrighted, neither turneth he back

from the sword. The quiver rattleth against him, the glittering spear and the shield. He swalloweth the ground with fierceness and rage;” which probably signifies, according to some translations, “he looks as if he would swallow the ground\*”; neither believeth he that it is the sound of the trumpet. He saith among the trumpets, ha, ha;” despises their alarm as much as we do that of a threatening which only provokes our laughter: “and he smelleth the battle afar off, the thunder of the captains, and the shouting.” Besides the grandeur of the animal, as here painted, the sublimity of the passage is heightened exceedingly by the landscape; which presents to our view an army in order of battle, and makes us think we hear the crashing of armour, and the shouts of encountering multitudes.”

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*On Taste, from Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, by Hugh Blair, D. D. one of the Ministers of the High Church, and Professor of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres in the University of Edinburgh.*

“THE characters of Taste when brought to its most perfect state are all reducible to two, Delicacy and Correctness.

Delicacy of Taste respects principally the perfection of that natural sensibility on which Taste is founded. It implies those finer organs or powers which enable us to discover beauties that lie hid

\* In a very ingenious criticism on this passage in the Guardian, these words are differently understood.



from a vulgar eye. One may have strong sensibility, and yet be deficient in delicate taste. He may be deeply impressed by such beauties as he perceives; but he perceives only what is in some degree coarse, what is bold and palpable; while chaster and simpler ornaments escape his notice. In this state Taste generally exists among rude and unrefined nations. But a person of delicate Taste both feels strongly, and feels accurately. He sees distinctions and differences where others see none; the most latent beauty does not escape him, and he is sensible of the smallest blemish. Delicacy of Taste is judged of by the same marks that we use in judging of the delicacy of an external sense. As the goodness of the palate is not tried by strong flavours, but by a mixture of ingredients, where, notwithstanding the confusion, we remain sensible of each; in like manner delicacy of internal Taste appears, by a quick and lively sensibility to its finest, most compounded, or most latent objects.

Correctness of Taste respects chiefly the improvement which that faculty receives through its connexion with the understanding. A man of correct Taste is one who is never imposed on by counterfeit beauties; who carries always in his mind that standard of good sense which he employs in judging of every thing. He estimates with propriety the comparative merit of the several beauties which he meets with in any work of genius; refers them to their proper classes; assigns the principles, as far as they can be traced, whence their power of pleasing us

flows; and is pleased himself precisely in that degree in which he ought, and no more.

It is true that these two qualities of Taste, Delicacy, and Correctness, mutually imply each other. No Taste can be exquisitely delicate without being correct; nor can be thoroughly correct without being delicate. But still a predominancy of one or other quality in the mixture is often visible. The power of Delicacy is chiefly seen in discerning the true merit of a work; the power of Correctness, in rejecting false pretensions to merit. Delicacy leans more to feeling; Correctness more to reason and judgment. The former is more the gift of nature; the latter, more the product of culture and art. Among the ancient critics, Longinus possessed most Delicacy; Aristotle, most Correctness. Among the moderns, Mr. Addison is a high example of delicate Taste; Dean Swift, had he written on the subject of criticism, would perhaps have afforded the example of a correct one.

Having viewed Taste in its most improved and perfect state, I come next to consider its deviations from that state, the fluctuations and changes to which it is liable; and to enquire whether, in the midst of these, there be any means of distinguishing a true from a corrupted Taste. This brings us to the most difficult part of our task. For it must be acknowledged, that no principle of the human mind is, in its operations, more fluctuating and capricious than Taste. Its variations have been so great and frequent, as to create a suspicion with some, of its being

being merely arbitrary ; grounded on no foundation, ascertainable by no standard, but wholly dependent on changing fancy ; the consequence of which would be, that all studies or regular enquiries concerning the objects of Taste were vain. In architecture, the Grecian models were long esteemed the most perfect. In succeeding ages, the Gothic architecture alone prevailed, and afterwards the Grecian Taste revived in all its vigour, and engrossed the public admiration. In eloquence and poetry, the Asiatics at no time relished any thing but what was full of ornament, and splendid in a degree that we would denominate gaudy ; whilst the Greeks admired only chaste and simple beauties, and despised the Asiatic ostentation. In our own country, how many writings that were greatly extolled two or three centuries ago, are now fallen into entire disrepute and oblivion ? Without going back to remote instances, how very different is the taste of poetry which prevails in Great Britain now, from what prevailed there no longer ago than the reign of king Charles II. which the authors too of that time deemed an Augustan age : when nothing was in vogue but an affected brilliancy of wit ; when the simple majesty of Milton was overlooked, and *Paradise Lost* almost entirely unknown ; when Cowley's laboured and unnatural conceits were admired as the very quintessence of genius ; Waller's gay sprightliness was mistaken for the tender spirit of Love poetry ; and such writers as Suckling and Etheridge were held in esteem for dramatic composition ?

The question is, what conclusion are we to form from such instances as these ? Is there any thing that can be called a standard of Taste, by appealing to which we may distinguish between a good and a bad Taste ? Or, is there in truth no such distinction ; and are we to hold that, according to the proverb, there is no disputing of Tastes ; but that whatever pleases is right, for that reason that it does please ? This is the question, and a very nice and subtle one it is, which we are now to discuss.

I begin by observing, that if there be no such thing as any standard of Taste, this consequence must immediately follow, that all Tastes are equally good ; a position, which though it may pass unnoticed in slight matters, and when we speak of the lesser differences among the Tastes of men, yet when we apply it to the extremes, its absurdity presently becomes glaring. For is there any one who will seriously maintain that the Taste of a Hottentot or a Laplander is as delicate and as correct as that of a Longinus or an Addison ? or, that he can be charged with no defect or incapacity who thinks a common news-writer as excellent an historian as Tacitus ? As it would be held downright extravagance to talk in this manner, we are led unavoidably to this conclusion, that there is some foundation for the preference of one man's Taste to that of another ; or, that there is a good and a bad, a right and a wrong in Taste, as in other things.

But to prevent mistakes on this subject, it is necessary to observe next, that the diversity of Tastes  
which

which prevails among mankind, does not in every case infer corruption of Taste, or oblige us to seek for some standard in order to determine who are in the right. The Tastes of men may differ very considerably as to their object, and yet none of them be wrong. One man relishes poetry most; another takes pleasure in nothing but history. One prefers comedy; another, tragedy. One admires the simple; another the ornamental style. The young are amused with gay and sprightly compositions. The elderly are more entertained with those of a graver cast. Some nations delight in bold pictures of manners, and strong representations of passion. Others incline to more correct and regular elegance both in description and sentiment. Though all differ, yet all pitch upon some one beauty which peculiarly suits their turn of mind; and therefore no one has a title to condemn the rest. It is not in matters of Taste, as in questions of mere reason, where there is but one conclusion that can be true, and all the rest are erroneous. Truth, which is the object of reason, is one; beauty, which is the object of Taste, is manifold. Taste therefore admits of latitude and diversity of objects, in sufficient consistency with goodness or justness of Taste.

But then, to explain this matter thoroughly, I must observe farther, that this admissible diversity of Tastes can only have place where the objects of Taste are different. Where it is with respect to the same object that men disagree, when one condemns that as ugly, which another admires as highly beautiful; then it is no

longer diversity, but direct opposition of Taste that takes place: and therefore one must be in the right, and another in the wrong, unless that absurd paradox were allowed to hold, that all Tastes are equally good and true. One man prefers Virgil to Homer. Suppose that I, on the other hand admire Homer more than Virgil. I have as yet no reason to say that our Tastes are contradictory. The other person is most struck with the elegance and tenderness which are the characteristics of Virgil; I, with the simplicity and fire of Homer. As long as neither of us deny that both Homer and Virgil have great beauties, our difference falls within the compass of that diversity of Tastes, which I have shewed to be natural and allowable. But if the other man shall assert that Homer has no beauties whatever; that he holds him to be a dull and spiritless writer, and that he would as soon peruse any old legend of knight-errantry as the Iliad: then I exclaim, that my antagonist either is void of all Taste, or that his Taste is corrupted in a miserable degree; and I appeal to whatever I think the standard of Taste, to shew him that he is in the wrong.

What that standard is, to which, in such opposition of Tastes, we are obliged to have recourse, remains to be traced. A standard properly signifies, that which is of such undoubted authority as to be the test of other things of the same kind. Thus a standard weight or measure, is that which is appointed by law to regulate all other measures and weights. Thus the court is said to be the standard of good breeding; and

and the scripture, of theological truth.

When we say that nature is the standard of Taste, we lay down a principle very true and just, as far as it can be applied. There is no doubt, that in all cases where an imitation is intended of some object that exists in nature, as in representing human characters or actions, conformity to nature affords a full and distinct criterion of what is truly beautiful. Reason hath in such cases full scope for exerting its authority; for approving or condemning; by comparing the copy with the original. But there are innumerable cases in which this rule cannot be at all applied; and conformity to nature, is an expression frequently used, without any distinct or determinate meaning. We must therefore search for somewhat that can be rendered more clear and precise, to be the standard of Taste.

Taste, as I before explained it, is ultimately founded on an internal sense of beauty, which is natural to men, and which, in its application to particular objects, is capable of being guided and enlightened by reason. Now, were there any one person who possessed in full perfection all the powers of human nature, whose internal senses were in every instance exquisite and just, and whose reason was unerring and sure, the determinations of such a person concerning beauty, would, beyond doubt, be a perfect standard for the Taste of all others. Wherever their Taste differed from his, it could be imputed only to some imperfection in their natural powers. But as there is

no such living standard, no one person to whom all mankind will allow such submission to be due, what is there of sufficient authority to be the standard of the various and opposite Tastes of men? Most certainly there is nothing but the Taste, as far as it can be gathered, of human nature. That which men concur the most in admiring, must be held to be beautiful. His Taste must be esteemed just and true, which coincides with the general sentiments of men. In this standard we must rest. To the sense of mankind the ultimate appeal must ever lie in all works of Taste. If any one should maintain that sugar was bitter and tobacco was sweet, no reasonings could avail to prove it. The Taste of such a person would infallibly be held to be diseased, merely because it differed so widely from the Taste of the species to which he belongs. In like manner, with regard to the objects of sentiment or internal Taste, the common feelings of men carry the same authority, and have a title to regulate the taste of every individual.

But have we then, it will be said, no other criterion of what is beautiful, than the approbation of the majority? Must we collect the voices of others, before we form any judgment for ourselves, of what deserves applause in eloquence or poetry? By no means; there are principles of reason and sound judgment which can be applied to matters of Taste, as well as to the subjects of science and philosophy. He who admires or censures any work of genius, is always ready, if his Taste be in any degree improved, to assign some

some reasons of his decision. He appeals to principles, and points out the grounds on which he proceeds. Taste is a sort of compound power, in which the light of the understanding always mingles, more or less, with the feelings of sentiment.

But, though reason can carry us a certain length in judging concerning works of Taste, it is not to be forgotten that the ultimate conclusions to which our reasonings lead, refer at last to sense and perception. We may speculate and argue concerning propriety of conduct in a tragedy, or an epic poem. Just reasonings on the subject will correct the caprice of unenlightened Taste, and establish principles for judging of what deserves praise. But, at the same time, these reasonings appeal always, in the last resort, to feeling. The foundation upon which they rest, is what has been found from experience to please mankind most universally. Upon this ground we prefer a simple

and natural, to an artificial and affected style; a regular and well-connected story, to loose and scattered narratives; a catastrophe which is tender and pathetic, to one which leaves us unmoved. It is from consulting our own imagination and heart, and from attending to the feelings of others, that any principles are formed which acquire authority in matters of Taste\*.

When we refer to the concurring sentiments of men as the ultimate test of what is to be accounted beautiful in the arts, this is to be always understood of men placed in such situations as are favourable to the proper exertions of Taste. Every one must perceive, that among rude and uncivilized nations, and during the ages of ignorance and darkness, any loose notions that are entertained concerning such subjects carry no authority. In those states of society, Taste has no materials on which to operate. It is either totally suppressed, or appears in

\* The difference between the authors who found the standard of Taste upon the common feelings of human nature ascertained by general approbation, and those who found it upon established principles which can be ascertained by reason, is more an apparent than a real difference. Like many other literary controversies, it turns chiefly on modes of expression. For they who lay the greatest stress on sentiment and feeling, make no scruple of applying argument and reason to matters of Taste. They appeal, like other writers, to established principles, in judging of the excellencies of Eloquence or Poetry; and plainly shew, that the general approbation to which they ultimately recur, is an approbation resulting from discussion as well as from sentiment. They, on the other hand, who, in order to vindicate Taste from any suspicion of being arbitrary, maintain that it is ascertainable by the standard of reason, admit nevertheless, that what pleases universally, must on that account be held to be truly beautiful; and that no rules or conclusions concerning objects of Taste, can have any just authority, if they be found to contradict the general sentiments of men. These two systems, therefore, differ in reality very little from one another. Sentiment and reason enter into both; and by allowing to each of these powers its due place, both systems may be rendered consistent. Accordingly, it is in this light that I have endeavoured to place the subject.

its lowest and most imperfect form. We refer to the sentiments of mankind in polished and flourishing nations; when arts are cultivated and manners refined; when works of genius are subjected to free discussion, and Taste is improved by science and philosophy.

Even among nations, at such a period of society, I admit, that accidental causes may occasionally warp the proper operations of Taste; sometimes the state of religion, sometimes the form of government, may for a while pervert it; a licentious court may introduce a taste for false ornaments, and dissolute writings.—The usage of one admired genius may procure approbation for his faults, and even render them fashionable. Sometimes envy may have power to bear down, for a little, productions of great merit; while popular humour, or party spirit, may, at other times, exalt to a high, though short-lived reputation, what little deserved it. But though such casual circumstances give the appearance of caprice to the judgments of Taste, that appearance is easily corrected. In the course of time, the genuine taste of human nature never fails to disclose itself, and to gain the ascendant over any fantastic and corrupted modes of Taste which may chance to have been introduced. These may have currency for a while, and mislead superficial judges; but being subjected to examination, by degrees they pass away; while that alone remains which is founded on sound reason, and the native feelings of men.

I by no means pretend, that there is any standard of Taste, to which, in every particular instance, we can resort for clear and immediate determination. Where, indeed, is such a standard to be found for deciding any of those great controversies in reason and philosophy, which perpetually divide mankind? In the present case, there was plainly no occasion for any such strict and absolute provision to be made. In order to judge of what is morally good or evil, of what man ought, or ought not in duty to do, it was fit that the means of clear and precise determination should be afforded us. But to ascertain in every case with the utmost exactness what is beautiful or elegant, was not at all necessary to the happiness of man. And therefore some diversity in feeling was here allowed to take place; and room was left for discussion and debate, concerning the degree of approbation to which any work of genius is entitled.

The conclusion, which it is sufficient for us to rest upon, is, that Taste is far from being an arbitrary principle, which is subject to the fancy of every individual, and which admits of no criterion for determining whether it be false or true. Its foundation is the same in all human minds. It is built upon sentiments and perceptions which belong to our nature; and which, in general, operate with the same uniformity as our other intellectual principles.—When these sentiments are perverted by ignorance and prejudice, they are capable of being rectified by reason. Their sound  
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and natural state is ultimately determined, by comparing them with the general Taste of mankind. Let men declaim as much as they please, concerning the caprice and the uncertainty of Taste, it is found, by experience, that there are beauties, which, if they be displayed in a proper light, have power to command lasting and general admiration. In every composition, what interests the imagination, and touches the heart, pleases all ages and all nations. There is a certain string, which, being properly struck, the human heart is so made as to answer to it.

Hence the universal testimony which the most improved nations of the earth have conspired, throughout a long tract of ages, to give to some few works of genius; such as the *Iliad* of Homer, and the *Æneid* of Virgil. Hence the authority which such works have acquired, as standards in some degree of poetical composition; since from them we are enabled to collect what the sense of mankind is, concerning those beauties which gave them the highest pleasure, and which therefore poetry ought to exhibit. Authority or prejudice may, in one age or country, give a temporary reputation to an indifferent poet, or a bad artist; but when foreigners, or when posterity examine his works, his faults are discerned, and the genuine Taste of human nature appears. “*Opinionum commenta delet dies; naturæ judicia confirmat.*” Time overthrows the illusions of opinion, but establishes the decisions of nature.”

*Comparative Strictures on Tillotson, Sir William Temple, Addison, Lord Shaftesbury, and Lord Bolingbroke, in Point of Style. From the same Work.*

“SIMPLICITY is the great beauty of Archbishop Tillotson’s manner. Tillotson has long been admired as an eloquent writer, and a model for preaching. But his eloquence, if we can call it such, has been often misunderstood. For, if we include, in the idea of eloquence, vehemence and strength, picturesque description, glowing figures, or correct arrangement of sentences, in all these parts of oratory the archbishop is exceedingly deficient. His style is always pure, indeed, and perspicuous, but careless and remiss, too often feeble and languid; little beauty in the construction of his sentences, which are frequently suffered to drag unharmoniously; seldom any attempt towards strength or sublimity. But, notwithstanding these defects, such a constant vein of good sense and piety runs through his works, such an earnest and serious manner, and so much useful instruction conveyed in a style so pure, natural, and unaffected, as will justly recommend him to high regard, as long as the English language remains; not, indeed, as a model of the highest eloquence, but as a simple and amiable writer, whose manner is strongly expressive of great goodness and worth. I observed before, that simplicity of manner may be consistent with some degree of negligence in style; and it is only  
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the beauty of that simplicity which makes the negligence of such writers seem graceful. But, as appears in the archbishop, negligence may sometimes be carried so far as to impair the beauty of simplicity, and make it border on a flat and languid manner.

Sir William Temple is another remarkable writer in the style of simplicity. In point of ornament and correctness, he rises a degree above Tillotson; though for correctness, he is not in the highest rank. All is easy and flowing in him; he is exceedingly harmonious; smoothness, and what may be called amœnity, are the distinguishing characters of his manner; relaxing, sometimes, as such a manner will naturally do, into a prolix and remiss style. No writer whatever has stamped upon his style a more lively impression of his own character. In reading his works, we seem engaged in conversation with him; we become thoroughly acquainted with him, not merely as an author, but as a man; and contract a friendship for him. He may be classed as standing in the middle, between a negligent simplicity, and the highest degree of ornament, which this character of style admits.

Of the latter of these, the highest, most correct, and ornamented degree of the simple manner, Mr. Addison, is, beyond doubt, in the English language, the most perfect example: and, therefore, though not without some faults, he is, on the whole, the safest model for imitation, and the freest from considerable defects, which the language affords. Perspicuous and pure he is in the

highest degree; his precision, indeed, not very great; yet nearly as great as the subjects which he treats of require; the construction of his sentences easy, agreeable, and commonly very musical; carrying a character of smoothness, more than of strength. In figurative language, he is rich; particularly, in similes and metaphors; which are so employed, as to render his style splendid without being gaudy. There is not the least affectation in his manner; we see no marks of labour; nothing forced or constrained; but great elegance joined with great ease and simplicity. He is, in particular, distinguished by a character of modesty, and of politeness, which appears in all his writings. No author has a more popular and insinuating manner; and the great regard which he every where shews for virtue and religion, recommends him highly. If he fails in any thing, it is in want of strength and precision, which renders his manner, though perfectly suited to such essays as he writes in the *Spectator*, not altogether a proper model for any of the higher and more elaborate kinds of composition. Though the public have ever done much justice to his merit, yet the nature of his merit has not always been seen in its true light: for, though his poetry be elegant, he certainly bears a higher rank among the prose writers, than he is entitled to among the poets; and, in prose, his humour is of a much higher, and more original strain, than his philosophy. The character of Sir Roger de Coverley discovers more genius than the critique on Milton.

Such

Such authors as those, whose characters I have been giving, one never tires of reading. There is nothing in their manner that strains of fatigues our thoughts; we are pleased, without being dazzled by their lustre. So powerful is the charm of simplicity in an author of real genius, that it atones for many defects, and reconciles us to many a careless expression. Hence, in all the most excellent authors, both in prose and verse, the simple and natural manner may be always remarked; although other beauties being predominant, this forms not their peculiar and distinguishing character. Thus Milton is simple in the midst of all his grandeur; and Demosthenes in the midst of all his vehemence. To grave and solemn writings, simplicity of manner adds the more venerable air. Accordingly this has often been remarked as the prevailing character throughout all the sacred scriptures: and indeed no other character of style was so much suited to the dignity of inspiration.

Of authors, who, notwithstanding many excellencies, have rendered their style much less beautiful by want of simplicity. I cannot give a more remarkable example than Lord Shaftsbury. This is an author on whom I have made observations several times before, and shall now take leave of him, with giving his general character under this head. Considerable merit, doubtless, he has. His works might be read with profit for the moral philosophy which they contain, had he not filled them with so many oblique and invidious insinuations

against the Christian religion; thrown out, too, with so much spleen and satire, as to do no honour to his memory, either as an author or a man. His language has many beauties. It is firm, and supported in an uncommon degree: it is rich and musical. No English author, as I formerly shewed, has attended so much to the regular construction of his sentences, both with respect to propriety, and with respect to cadence. All this gives so much elegance and pomp to his language, that there is no wonder it should have been sometimes highly admired. It is greatly hurt, however, by perpetual stiffness and affectation. This is its capital fault. His lordship can express nothing with simplicity. He seems to have considered it as vulgar, and beneath the dignity of a man of quality, to speak like other men. Hence he is ever in buskins; full of circumlocutions and artificial elegance. In every sentence, we see the marks of labour and art; nothing of that ease, which expresses a sentiment coming natural and warm from the heart. Of figures and ornament of every kind, he is exceedingly fond; sometimes happy in them; but his fondness for them is too visible; and having once laid hold of some metaphor or allusion that pleased him, he knows not how to part with it. What is most wonderful, he was a professed admirer of simplicity; is always extolling it in the ancients, and censuring the moderns for the want of it; though he departs from it himself as far as any one modern whatever. Lord Shaftsbury possessed delicacy and refinement

finement of taste, to a degree that we may call excessive and sickly; but he had little warmth of passion; few strong or vigorous feelings: and the coldness of his character led him to that artificial and stately manner which appears in his writings. He was fonder of nothing than of wit and raillery; but he is far from being happy in it. He attempts it often, but always awkwardly; he is stiff, even in his pleasantry; and laughs in form, like an author, and not like a man\*.

From the account which I have given of Lord Shaftsbury's manner, it may easily be imagined, that he would mislead many who blindly admired him. Nothing is more dangerous to the tribe of imitators, than an author, who, with many imposing beauties, has also some very considerable blemishes. This is fully exemplified in Mr. Blackwell of Aberdeen, the author of the Life of Homer, the Letters on Mythology, and the Court of Augustus; a writer of considerable learning, and of ingenuity also; but infected with an extravagant love of an artificial style, and of that parade of language which distinguishes the Shaftsburean manner.

Having now said so much to recommend simplicity, or the easy and natural manner of writing,

and having pointed out the defects of an opposite manner; in order to prevent mistakes on this subject, it is necessary for me to observe, that it is very possible for an author to write simply, and yet not beautifully. One may be free from affectation, and not have merit. The beautiful simplicity supposes an author to possess real genius; to write with solidity, purity, and liveliness of imagination. In this case, the simplicity or unaffectedness of his manner, is the crowning ornament; it heightens every other beauty; it is the dress of nature, without which, all beauties are imperfect. But if mere unaffectedness were sufficient to constitute the beauty of style, weak, trifling, and dull writers might often lay claim to this beauty. And, accordingly, we frequently meet with pretended critics, who extol the dullest writers on account of what they call the "Chaste simplicity of their manner;" which, in truth, is no other than the absence of every ornament, through the mere want of genius and imagination. We must distinguish, therefore, between that simplicity which accompanies true genius, and which is perfectly compatible with every proper ornament of style, and that which is no other than a careless and slovenly manner. Indeed, the distinction is easily made from

\* It may perhaps be not unworthy of being mentioned, that the first edition of his Enquiry into Virtue was published, surreptitiously I believe, in a separate form, in the year 1699; and is sometimes to be met with; by comparing which with the corrected edition of the same treatise, as it now stands among his works, we see one of the most curious and useful examples that I know, of what is called *Limæ labor*; the art of polishing language, breaking long sentences, and working up an imperfect draught into a highly finished performance.

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the effect produced. The one never fails to interest the reader; the other is insipid and tiresome.

I proceed to mention one other manner or character of Style, different from any that I have yet spoken of; which may be distinguished by the name of the *Vehe-ment*. This always implies strength; and is not, by any means, inconsistent with Simplicity: but in its predominant character is distinguishable from either the strong or the simple manner. It has a peculiar ardour; it is a glowing Style; the language of a man, whose imagination and passions are heated, and strongly affected by what he writes; who is therefore negligent of lesser graces, but pours himself forth with the rapidity and fulness of a torrent. It belongs to the higher kinds of oratory; and indeed is rather expected from a man who is speaking, than from one who is writing in his closet. The orations of Demosthenes furnish the full and perfect example of this species of Style.

Among English writers, the one who has most of this character, though mixed, indeed, with several defects, is Lord Bolingbroke. Bolingbroke was formed by nature to be a factious leader; the demagogue of a popular assembly. Accordingly, the Style that runs through all his political writings, is that of one declaiming with heat, rather than writing with deliberation. He abounds in Rhetorical Figures; and pours himself forth with great impetuosity. He is copious to a fault; places the same thought before us in many different views; but generally with life and ardour. He

is bold, rather than correct; a torrent that flows strong, but often muddy. His sentences are varied as to length and shortness; inclining, however, most to long periods, sometimes including parentheses, and frequently crowding and heaping a multitude of things upon one another, as naturally happens in the warmth of speaking. In the choice of his words, there is great felicity and precision. In exact construction of sentences, he is much inferior to Lord Shaftsbury; but greatly superior to him in life and ease. Upon the whole, his merit, as a writer, would have been very considerable, if his matter had equalled his Style. But whilst we find many things to commend in the latter, in the former, as I before remarked, we can hardly find any thing to commend. In his reasonings, for most part, he is flimsy, and false; in his political writings, factious; in what he calls his philosophical ones, irreligious and sophistical in the highest degree."

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*Comparative Merit of the Ancients and Moderns; from Vol. II. of the same Work.*

"**W**HEN we speak comparatively of the Ancients and the Moderns, we generally mean by the Ancients, such as lived in the two first of these periods, including also one or two who lived more early, as Homer in particular; and by the Moderns, those who flourished in the two last of these ages, including also the eminent Writers down to our own times. Any comparison between these

These two classes of writers, cannot be other than vague and loose, as they comprehend so many, and of such different kinds and degrees of genius. But the comparison is generally made to turn, by those who are fond of making it, upon two or three of the most distinguished in each class. With much heat it was agitated in France, between Boileau and M. Dacier, on the one hand, for the Ancients, and Perrault and La Motte, on the other, for the Moderns; and it was carried to extremes on both sides. To this day, among men of taste, and letters, we find a leaning to one or other side. A few reflections may throw light upon the subject, and enable us to discern upon what grounds we are to rest our judgment in this controversy.

If any one, at this day, in the eighteenth century, takes upon him to decry the ancient classics; if he pretends to have discovered that Homer and Virgil and Poets of inconsiderable merit, and that Demosthenes and Cicero are not great Orators, we may boldly venture to tell such a man, that he is come too late with his discovery. The reputation of such writers is established upon a foundation too solid, to be now shaken by any arguments whatever; for it is established upon the almost universal taste of mankind, proved and tried throughout the succession of so many ages. Imperfections in their works he may indeed point out; passages that are faulty he may shew; for where is the human work that is perfect? But, if he attempts to discredit their works in general, or to prove that the reputation which they have gained is, on the whole,

unjust, there is an argument against him, which is equal to full demonstration. He must be in the wrong; for human nature is all against him. In matters of taste, such as Poetry and Oratory, to whom does the appeal lie? where is the standard? and where the authority of the last decision? where is it to be looked for, but, as I formerly shewed, in those feelings and sentiments that are found, on the most extensive examination, to be the common sentiments and feelings of men? These have been fully consulted on this head. The Public, the unprejudiced Public, has been tried and appealed to for many centuries, and throughout almost all civilized nations. It has pronounced its verdict; it has given its sanction to those writers; and from this tribunal there lies no farther appeal.

In matters of mere reasoning, the world may be long in an error; and may be convinced of the error by stronger reasonings, when produced. Positions that depend upon science, upon knowledge, and matters of fact, may be overturned according as science and knowledge are enlarged, and new matters of fact are brought to light. For this reason, a system of Philosophy receives no sufficient sanction from its antiquity, or long currency. The world, as it grows older, may be justly expected to become, if not wiser, at least more knowing; and supposing it doubtful whether Aristotle, or Newton, were the greater genius, yet Newton's Philosophy may prevail over Aristotle's by means of later discoveries, to which Aristotle was a stranger.

But



But nothing of this kind holds as to matters of Taste; which depend not on the progress of knowledge and science, but upon sentiment and feeling. It is in vain to think of undeceiving mankind with respect to errors committed here, as in Philosophy. For the universal feeling of mankind is the natural feeling; and because it is the natural, it is, for that reason, the right feeling. The reputation of the Iliad and the Æneid must therefore stand upon sure ground, because it has stood so long; though that of the Aristotelian or Platonic philosophy, every one is at liberty to call in question.

It is in vain also to alledge, that the reputation of the ancient Poets, and Orators, is owing to authority, to pedantry, and to the prejudices of education, transmitted from age to age. These, it is true, are the authors put into our hands at schools and colleges, and by that means we have now an early prepossession in their favour; but how came they to gain the possession of colleges and schools? Plainly, by the high fame which these authors had among their own cotemporaries. For the Greek and Latin were not always dead languages. There was a time, when Homer, and Virgil, and Horace, were viewed in the same light as we now view Dryden, Pope, and Addison. It is not to commentators and universities, that the classics are indebted for their fame. They became classics and school-books, in consequence of the high admira-

tion which was paid them by the best judges in their own country and nation. As early as the days of Juvenal, who wrote under the reign of Domitian, we find Virgil and Horace become the standard books, in the education of youth.

*Quot stabant pueri, cum totus decolor esset  
Flaccus, & hæreret nigro fuligo Maroni.*

SAT. 7\*.

From this general principle, then, of the reputation of great ancient classics being so early, so lasting, so universal, among all the most polished nations, we may justly and boldly infer that their reputation cannot be wholly unjust, but must have a solid foundation in the merit of their writings.

Let us guard, however, against a blind and implicit veneration for the Ancients, in every thing. I have opened the general principle, which must go far in instituting a fair comparison between them and the Moderns. Whatever superiority the Ancients may have had in point of genius, yet in all arts, where the natural progress of knowledge has had room to produce any considerable effects, the Moderns cannot but have some advantage. The world may, in certain respects be considered as a person, who must needs gain somewhat by advancing in years. Its improvements have not, I confess, been always in proportion to the centuries that have passed over it; for, during the course of some ages, it has sunk as into a total lethargy. Yet, when roused from that lethargy, it has generally been able to avail itself, more

- \* “ Then thou art bound to smell, on either hand,
- “ As many stinking lamps, as schoolboys stand,
- “ When Horace could not read in his own sully'd book,
- “ And Virgil's sacred page was all besmeared with smoke.”

DRYDEN.

or less, of former discoveries. At intervals, there arose some happy genius, who could both improve on what had gone before and invent something new. With the advantage of a proper stock of materials, an inferior genius can make greater progress, than a much superior one, to whom these materials are wanting.

Hence, in Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, Chemistry, and other sciences that depend on an extensive knowledge and observation of facts, Modern Philosophers have an unquestionable superiority over the Ancient. I am inclined also to think, that in matters of pure reasoning, there is more precision among the Moderns than in some instances there was among the Ancients; owing perhaps to a more extensive literary intercourse, which has improved and sharpened the faculties of men. In some studies too, that relate to taste and fine writing, which is our object, the progress of society must, in equity, be admitted to have given us some advantages. For instance, in History; there is certainly more political knowledge in several European nations at present, than there was in ancient Greece and Rome. We are better acquainted with the nature of government, because we have seen it under a greater variety of forms and revolutions. The world is more laid open than it was in former times; commerce is greatly enlarged; more countries are civilized; posts are every where established; intercourse is become more easy; and the knowledge of facts, by consequence, more attainable. All these are great advantages to historians; of which, in some

measure, as I shall afterward show, they have availed themselves. In the more complex kinds of Poetry, likewise, we may have gained somewhat, perhaps, in point of regularity and accuracy. In Dramatic Performances, having the advantage of the ancient models, we may be allowed to have made some improvements, in the variety of the characters, the conduct of the plot, attentions to probability, and to decorums.

These seem to me the chief points of superiority we can plead above the Ancients. Neither do they extend as far, as might be imagined at first view. For if the strength of genius be on one side, it will go far, in works of taste at least to counterbalance all the artificial improvements which can be made by greater knowledge and correctness. To return to our comparison of the age of the world with that of a man; it may be said, not altogether without reason, that if the advancing age of the world bring along with it more science and more refinement, there belong, however, to its earlier periods, more vigour, more fire, more enthusiasm of genius. This appears indeed to form the characteristic difference between the Ancient Poets, Orators, and Historians, compared with the Modern. Among the Ancients, we find higher conceptions, greater simplicity, more original fancy. Among the Moderns, sometimes more art and correctness, but feebler exertions of genius. But, though this be in general a mark of distinction between the Ancients and Moderns, yet, like all general observations, it must be under-

understood with some exceptions; for in point of poetical fire and original genius, Milton and Shakespeare are inferior to no Poets in any age.

It is proper to observe, that there were some circumstances in ancient times, very favourable to those uncommon efforts of genius which were then exerted. Learning was a much more rare and singular attainment in the earlier ages, than it is at present. It was to schools and universities that the persons applied, who sought to distinguish themselves. They had not this easy recourse. They travelled for their improvement into distant countries, to Egypt, and to the East. They enquired after all the monuments of learning there. They conversed with Priests, Philosophers, Poets, with all who had acquired any distinguished fame. They returned to their own country full of the discoveries which they had made, and fired by the new and uncommon objects which they had seen. Their knowledge and improvements cost them more labour, raised in them more enthusiasm, were attended with higher rewards and honours, than in modern days. Fewer had the means and opportunities of distinguishing themselves, than now; but such as did distinguish themselves, were sure of acquiring that fame, and even veneration, which is of all other rewards, the greatest incentive to genius. Herodotus read his history to all Greece assembled at the Olympic games, and was publicly crowned.

In the Peloponnesian war, when the Athenian army was defeated in Sicily, and the prisoners were ordered to be put to death, such of them as could repeat any verses of Euripides were saved, from honour to that Poet, who was a citizen of Athens. These were testimonies of public regard, far beyond what modern manners confer upon genius.

In our times, good writing is considered as an attainment, neither so difficult, nor so high and meritorious.

*Scribimus indocti, doctique, Poemata passim.\**

We write much more supinely, and at our ease, than the Ancients. To excel, is become a much less considerable object. Less effort, less exertion is required, because we have many more assistances than they. Printing has rendered all books common, and easy to be had. Education for any of the learned professions can be carried on without much trouble. Hence a mediocrity of genius is spread over all. But to rise beyond that, and to overtop the crowd, is given to few. The multitude of assistances which we have for all kinds of composition, in the opinion of Sir William Temple, a very competent judge, rather depresses, than favours, the exertions of native genius. "It is very possible," says that ingenious Author, in his Essay on the Ancients and Moderns, "that men may lose rather than gain by these; may lessen the force of their own genius, by forming it upon

\* "Now every desperate blockhead dares to write;  
"Verse is the trade of every living wight."

" that of others; may have less  
 " knowledge of their own, for  
 " contenting themselves with that  
 " of those before them. So a  
 " man that only translates shall  
 " never be a Poet; so people  
 " that trust to others charity, ra-  
 " ther than their own industry,  
 " will be always poor. Who can  
 " tell," he adds, " whether  
 " learning may not even weaken  
 " invention, in a man that has  
 " great advantages from nature?  
 " Whether the weight and num-  
 " ber of so many other men's  
 " thoughts and notions may not  
 " suppress his own; as heaping  
 " on wood sometimes suppresses a  
 " little spark, that would other-  
 " wise have grown into a flame?  
 " The strength of mind, as well  
 " as of body, grows more from  
 " the warmth of exercise, than  
 " of clothes; nay, too much of  
 " this forcing heat, rather makes  
 " men faint, and their constitu-  
 " tions weaker than they would  
 " be without them."

From whatever cause it happens,  
 so it is, that among some of the  
 Ancient Writers, we must look  
 for the highest models in most of  
 the kinds of elegant composition.  
 For accurate thinking and enlarged  
 ideas, in several parts of Philoso-  
 phy, to the Moderns we ought  
 chiefly to have recourse. Of correct  
 and finished writing in some works  
 of taste, they may afford useful  
 patterns; but for all that belongs  
 to original genius, to spirited,  
 masterly, and high execution,  
 our best and most happy ideas are  
 generally speaking, drawn from  
 the Ancients. In Epic Poetry,  
 for instance, Homer and Virgil,  
 to this day, stand not within  
 many degrees of any rival. Orators,

such as Cicero and Demosthenes  
 we have none. In history, not-  
 withstanding some defects, which  
 I am afterwards to mention in the  
 ancient historical plans, it may  
 be safely asserted, that we have  
 no such historical narration, so  
 elegant, so picturesque, so ani-  
 mated, and interesting as that of  
 Herodotus, Thucydides, Xeno-  
 phon, Livy, Tacitus, and Sallust.  
 Although the conduct of the dra-  
 ma may be admitted to have re-  
 ceived some improvements, yet for  
 Poetry and Sentiment we have  
 nothing to equal Sophocles and  
 Euripides; nor any dialogue in  
 Comedy, that comes up to the  
 correct, graceful, and elegant  
 simplicity of Terence. We have  
 no such Love Elegies as those of  
 Tibullus; no such Pastorals as  
 some of Theocritus's: and for  
 Lyric Poetry, Horace stands quite  
 unrivalled. The name of Horace  
 cannot be mentioned without a  
 particular encomium. That "Cu-  
 " riosa Felicitas," which Petro-  
 nius has remarked in his expres-  
 sion; the sweetness, elegance,  
 and spirit of many of his Odes,  
 the thorough knowledge of the  
 world, the excellent sentiments,  
 and natural easy manner which  
 distinguish his Satyres and Epis-  
 tles, all contribute to render him  
 one of those very few authors  
 whom one never tires of reading;  
 and from whom alone, were every  
 other monument destroyed, we  
 would be led to form a very high  
 idea of the taste and genius of the  
 Augustan Age.

To all such then, as wish to  
 form their taste, and nourish their  
 genius, let me warmly recommend  
 the assiduous study of the Ancient  
 Classics, both Greek and Roman.  
 Nocturna

Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna.\*

Without a considerable acquaintance with them, no man can be reckoned a polite scholar; and he will want many assistances for writing and speaking well, which the knowledge of such authors would afford him. Any one has great reason to suspect his own taste, who receives little or no pleasure from the perusal of writings, which so many ages and nations have consented in holding up as objects of admiration. And I am persuaded, it will be found, that in proportion as the Ancients are generally studied and admired, or are unknown and disregarded in any country, good taste and good composition will flourish, or decline. They are commonly none but the ignorant or superficial, who undervalue them.

At the same time, a just and high regard for the prime writers of antiquity is to be always distinguished, from that contempt of every thing which is modern, and that blind veneration for all that has been written in Greek or Latin, which belongs only to pedants. Among the Greek and Roman authors, some assuredly deserve much higher regard than others; nay, some are of no great value. Even the best of them lie open occasionally to just censure; for to no human performance is it given, to be absolutely perfect. We may, we ought therefore to read them with a distinguishing eye, so as to propose for imitation

their beauties only; and it is perfectly consistent with just and candid criticism, to find fault with parts, while, at the same time, it admires the whole."

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*A Letter from Bishop Atterbury to Mr. Prior, extracted from Vol. II. of Atterbury's Epistolary Correspondence, &c. collected and published by J. Nichols.*

DEAR SIR,

Bromley, Aug. 26, 1718.

THE first news I heard of your being ill, was under your own hand. It was a pleasure to me to find that the worst of your illness was over. I am well acquainted with that distemper, having smarted severely under it myself; and depend upon it, it is an acquaintance that will not easily be shook off: you will hear more of it, if you give it the least encouragement to renew its visits. But temperance, good hours, and a little exercise (to all which you are well inclined), will keep it at a distance, Mr. Clough, as early as he was, came too late. I had already disposed of the living †. However, I frankly said to him, what I now say to you, that, if I had not been engaged, I should not have been willing to give it him. It is a vicarage in a great market town, which requires perpetual residence, and he has another vicarage, which, with his minor-canonry §, is of a value

\* "Read them by day, and study them by night."

FRANCIS.

† To Mr. Charles Chambers, who was collated to it Sept. 20, 1718.

§ Of Rochester, by which dean and chapter Mr. John Clough, was presented to the vicarage of Ashford, in Kent, in August, 1721. He died Dec. 4, 1764.

equal to that of Dartford, and which he had no thoughts of quitting, but hoped to have made both consistent. That is a scheme which I can no way approve, especially in a young single man, who does not want a tolerable support; for he has a good root. *per annum* now coming in. So much for his affair, upon which I can fully justify myself when I see you—but when will that be? Do you remember the solemn promise you made me of coming over hither this summer? You have but a little time left to keep your word in. I have expected you with impatience; my peaches and nectarines hung on the trees for you till they rotted; and one of my poetical neighbours, who observed my uneasiness, and thought I liked your company better than his, applied these verses of Virgil to me:

Mirabar, quid mœste Deos, Franciscæ, vocares;

Cui pendere sua patereris in arbore poma.  
Tityrus hinc aberat: ipsæ te, Tityre, pinus,

Ipsi, te fontes, ipsa hæc arbuscula vocabant \*.

And what excuse shall I make for Tityrus; that he neglected his lit-

tle friends for the sake of his great ones, that he was paying his court, and getting the cholic? You know what Tityrus says for himself in the lines that follow:

Quid facerem? neque servitio me exire licebat,

Nec tam præsentibus alibi cognoscere divos†.

Would I could say of any one of those *divi* in your name, as he does in his own,

Ille meas errare boves, ut cernis, et ipsum  
Ludere quæ vellem calamo permittit aggressi ‡!

Those two words *quæ vellem* touch me to the very heart: they are worth the whole eclogue.

You see what a deluge of Latin poetry you have drawn on yourself, by that half line of Virgil at the end of your letter. I cannot end mine without observing to you upon it the advantage which the copy in this case has over the original. Virgil, in those five little words, *dum spiritus hos regit artus*, has expressed the whole force of a line and half in Homer,

εἰσόκ' αὐτμὴν  
Ἐν γούνοισι μίνη, καὶ μοι φίλα γένηται  
ὀρώμεν §.

\* Oft, Amaryllis, I with wonder heard  
Thy vows to heaven in soft distresses preferr'd:  
With wonder oft thy lingering fruits survey'd;  
Nor knew for whom the bending branches stay'd:  
'Twas Tit'rus was away—for thee detain'd,  
The pines, the shrubs, the bubbling springs complain'd.

Dr. WARTON.

† What could I do? where else expect to find  
One glimpse of freedom, or a god so kind?

Ibid.

‡ He gave my oxen, as thou see'st, to stray,  
And me, at ease, my favourite strains to play.

Ibid.

§ “Whilst life's warm spirit beats within my breast.”  
Literally,

POPE.

— while breath within my breast remains,  
And moves my friendly knees.

Regat



*Reget artus* takes in all that Homer means, and leaves out nothing but the particular mention of *φιλα γέναλα* (friendly knees), which adds not to the beauty or strength of the image, and is therefore better omitted than expressed.

The rise of this reflection is from the gout, which has at present laid hold of me; should it take away the use of my *φιλα γέναλα*, I should be nevertheless yours, because I am so while I breathe.

To-day, to-morrow, always; at Bromley, at Westminster, every where; in Greek, in Latin, in English, and (which is more) in good earnest, I am, Sir, your faithful humble servant,

FR. ROFFEN.

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*Reflections on a late scandalous Report about the Repeal of the Test Act \* ; extracted from Vol. II. of the same Work.*

THE peculiar character of the men of this age is, that they readily believe every thing but truth; and, as great infidels as they are in matters of religion, yet in politics, whatever idle report is stirring, they give into it with an amazing degree of credulity. How else could it happen that so many should in good earnest be alarmed with the late rumour we have had of a design to *repeal the Test*; a fiction every way ridiculous and childish, fit only to frighten such as believe in *Fairies*! There are those indeed who know

how to make their advantages of a state-lye, if they can pass it upon the world for an hour: but it was impudence in the forger of this to imagine that it could last a moment. For, set this odd project in what light, and view it on what side you please, the absurdities of it are so evident and glaring, that one would think the weakest eye could not help discovering them.

Every one knows the original of the Test Act; how just the fears were that occasioned it, and how well it was calculated every way to remove them. The dangers which then threatened our constitution were of two sorts; and the wisdom of the legislature took care equally to guard against both of them. That part of this act, which makes the renouncing the corporal presence in the Eucharist a necessary qualification for an office, would have excluded the Papists as effectually as any additional test whatsoever; and therefore the other part of it, which enjoins receiving the sacrament, must have been aimed chiefly at the Dissenters. And if, in that respect, it were then thought necessary, with what face can any one pretend that it is unnecessary now? We did not look upon ourselves as secure, without a sacramental test, even at a time when a toleration was not as yet granted by law;—and he must have an extraordinary turn of head, who, at this time of day, can imagine that there is less reason for continuing, than there was at first for imposing, it. Since the birth of the

\* I believe this has never been published. It is now printed from the bishop's own hand-writing.

Test, have we, by any new fences, been sheltered against the attacks of Dissenters? or are they grown less formidable by the favours of more than one reign, and twenty years legal indulgence?—Have they lost their old relish of power, by the late allowances they have had to taste of it? Or have they given us any reason to think, they would use it better than their moderate predecessors did in the times of anarchy and confusion; when they were not content to exclude church-of-England-men from civil offices, but made it penal for them even to teach a child, or say grace in a private family?—We have an instructive instance in a neighbouring nation, how the spirit of fanaticism works when dominant; and they who will not be convinced by it, neither would they be persuaded, though Bradshaw and Ireton, Venners and Martham, should rise from the dead, and once again exercise their dominion over us.

The church of England hath ever justly been esteemed the great bulwark of the reformation; and, I am sure, the Test Act may as justly be reckoned the chief bulwark of the church; for, by the means of it, that power which alone can protect or destroy her has been kept in the hands of her friends, or of those at least who desired to be thought such, and could not therefore openly do any thing disagreeable to that character. But, whenever those who are not of her communion are let into a share of this power, it is as easy to foretel, as it will be impossible to prevent, the sad consequences of it. We must be allowed at that juncture to say (what

every one will see) that she is in extreme danger; and that no state-physician, be his skill ever so great, or his intentions ever so good, will then be able to save her. She has perhaps the least influence of any church upon earth, by virtue of that discipline and authority which she is permitted to exercise; and no method hath been left unattempted to make her loose the hold she had in the affections and reverence of the people. That which supports her under these disadvantages, is, the incapacity that lies on her enemies as to places and power. Let this incapacity be ever removed, she is from that moment at mercy, and can subsist only (as the primitive church was planted) by miracle.

It being evident that these are the consequences of repealing the Test Act, and as evident that it can be repealed only by those who profess themselves of the church of England, one would wonder how it was possible to raise a jealousy, that, in our present circumstances, it would ever be attempted. For who is there likely to make or abet such a proposal in public? The Scotch members are pointed at as the men who are to introduce it under the notion of improving the union. As if the proper way of improving the union were, to take the first opportunity of breaking in upon the terms of it; one of which is, that (not only the “statute of uniformity,” and the 13th of Eliz. which are expressly mentioned, but) “all and singular acts of parliament, now in force for the establishment and preservation of the church of England, shall

shall remain, and be in full force for ever." And if the Test and Corporation Acts (which must stand and fall together) be not in the number of these, I despair of finding any such in the statute-book. Sure we are, the great influence of these acts was so well understood in a late reign, that her enemies, how widely soever differing in other opinions, yet agreed in this, that a repeal of them would be the surest and readiest way towards her ruin. The church itself thought so too; and therefore struggled for them as for life, and even ventured a revolution to secure them.

The Scotch members are sensible that several laws anent the security of their kirk are perpetuated by like general words in the Act of Union; and will be wary, therefore, how they weaken our security, which stands upon the same bottom with theirs, lest the precedent, set here, should be followed elsewhere, and a way opened by the means of it to subvert their present ecclesiastical constitution. Besides, such a proposal for setting dissenters upon an equal foot of privilege with the members of the established church, would come with a very ill grace from them, that deny even to tolerate those of the episcopal persuasion amongst them.—An authentic evidence of their principles in this point, is, the representation, which the commission of their general assembly made to the Scotch parliament, a little before the union, wherein they "are bold in the Lord, and in the name of the church of God in their land, earnestly to attest his grace [the high commissioner]

and the most honourable estates, that no motion of any legal toleration to those of prelatial principles may be entertained by the parliament, being persuaded that in the present case and circumstances of that church and nation, to enact a toleration for those in that way (which God in his infinite mercy avert!) would be to establish iniquity by a law, and would bring upon the promoters thereof, and upon their families, the dreadful guilt of all those sins, and pernicious effects, both in church and state, that might ensue thereupon." Thus they then protested; and, to do them right, however they may have been misrepresented, their practice ever since hath been exactly conformable to their opinion.

Well then, no proper advocate for this repeal is to be found among the Scotch members of parliament, and much less surely among the English, who are all sons of that church which would be struck at by such an attempt, and can no more be out-witted, than out-voted, in a case where their interest is so evidently concerned. Many of them are of tried virtue, and did, with a memorable firmness, oppose this design, even when the crown, with all its weight, came in to promote it. And there are none of them but will acknowledge that our present safety and happiness are owing to the honourable stand which was then made. We need not doubt, therefore, but that, if occasion were given them, they would be as ready to imitate that conduct, as they are to applaud it.

The House of Commons have already expressed their opinion, that

that the Test Act is a fundamental part of the union, by declaring upon their Journal, that "it is effectually and essentially provided for" by the Act of Security; and the Lords were of the same mind, when they gave the same reason in their debates, why an express mention of it was needless.

It is impossible to conceive that the bishops should not unanimously withstand such a project; and we may be sure, they have interest enough to prevent the bringing in any bill, which touches the church so nearly, against their concurring opinion. Indeed, if Parker and Cartwright\* were alive, they would be fit tools to work with on this occasion: but I know of no one English prelate now upon the bench that can come within the reach of such a suspicion. My lord of Sarum† has distinguished himself by his zeal for preserving the Test Act, and given such strong reasons for it from the Hague, as can never be answered here in England; and we may be satisfied, from his character, that his lordship will always be found consistent with himself, and persevere to his death in that opinion. Besides, such an infringement of the union here would, as I have shewed, be attended with some danger to the constitution and discipline of the Scotch kirk, for which his lordship must be allowed, on the account both of his birth and comprehensive charity, to have a particular tenderness.

From what party, or set of men amongst us, can such a proposal as this probably come? The body of those we call Whigs have imbibed revolution principles so deeply, and remember them so well, as not to be willingly dipped in a design of doing that very thing which the revolution was intended to prevent. They cannot forget that one chief motive of the prince's coming over, expressed in his declaration from the Hague, was, to quash that "wicked design" (I speak his highness's words) "of repealing the Test." The attempt will not be thought less wicked, or more reasonable now, if we consider either our domestic or foreign circumstances. Nor can that party be so sure of their present power and numbers, as to be willing to hazard all their credit and interest upon so dangerous an experiment.

The Pretender's friends (who are also for revolution principles in their way) cannot hope to advance his interest by laying so open and barefaced a scheme for the introduction of popery; which, if ever it takes place here, must come in upon us by stealth, and not by act of parliament. Nor will the continuance of that part of the act, which affects the Papists, remove this objection; for the taking away one branch of our security evidently weakens the whole; and the repealing acts by piecemeal is a trick so often tried, that every body is aware of it.— Besides, this sort of men is too

\* Parker, Bishop of Oxford, and Cartwright, Bishop of Chester, both preferred in 1686 by King James II. See their characters in Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. II. p. 398, 8vo. edit.

† Bishop Burnet.

inconsiderable. for numbers and interest, to enter on such a project, unless joined by others of greater power and popularity.— And, were it possible to conceive that there should be any understanding between the Pretender and some of his pretended enemies, yet, we may be sure, they would be very shy of owning it, or of doing any thing that might open the secret of such a correspondence.

The favourers of Dissenters never espoused them on any other foot than that of an allowance to worship God in their own way; which they now amply enjoy, and are under no apprehensions of losing. To plead for any thing farther in their behalf would be to take off the mask, and to discover to us, that though liberty of conscience was their pretence, yet their true meaning was, power and places.

They who stood up for occasional conformity, argued for it upon this principle, that it would, by degrees, win men over to the church, and extinguish the schism. And, to say truth, it has had some success that way; and will have more, if we let it continue. But if the Test be taken off, there is an end of occasional conformity, and of all its boasted advantages.— Separatists will no longer make approaches to the church, when, by serving God in their own way, they do not find that they are a jot less capable of serving themselves. And therefore, since occasional conformity has so necessary a connexion with the Test, they who are professed friends to the one, cannot possibly be enemies to the other.

Dutch counsels have sometimes

had their influence on our affairs, and we have been warmly pressed to adjust things here at home, to the model of Holland. But there is no room for such advice at present; for our case is already much the same with theirs.— They too have their Tests, by which the government of the state is secured in the hands of those who are of the established religion; nor do they think that the tolerated sects have a right to be admitted into so much power as will enable them to subvert the constitution. When the Dutch give up their Tests, I dare engage we shall be ready to part with ours; but, till this is done, no argument drawn from the practice of that wise people can prove any thing, but that we are fools if we surrender.

There is but one sort of men more that can be thought capable of interesting themselves in this affair; persons of sincere piety, who are offended at the frequent prophanations of the sacrament, occasioned by this Act. But such will consider, that the discipline of the universal church lies open to the very same objection; since set-times, every year, are, we know, prescribed by the Canons, when all adult Christians are to receive the sacrament, under the penalty of ecclesiastical censures. And though many, by this means, have been induced to receive unworthily, yet the church never thought itself answerable for their ill conduct, or obliged to withdraw her injunctions for the avoiding of scandal. Good men will see the force of this reasoning, and forbear to take offence. But their number is not great; the opposers of the Test Act have generally

generally nothing less at heart than to prevent such prophanations. I am sure, the way to prevent them is not what some have proposed, to make it a sufficient qualification for an office if the sacrament be received in any place of religious worship; for this proposal would only extend those prophanations to conventicles as well as churches, and by that means rather propagate than diminish the scandal.

The result of these inquiries is, that, since wherever we cast our eyes, within the church or without it, at home or abroad, no undertaker can be found likely to engage in such a work, there is no ground to suspect it was ever intended; malice might raise the report, and folly might spread it; but it is too gross to impose upon any but those who are weak enough to be alarmed with the news of a second invasion\*.

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*A Letter from Bishop Atterbury to Lord Inverness†, after that Bishop's Banishment from England; extracted from Vol. III. of the same Work.*

Paris, Feb. 1732.

MY LORD,

**A**BOUT the beginning of December last I wrote to your lordship, and sent you a paper which

I had lately printed here‡. To that letter, though your lordship used to answer all mine without delay, I had no manner of return. I heard indeed, soon after I had written to you, of what had happened on St. Andrew's day last at Avignon§, but I did not think a change of religion made any change in the forms of civility; and therefore I still wondered at your silence. Perhaps a reflection on your not having consulted me in that great affair, though I was the only bishop of the church of England on this side the water, might make you shy of writing to me on any other account, and willing to drop the correspondence. You may remember, my lord, that when you first retired from the K. at Pisa, and when you afterwards left Rome and went to Avignon; on both these occasions you opened to me by letter the reason of your conduct, and gave me an opportunity by that means of expressing my thoughts to you in the manner I used always to do, that is, frankly and without reserve.—In this last step, my lord, you have acted far otherwise; and yet in this I had most reason to expect, that you would not merely have informed me of what had past, but even consulted me before you took your full and final resolution.

\* This refers to an invasion projected about 1708.

† Indorsed "Paris, March 3, 1732;" the day it was received by Lord Inverness, not that on which it was written. The bishop died Feb. 15; and a letter from him, written after the second day of that month, has been already printed in vol. I. p. 295. The present one is probably of still later date, and, nervous as it is, may be the last he ever wrote. The zeal so eminently conspicuous in it for the Protestant religion is an irrefragable answer to the calumny of his having been inclined to Popery. As to his political attachments, they by no means prove his having been engaged in a conspiracy against England. By being banished, he was absolved from his allegiance.

‡ The piece he had "lately printed" was the "Vindication, &c." in vol. I. p. 278. Paris, 1731.

§ Lord Inverness's abjuration of Protestantism.



## MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS: [161

My character and course of studies qualified me much better for such an application, than for passing my judgment in matters of state and political managements. If your lordship entertained any doubts concerning your safety in that religion wherein you had been bred, I might perhaps, upon your proposing them, have been so happy as to have solved them, and shewn you that whatever reason you might have, as to this world, for quitting the communion you were of, you had none, you could have none, as to another.

Since you were not pleased to give me an occasion of writing to you at this time, I have determined to take it, and to pursue my former method of telling you, with such plainness as perhaps nobody else will, what the world says of your late conduct.

My lord, they who speak of it most softly, and with greatest regard to your lordship, say, that it is a *coup de desespoir*; and that your lordship perceiving the prejudices of the K's Protestant subjects to run high against you, so that you would never be suffered to be about his person and in the secret of his affairs with their consent, was resolved to try what could be done by changing sides, and whether you might not at long run be able to gain by one party what you had lost by another. They represent you as thinking the K's restoration not soon likely to happen; and therefore as resolved, since you were obliged to live in exile in Roman Catholic countries, to make the best of your circumstances, and recommend yourself, as much as you could, to the natives; that

so, if his cause should prove desperate for a time, you might find your way back again into his service, when it would be no longer reckoned prejudicial to his affairs. And they quote some words, which they say fell from your lordship, to this purpose: "That since you saw nothing was likely to be done for the K. you thought it high time to take care of your soul." I hope in God they belye you, since it gives us, who are at a distance from the secret of affairs, but a very discouraging prospect of the K's restoration, of the probability or improbability of which you, my lord, must be allowed a more competent judge. And withal, such a saying carries in it something more dishonourable to your lordship, since it implies, that, had the restoration been near and probable, you would not have troubled your head about matters of religion, but suffered your soul to shift for itself. They who thus interpret your last step proceed further, and say, that you intended by that means, if you could not find your way again into the general and open management of the K's affairs, at least to have that part of them attached to you which related to foreign princes and courts, to whom what you had done must have rendered you grateful; and thus, while your brother-in-law should have the care of the domestic correspondence, and you all the rest, the whole would have run in proper channels. They affirm, that even upon your first coming back to the K. from Pisa there was a general expectation at Rome, encouraged by the court of Rome

itself, that you would then have declared yourself a Roman Catholic, and that it was prevented only by the representations made at that time to your disadvantage from the K's friends, which occasioned your abrupt retreat to Avignon: and they suppose some private audiences you had at that time tended to this point; that happened then to be defeated, and the declaration itself was postponed to a more convenient opportunity. This indeed clashes a little with the former scheme mentioned. God forbid I should expose\* either of them! I do not, I merely relate them, and having done so, leave it to your lordship to make such use of them as you in your wisdom shall judge proper.

There are others, my lord, that reflect on your conduct still more unkindly, and put it in a more odious light; there are these (nor are they few) who are so prejudiced against you as to suppose (for none of them have pretended to prove) that you have played the same game as my Lord Mar did, had a secret understanding with the ministers on the other side, and received the reward of it; these men, being, as they are, your professed enemies, stick not to say, that since you could not any longer derive merit to yourself from your management near the K. you were resolved to do as much mischief as you could to his affairs at parting, by an action which naturally tended to raise in the minds of his Protestant subjects such disadvantageous opinions of him as I need not ex-

plain, such as of all others will have the greatest influence toward hindering his restoration. They consider your lordship as one that has studied your master's temper, and perfectly knows it; as one that never did any thing but what you judged would be perfectly agreeable to him, nothing but with his privy and by his direction. In this light, my lord, when they see what you have lately done, it is no wonder if they draw strange inferences from it, and impute to your lordship views which your heart, I hope, abhors. But they will certainly persist in that way of thinking, if they find that your lordship has still credit with the K. and a share in his confidence; and this, even at this distance, my lord, will in a little time appear to watchful observers. They say it is a sure rule, not to do that which our worst enemies, provided they are wise and understand their own interest, would above all things have us do; and yet your lordship, they think, has acted after that manner on the present occasion, there being nothing that could either gratify your enemies more, or displease your friends (such, I mean, as are also enemies and friends to the r— cause) than the step you have taken, and they will not believe, but that if you had meant the K. as well as you ought to do, this single consideration would have restrained you. They urge, that the difficulties into which the K. is brought by this means are exceeding great. Let him be ever so well persuaded of your civi-

\* Probably "suppose."

## MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS. [163

ilities\*, integrity, and zeal; he yet cannot make a free use of them, without exciting new jealousies, on very tender points, and in very honest hearts, where one would wish that they might by all possible means be allayed. Let him have been ever so much a stranger to what passed at Avignon till it was over, he cannot yet prudently declare himself on that head, because of the inconveniencies with which such a declaration, in his present circumstances, will be attended on the one side, as his total silence will be liable to misconstructions, on the other: every way this affair will perplex him with respect to the different interests he has separately to manage. Abroad, if he were thought to be at the bottom of it, it might do him no harm; at home it certainly will, and there his great interest lies to which he is, above all others, to attend. Nor will the judgment be passed on this occasion in haste, since it cannot be formed on any thing now given out, but will depend on future facts and appearances.

I have made little mention all this while of what your lordship may think a full answer to all these reflections and refinements, that you have followed a motion of conscience in what you have done, and depended on that for your justification. It may, my lord, and I hope will, justify you before God, if you sincerely acted on that principle; but as for men, the misfortune is (and I beg your lordship's pardon for venturing to tell you so) that no person, whom

I have seen or heard of, will allow what you have done to be the effect of conviction. In that case, they say, you would have proceeded otherwise than merely by advising with those into whose communion you were hastening; especially since it is supposed that your lordship has not spent much time in qualifying yourself for the discussion of such points by a perusal of books of controversy. Men, they say, of sincerity and truth are often kept in a religion to which they have been accustomed, without enquiring strictly into the grounds of it; but seldom any man, who has a sense of piety and honour, quits a religion in which he has been educated, without carefully considering what may be said for and against it. Men indeed may be sometimes enlightened and convinced of all at once by an over ruling impression from above. But, as these cases are exceeding rare, so I need not tell your lordship that in yours they that object to your proceedings are by no means disposed to make you such allowances. They think that, had you aimed only at satisfying your conscience, you might have done what you did in a more private manner, and enjoyed the benefit of it in secret, without giving a public and needless alarm; but, when you chose St. Andrew's day for entering on the work, Christmas day for completing it, and the Pope's inquisitor at Avignon to receive your abjuration, they conclude that you intended to make a *clat*, and to give notice to all the world of

\* Probably *abilities*; but the communicator of the letter would not venture to make any alteration.

your embracing a different communion; which might be useful indeed with regard to some political views, but could not be necessary toward satisfying those of mere conscience.

These, my lord, are the reflections which have been made in various conversations, where I was present, on the subject of what lately passed at Avignon. Many of them cannot be more unwelcome to you than they are to me, who suffer in a cause which such steps are far from promoting. I am mortified, my lord, to see it thus go backward, instead of for-

ward, and have a right to express my own free sense in such a case, though I have in this letter chiefly represented the sense of others; losers must have leave to speak, and therefore I make no apology for the freedom I have taken. You seem to have approved it on other occasions; and will not, I hope, blame it on this, when it is equally intended for your information and service. At the distance we are now, and are likely to continue, I know not how to offer a better proof of the regard with which I am, my lord, &c.

FR. ROPPER.

## MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS. [165

THE Spanish government has continually been too jealous of their *American riches*, ever to permit any authentic accounts of them to get abroad, and they have been particularly so with regard to all matters of revenue arising from their possessions in that part of the world. We think therefore the following tract, taken from an original paper that has fallen into our hands, may not be unacceptable to the public.

*An Abstract from the King's Books in the Royal Treasury at Goanaguato since the Establishment of that Office the 30th of April, 1665, to December 31, 1778, shewing, by Accounts made up every five Years, the Weight of the Gold and Silver on which Duties have been paid, and the whole Amount of those Duties during the above Period of 114 Years.*

Periods of five Years.	Castellans of fine Gold of 22 Carats.	Marks of Silver of 12 Dwts.	Duties on Gold.	Duties on Silver.	Total of both Duties.
			Rials.	Rials.	Rials.
From 1665 to 1699—	26,315	193,120	11,937	184,166	196,104
1670 to 1674—	28,336	269,902	12,727	258,484	271,212
1675 to 1679—	61,710	383,901	27,711	365,464	393,176
1680 to 1684—	16,578	300,517	7,431	287,356	294,788
1685 to 1689—	82,599	394,701	36,944	375,924	412,868
1690 to 1694—	74,361	404,736	34,481	385,553	420,035
1695 to 1699—	79,848	429,708	34,856	409,946	444,802
1700 to 1704—	20,275	532,346	9,684	584,518	574,203
1705 to 1709—	26,073	474,899	12,496	505,760	518,256
1710 to 1714—	24,099	475,459	11,600	506,596	518,196
1715 to 1719—	22,145	637,081	10,656	679,037	689,693
1720 to 1724—	35,729	707,247	14,034	753,415	767,449
1725 to 1729—	43,896	1,018,640	12,127	1,084,419	1,096,546
1730 to 1734—	164,225	1,159,069	45,350	1,236,564	1,281,914
1735 to 1739—	531,352	1,292,578	146,613	1,379,636	1,526,249

Periods of five Years.	Castellans of fine Gold of 22 Carats.	Marks of Silver of 12 Dwts.	Duties on Gold.	Duties on Silver.	Total of both Duties.
			Rials.	Rials.	Rials.
From 1740 to 1744—	742,326	30	219,071	1,494,337	1,713,364
1745 to 1749—	287,269	4	93,774	2,059,072	2,152,847
1750 to 1754—	133,672	4	43,630	1,722,139	1,765,730
1755 to 1759—	170,302	10	55,584	1,441,626	1,497,210
1760 to 1764—	220,014	2	74,793	1,427,007	1,478,800
1765 to 1769—	184,104	9	60,088	1,471,292	1,531,381
1770 to 1774—	241,738	1	78,888	2,039,664	2,118,553
1775 to 1778—	330,912	6	78,685	2,137,658	2,216,344
Totals	3547,891	5	611,301	22,749,644	23,879,771
			2	6	1
			10	7	5

The *Royal Treasury* of *Goanaxuato* was established by the Marquis de Maniera, when viceroy of the kingdom of Mexico, the 30th of April, 1665; and it appears by this account, that the sum total of the duties on gold and silver paid into the royal exchequer during 114 years, was 23,879,771 rials, 1 tom, 5 gr.

The *Castellan* of gold, of 22 carats was worth 18 rials, from the 30th of April, 1665, to December following, and was then reduced to  $16\frac{3}{4}$  rials, or dollars  $2\frac{3}{4}$ . On the 25th of June, 1743, the value of the *Castellan* got up to dollars  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , or rials  $21\frac{1}{4}$ : on the 18th of May, 1744, it was fixed, and still remains without any variation, at dollars  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , or rials 20.

Every mark of silver of 12 dwts. was worth, from the time of the establishment of this office to the 8th of March, 1677, dollars  $8\frac{3}{4}$ : the value then was reduced  $\frac{1}{4}$  maravedies, and at that rate it has continued to this day, viz. dollars 8, 5 rials, 30 maravedies.

#### NOTES.

The duties on gold bullion were first rated at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on the gross, and  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the net, value, which amounted to  $21\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. and so continued till August 1, 1701. The sovereignty-duty of four dollars per 100 castellans, which before had been collected at the mint, was then added, and the whole amounted to  $22\frac{7}{10}$  per cent. at which rate they continued till November 1723. The duties were then reduced (subject however to variation according to the price of the bullion) to  $12\frac{2}{3}$  per cent. and underwent no other alteration till January



January 1777. A farther reduction then took place, to about  $11\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. and on the 12th of September following the duties were fixed at 3 per cent. and have remained on that footing to this day.

The silver mines contributed their share to the revenue, at the rate of  $10\frac{2}{3}$  per cent. till June 1765, at which time the sovereignty duty of 1 rial per mark of 11 dwts, allowing the deduction for other imposts, the cost, and freight of the (Azoques) quicksilver, used in smelting was transferred from the mint hither; so that from the said date to the 26th January 1777, the silver from the mines was subject to  $12\frac{7}{8}$  per cent. but since then, the sovereignty duty being taken off, the rate of duties has reverted to its old establishment of  $10\frac{2}{3}$  per cent.

The silver in ingots, which the merchants barter for other articles of trade, including even the samples, were at different times, till 18th November 1723, subject to imposts of 20 and 22 per cent. but since then the silver appropriated for this traffick has been put on the same footing as that of the miners.

Plate, or whatever quantity of bullion was intended to be wrought, at first paid the same duties (except the sovereignty duty) as that intended for coinage, being considered of the same class; but in 1708 and 1709, the duties were no more than  $10\frac{2}{3}$  per cent. on the value of all wrought silver. In 1768, an additional tax of 1 dollar upon every mark of 11 dwts. was exacted, and wrought gold continually bore a proportionate share of the duties till January 1777, when both gold and silver bullion was exempted from the sovereignty du-

ty: all silver plate however was rated at about  $12\frac{1}{2}$ ; and all gold plate taxed only at 3 per cent, according to the regulations then made, which still remain in practice.

It is worthy remark, that the duties in general were never, during the whole course of 114 years, so low as at present; nor the produce paid into the Royal Exchequer so great at any period, as during the last 4 years, from 1775, to 1778.

Mexico, 19th June, 1779.

[Signed]

JUAN ORDONNEZ,  
Keeper of the Records.

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*A particular Account relative to an Hindoo Woman's burning herself alive with her deceased Husband; taken from an authentic Letter, dated Calcutta, 25th July, 1779.*

“GOCUL Chundes Gosaul, a Bramin of superior cast, whose character as a merchant and a man of integrity was very respectable amongst Europeans, and exceedingly so with every native of this country who had any knowledge of him; for he maintained a great many poor daily at his house, and in the neighbourhood where he lived;—and he extended his generosity to many Europeans, by lending them money when in distress. —He was Governor Verelst's Banian; and from that circumstance, I believe, you can confirm all I have advanced in Gocul's favour.

Gocul had been confined to his room about a fortnight by a fever and flux: I frequently visited him in that time, but did

not apprehend his dissolution was so near, till last Tuesday morning, the 20th inst. when on sending to enquire after his health, my servant informed me he was removed from his own house to the banks of a creek that runs from Collyghaut (a place held sacred by the Hindoos, and where the water is taken up that is used in administering oaths to Hindoos in and about Calcutta) into the river Ganges, as you know is customary with them, in order to die in or near that river, or some creek that runs into it. At about nine o'clock in the evening of that day I went to see him, where he lay on a Fly Palanquin in a boat in that creek. His servant told me he could hear, but was not able to speak to any body. I went near him, and called to him by name; he knew my voice, turned about, and held out his hand to me: I took hold of it, and found it very cold: he pressed mine, and said he was obliged to me for coming to see him. I told him he would get his death by lying exposed without covering (for he was naked to his hips) to the moist air this rainy season, close to a nasty muddy bank: he said, he wished to be cold, for that he was then burning with heat, (although his hand, as observed before, was very cold). I then put my hand to his forehead, which was also very cold; still he insisted that he was burning with heat. I begged him to allow me to order him to be carried back to his own house; he shook his head, but said nothing in answer. I repeated the request, but he shook his head again without saying a word.

I did not imagine such a proposition would be attended to, because it is an invariable custom, you know, amongst the Hindoos, when given over by their Doctors, to be removed to the banks of the Ganges, or of some creek that runs into it, which they have a very superstitious veneration for; and I have heard that if a Hindoo dies in his own house, it is razed to the ground. Gocul's is a very large house, and such a circumstance would consequently be a great detriment to the estate. I staid about a quarter of an hour with him. On coming away he repeated his obligations to me for the visits I paid him during his illness, and for my attention to him at that time in particular, and pressed my hand very hard at parting, for he was perfectly sensible, and I believe, if proper care had been taken of him, it was in the power of medicine to have restored his health. There were a vast number of Bramins reading and praying near him. Early the next morning I sent my servant to ask how he was: he brought me for answer that Gocul was in the same state as when I left him the preceding night; and whilst I was at breakfast one of his dependants came to tell me he was dead. I went to see him soon after, and found him covered with a sheet. I then enquired if either of his wives (for he had two) would burn with him; but nobody there could inform me. I desired one of his dependants to let me know if either of them resolved to burn, that I might be present: this was about eight o'clock last Wednesday morning.

At

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At ten o'clock the corps was carried to Collyghaut, a little village about a mile higher up the creek, and about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Calcutta. Between twelve and one o'clock the same day, Mr. Shakespeare, who had an esteem for Gocul, whose nephew Joynerain Gofaul is Mr. Shakespeare's Banian, called on me to let me know that Gocul's first wife Tarrynell was resolved to burn. We accordingly went together, and reached Collyghaut in time, where Gocul lay on a pile of Sandal wood and dry straw, about 4 feet from the ground, on the banks of the creek, as naked as when I saw him the night before. His wife, we were told, was praying on the edge of the creek. where we were informed her children (two boys and one girl,) one of the boys seven years the other five, and the girl thirteen months old, were present with her and Kistenchurn, Gocul's eldest brother: that at first sight of her children, the strong ties of human nature struggling with her resolution, drew a tear from her; but she soon recovered herself, and told her children their father was dead, and she was going to die with him; that they must look up to their uncle, pointing to Kistenchurn, who, with his son Joynerain beforementioned, would be both father and mother to them; and that they must therefore obey them in the same manner as they would Gocul and herself if living. Then turning to Kistenchurn, she enjoined him, and recommended him to enjoin Joynerain (who was then at Dacca) to be fathers and protectors to her children, and committed them to their care.

This done, she left her children, and advanced towards the funeral pile, which was surrounded by a vast concourse of people, chiefly Bramins, about eight or ten feet from it, so that there was a free passage round the pile. Mr. Shakespeare and I were in front of the circle, and had a perfect view of the following scene.

As soon as she appeared in the circle, I thought she was somewhat confused; but whether from the sight of her husband laying dead on the pile, or the great crowd of people assembled, or at seeing Europeans among them, for there were two besides Mr. Shakespeare and myself, I cannot tell: however, she recovered herself almost instantaneously. She then walked unattended gently round the pile in silence, strewing flowers as she went round; and when she had nearly compleated the third time, at Gocul's feet she got upon the pile without assistance, strewed flowers over it, and then laid herself down on the left side of her husband, raising his head and putting her right arm under his neck; and turning her body to his, threw her left arm over him; and one of the Bramins raised his right leg, and put it over her legs without a single syllable being uttered. They being thus closely embraced, a blue shawl was laid over them, and they were not seen afterwards by any body. Some dry straw was laid over the shawl, and then some light billets of Sandal wood was put on the straw; but all together not sufficient to prevent her raising herself up, throwing all off, and entirely extricating herself from the pile, if she had repented, or from feeling

feeling the heat of the fire or smook she had been inclined to save her life: the dry straw which composed a part of the pile was then lighted. During all which time, that is, from the moment Gocul's wife made her appearance in the circle, to lighting the pile, there was a profound silence. But on the pile being lighted the Bramins called out aloud, some dancing and brandishing cudgels or sticks, which I took to be praying and a part of the ceremony; perhaps to prevent her cries being heard by the multitude, so as to give them a bad impression of it, or deter other women from following what the Hindoos term a laudable example. But I was so near the pile, that notwithstanding the noise made by the Bramins, and those who danced round it, I should have heard any cries or lamentations she might have made: I am convinced she made none, and that the smook must have suffocated her in a very short space of time. I staid about ten minutes after the pile was lighted, for such a sight was too dreadful to remain long at; besides, nothing more was to be seen except the flames, which Mr. Shakespeare and I had a perfect view of at a distance, as we returned from the funeral pile.

Gocul's wife was a tall, well-made, good-looking woman, fairer than the generality of Hindoo women are, about twenty or perhaps twenty-two years of age at most: she was decently dressed in a white cloth round her waist, and an Oorney of white cloth with a red silk border thrown loosely over her head and shoulders; but her face, arms, and feet were

bare. I have heard and indeed supposed that women in that situation intoxicate themselves with bang or toddy; but from the relation given me of what passed between Gocul's wife, her children and brother-in law, as well as what Mr. Shakespeare and I saw at the funeral pile, I am persuaded she was as free from intoxication during the whole ceremony as it is possible; for she appeared to be perfectly composed, not in the least flurried, except at first for an instant of time, as before observed; but went through it deliberately, with astonishing fortitude and resolution.

This barbarous custom, so shocking to Europeans, if I mistake not, was practised by our ancestors in Britain in the times of the Druids; but whether our country-women in those days, who did not sacrifice themselves, were treated with the same contempt after the death of their husbands, as the Hindoo women are, I know not; for by the religion of the Hindoos they never can marry again, or have commerce with another man, without prejudice to their casts, which to them is as dear as life itself; but generally are reduced to perform the most menial offices in the family of which they were before the mistresses.

This reflection, together with the great credit they gain amongst the Bramins in undergoing so painful and horrid a religious ceremony, may be very strong inducements to their continuing this practice.

The Moorish government in these provinces have frequently prevented such sacrifices, which I have

have heard is very easily done; for that any person not a Hindoo, or even a Hindoo of an inferior cast to the victim, barely touching the woman during the ceremony, will have that effect. Job Channock, who obtained the first Phirmaud from the King at Delhi for the English Company, I am told, and I dare say you have heard it too, saved a woman from burning by touching her whilst she was going through the ceremony, and was afterwards married to her. Mr. Verelst was the means of saving the life of Gocul's mother, who intended to burn herself with her husband, and she is now living; but Gocul's wife was so resolute, she declared last Wednesday morning, that if she was not allowed to burn with her husband, she would find means to put an end to her life in the course of that or the next day. As a proof of her composure, and being in her perfect senses, immediately on receiving news of Gocul's death she resolved to sacrifice herself, and took an inventory of all the jewels and effects which she was in possession of.

I have now given you a full and circumstantial relation of the whole matter respecting Gocul Gofaul's wife sacrificing herself on the funeral pile of her husband. Such parts of it as were told me, of what was done out of my sight, I have no reason to doubt; and what I have written, as seen by myself, you may depend on, as literally true, which Mr. Shakespeare will confirm in every part. But I omitted to observe, that though the Bramins shed tears when praying by Gocul the night previous

to his death, there did not appear the least concern in any of them during the ceremony at the funeral pile, not even in Kistenchurn, the elder brother of Gocul, or any of his dependants.

I am told that Gocul's other wife, named Rajeserry, would also have sacrificed herself, at the same time, if she was not with child; and that if she has preserved a lock of his hair, it is consistent with the Hindoo laws or customs for her to go thro' the same ceremony by burning herself with that lock of hair, on another pile, whenever she thinks proper. Gocul had four children by this last-mentioned wife, one girl ten years, one girl six years, one boy seven years, and another boy five years of age.

I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient

humble servant,

JOSEPH CATOR."

To Thomas Pearson, Esq.

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*An Extract from the Sequel to Emilius and Sophia, by J. J. Rousseau, found amongst his Papers after his death.*

"ON drawing near to the capital\*, my mind was filled with fatal impressions which I never experienced before. The most gloomy prepossessions arose in my bosom. All I had seen, all you had told me of great cities, made me tremble for my abode here. I was frightened at exposing so pure an union to so many surrounding dangers. I trembled to think, on beholding the melancholy Sophia, that I was precipitating so much virtue, and so many

\* Paris,

many charms, into that gulf of prejudice and vices, where innocence and happiness are sure to be shipwrecked.

Certain, however, of her and of myself, I despised, contemned the remonstrances of prudence, and looked on my fears as groundless: while I suffered them to torment me, I considered them as illusions. Alas! I did not expect to see them so soon and so cruelly verified. I little imagined, that, instead of finding danger in the capital, it followed me thither.

How shall I tell you of the two years we have remained in that fatal city, and the cruel effect which that infectious residence had on my mind, and on my fortunes? You know too well those sad calamities, remembrance of which, effaced by happier days, now doubles my sorrows, by bringing me back to their source.—What a change was wrought in me, through my weakness for two agreeable connexions, which habit began to change into friendship!—How did example and imitation, against which you had so strongly armed my mind, give it insensibly a taste for those frivolous pleasures, which, when younger, I had despised? How different is it to see things by themselves, and when our minds are distracted by other objects?—The time was now past, when my glowing imagination only desired Sophia, and spurned every thing else. I was no longer solicitous about her; I possessed her, and the power of her charms cast a lustre on those objects, which, in my youth, it had obscured. But these objects soon weakened my desires, by dividing them. My heart, gradually relaxed

by these frivolous amusements, insensibly lost its first spring, and became incapable of warmth or strength; I roved restlessly from pleasure to pleasure; I sought after every thing, and grew tired of every thing; I liked only those places where I was not, and endeavoured to forget myself in dissipation. I experienced a revolution, of which I wished not to convince myself; I did not give myself time to return to myself, through a dread of not finding myself. All my attachments were lessened, all my affections were cooled. I had substituted a jargon of morality and sentiment in the place of truth. I was a galant without passion, a stoick without virtue, a philosopher busied about trifles.—I had nothing of your Emilius but the name, and some professions. The freedom of my discourse, the independence of my spirit, my pleasures, my duties—you—my son, even Sophia herself; all that before animated, that elevated my soul, and constituted the plenitude of my existence, quitting me by degrees, seemed to make me quit myself, and left in my depraved mind only a troublesome sensation of vacancy and abjection. In a word, I no longer loved, or at least thought so. This violent flame, which seemed almost extinct, lay hid under the embers only to blaze forth shortly with more fury than ever.

But what is infinitely more inconceivable: how came it that she, who was the pride and happiness of my life, now formed its shame and desperation? How shall I describe so deplorable a change? No! the dreadful story shall



## MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS. [173

shall never come from my mouth nor my pen ; it is too injurious to the memory of the best of wives, too grievous, too horrible for my recollection, too discouraging to virtue ; I should die a hundred times over before I could finish it. Morality of the world, ye snares of vice and example, treachery of false friendship, inconstancy and weakness of humanity, which of us is proof against you ? Oh ! if Sophia has sullied her nature ; what woman dare rely upon her's ? But what a foul must that have been, which, having such a height to fall, was able to recover herself.

It is of your regenerated children that I am about to speak to you ; all their errors have been known to you ; I shall only speak of what regards their return to virtue, and is necessary to throw light on the story of their repentance.

Sophia consoled, or rather dissipated by her female friend, and by the societies into which she led her, had no longer that decided taste for private life and retirement ; she forgot all she had lost, and almost all that was left her. Her son, as he grew up, became less dependent on her, and she by degrees learnt to be happy without him. I was myself no longer her Emilius ; I was but her husband, and the husband of a fashionable woman in great cities is a man whom she treats in public with all possible respect and attention, but whom she sees not in private. Our societies were for a considerable time the same. They changed insensibly. Each of us hoped to be more at ease when at a distance from the other's in-

spection. We were no longer one, we were two distinct persons ; the tyranny of fashion had divided us, and our hearts sought no re-union. We never saw each other, but when our country neighbours, or town friends brought us together. The wife, after several advances, which I had sometimes no small difficulty to resist, was at length disgusted, and attaching herself entirely to Sophia, they became inseparable. The husband passed much of his time in company with his wife and of consequence with mine. Their exterior deportment was regular and decent, but their maxims should have alarmed me. Their harmony proceeded less from a real attachment, than from a mutual indifference to the duties of their state. Little jealous of their reciprocal rights, they pretended their love was the greater, as they imposed less restraint on each other ; and neither was offended in not being the object of the other's attention. " Above all (said the wife) let my husband live happy."—" Provided my wife be my friend, I am contented (said the husband). Our sentiments, continued he, do not depend on ourselves, but our actions do ; each contributes as much as possible to the happiness of the other. Can we better show our love for those who are dear to us, than by agreeing to all they desire ? We avoid the cruel necessity of flying from each other."

This system, abruptly laid open, should have shocked us. But it is not easy to imagine, what power the overflowings of friendship have in reconciling us to things which otherwise would disgust us ;  
nor

nor how much a philosophy, so well adapted to the vices of human nature—a philosophy which, instead of those affections we are no longer capable of entertaining—instead of that inward duty which forments and benefits no one, presents—nothing but politeness, respect, complaisance, attention—nothing but freedom, liberty, sincerity, confidence: it is not easy, I say, to imagine what charms every thing that maintains an union between the persons, when the hearts are no longer united, has for the best dispositions, and how attractive it becomes under the mask of propriety. Reason would with difficulty defend herself, if conscience did not come to her aid. It was this that made Sophia and me ashamed to show a fondness which we had not. Our two friends, who had subjugated us, quarrelled without restraint, and thought they loved one another. But an habitual respect, which we could not lay aside, made it impossible for us to give mutual pain without shunning each other. Though we appeared to be a burthen to each other, we were nearer a reconciliation than those who were always together. Not to quit one another when in anger is a sure symptom of eternal disunion.

But when our disunion was most evident, every thing changed in the most extraordinary manner possible. Sophia, on a sudden, became as sedentary and retired as she was before dissipated. Her temper, naturally unequal, became continually sad and gloomy. Shut up from morning to night in her chamber, without speaking, without weeping, without regarding any one, she could not bear

to be interrupted. Even her female friend became insupportable to her: she told her so, and gave her an ill reception without preventing her return: she besought me more than once to deliver her from her. I quarrelled with her for this caprice, which I attributed to jealousy. I even told her of it one day in jest. “No, Sir, I am not jealous (answered she, with a cold and decided air) but I detest that woman, and all I ask of you is, that I may never see her.” Struck with these words, I desired to know the cause of her hatred; she refused to answer me. She had already denied admittance to the husband; I was obliged to treat the wife in the same manner, and we saw them no more.

Her melancholy, however, continued and became alarming. I began to be disturbed by it; but how should I find out the cause which she persisted in concealing? I could not pretend to dictate to so haughty a soul; we had ceased for so long a time to be the confidants of each other, that I was little surprised she disdained to unbosom herself to me. It was necessary to merit that confidence; and whether her afflicting melancholy had rekindled an extinguished passion, or that the flame only waited an opportunity of blazing out afresh, I perceived no great effort was necessary on my part, to show her all the attentions by which I hoped to conquer her silence.

I quitted her no more; but it was in vain that I returned to her, and marked my return with the most tender anxiety; I saw with sorrow that I made no advances. I attempted to resume the privileges of a husband, which I had too long renounced; I experienced the

the most invincible resistance. It was no longer those stimulating d<sup>o</sup>ials given to enhance the value of what is granted, nor yet those tender and modest, but absolute refusals which intoxicated me with love while I was forced to respect them. They were the serious repulses of a decided mind, which considers doubt as an insult. She reminded me with vehemence of those engagements formerly entered into in your presence. "However it may be (said she) with regard to me, you should set a proper value upon yourself, and respect for ever the promise of Emilius. My faults do not authorise you to violate your own promises. You may punish me, but you cannot force me; and be assured I shall never admit your embraces." What could I answer, what could I do, but try to move her, to soften her, to conquer her obstinacy by perseverance? These vain efforts at once excited my love and my pride. Difficulties inflamed my heart, and I made it a point of honour to surmount them. Never, perhaps, after ten years of marriage, and after so long an estrangement, did the passion of a husband blaze forth with more violence. I never, during the first ardour of my passion, shed so many tears at her feet: yet all was in vain—she remained inexorable.

I was as much surprized as afflicted, knowing well that this inflexibility of heart was not natural to her, I was not disheartened; and, if I did not overcome her obstinacy, I imagined I saw in it less aversion. Some signs of sorrow and pity tempered the bitterness of her refusals; I sometimes thought it was with pain she denied

me—her languid eyes let fall on me some looks not less sorrowful, but less wild, and which seemed to indicate compassion. I supposed that the shame of such excessive caprice rendered her so obdurate, that she persevered as not being able to excuse herself, and that perhaps she waited only for a little compulsion, that she might seem to give to force what she dared not now bestow of herself. Struck with an idea which flattered my desires, I gave myself up to it with transport; I wished to pay this additional attention to her that I might spare her the embarrassment of yielding after so long a resistance.

One day, when carried away by desire, I joined to the most tender supplications the most ardent caresses; I saw she was moved, I endeavored to complete my victory. Oppressed and palpitating, she was near yielding; when on a sudden, changing her air and whole deportment, she pushed me back with inexpressible violence and agitation, and beholding me with an eye which fury and despair rendered dreadful—"Hold, Emilius (said she), and know that I am no longer your's; another has defiled your bed—I am with child—our persons shall never be united—" and, rushing with impetuosity into her closet, she shut the door.

I remain confounded.——

My friend, this is not the history of the events of my life; they are little worthy to be related; it is the history of my passions, of my feelings, of my ideas. Suffer me to speak at large of the most terrible revolution that ever my heart experienced.

The greater wounds of the mind,

mind, as well as of the body; do not bleed the moment they are given, nor is the pain they occasion immediately felt. Nature collects all her force to sustain its violence, and the mortal wound is often given, before it is felt. At this unexpected scene, at these words which my ears seemed to shut out, I remain motionless, annihilated; my eyes close, a deadly cold runs through my veins; without fainting, I feel all my senses benumbed, all my faculties suspended; an universal anarchy reigns in my mind, like the chaotick appearance of a changing theatre, when the present scene disappears to give place to a new creation.

I am ignorant how long I remained in this situation, on my knees, and without daring to move, lest I should discover that all which had happened was not a dream. I wish that this state of stupefaction had lasted for ever. Being roused at length, my first sensation was an inexplicable horror for every thing that surrounded me. I rise immediately, I rush out of the room and down stairs, without seeing any thing, without speaking to any one; I get out into the street, and with hasty strides, fly away with the rapidity of a stag, which thinks to avoid, by his velocity, the dart he carries buried in his side.

Thus I ran without stopping, without moderating my flight, into a public garden. The sight of day, and of the heavens, was a burden to me; I sought for darkness under the trees: at length, being out of breath, I let myself fall, half dead, upon the grass—Where am I? What is become of me? What have I heard? What

a catastrophe? Madman? what a chimera have you followed? Love, honour, faith, virtue, what is become of you? The elevated, the noble Sophia, is nothing but a prostitute! this exclamation, extorted by despair, was followed by such agonies of mind, that choaked with my sobs, my breath and utterance remained suspended. Had it not been for the storm of passion that followed, this agony would have strangled me. O who could express that conflict of different sensations, which shame, love, rage, sorrow, pity, jealousy, raised all at once in my mind. No, such a situation, such a war of passions, cannot be described. The intoxications of extreme joy, which by an uniform progression seems to dilate, and, as it were, rarefy our whole being, we easily conceive. But when excessive anguish assembles in the breast of a single wretch all the furies of hell; when, wounded on every side by a thousand different stings, he feels all, without being able to distinguish any; when torn a hundred different ways, by a hundred different cords—multiplied in his sufferings, he seems to lose the unity of his being, and every single torment takes up his whole existence. Such was my situation, and such it remained during several hours.—How shall I picture it to you? volumes would be necessary to describe the sufferings of every single instant. Happy mortals! you, whose narrow and frozen minds are insensible to every thing but the vicissitudes of fortune, undisturbed by every passion but the desire of gain, may you always consider this dreadful state as a fiction, and never experience the  
cruel

cruel torments, which the disunion of more worthy attachments occasions, in hearts capable of feeling them.

Our powers are bounded, and all violent emotions have their intervals. In one of those moments of suspension, when nature prepares herself for new sufferings, I happened to think on a sudden of my youth—of you, my friend—of your instructions. I recollected that I was a man, and I asked myself immediately, what injury have I suffered in my person? what crime have I committed? what part of myself have I lost? If at this moment I were to fall, such as I am, from the clouds to commence my existence, could I consider myself as an unhappy being? This reflection, quicker than lightning, illumined my mind for an instant; I soon lost this light, but it was sufficient to discover me to myself. I saw myself clearly in my place; the use I made of this moment of reason was to learn that I was incapable of reasoning. The dreadful agitation that reigned in my mind prevented me from taking notice of any object; I was not in a condition to see any thing, to compare, to deliberate, to resolve, to judge. All attempts, therefore, to discover by deliberation what was best to be done, would have been but an useless torment; they would have aggravated my sufferings to no purpose, and my only care was to gain time, that I might compose my senses and settle my imagination. I believe this is the only thing you could have done yourself had you been present to instruct me. Determined to let the fury of those passions subside,

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which I could not overcome, I set about this resolution with a kind of voluptuous desperation, as having removed all the obstacles to my grief. I rise with precipitation, I proceed to walk as before without following any determinate path; I run, I wander, different ways; I give up my body to all the agitation of my mind; I follow its suggestion without restraint; I put myself out of breath, and, increasing the difficulty of respiration by the frequency of my sighs, I feel myself at times on the point of suffocation.

The violence of this exercise diverted my pain, by suspending my feelings. Instinct, in violent passions, suggests certain exclamations, motions, and gestures, which give vent to the spirits, and turn the tide of passion another way. Agitation is but a symptom of rage. A gloomy silence is more to be dreaded; it is the neighbour of despair. That very night, I experienced this difference in a manner almost to be laughed at; if any thing, that shows the folly and misery of mankind, could appear so to man.

After innumerable wanderings, of which I was altogether unconscious, I found myself in the middle of the city, surrounded by carriages, in the neighbourhood of a theatre, and about the hour of its opening. I should have been trampled upon by the crowd, if somebody, who pulled me by the arm, had not told me of my danger; I throw myself into a door that was open; it was a coffee-house. I was there accosted by people of my acquaintance, who, after telling me I know not what, carried me I know not where.

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Struck

Struck with the sound of musick and the splendour of lights, I come to myself, and I open my eyes and look about me; I find myself in the pit, on the night of a first representation, pressed by the crowd, and unable to get out.

I trembled; but I resigned myself to my situation; I said nothing; I preserved an air of apparent tranquillity, however dear it cost me. The noise was great, and of the persons speaking on all sides of me, some addressed themselves to me; understanding nothing, what answer could I give? But one of those who had brought me there, having accidentally mentioned my wife, at this fatal name, I sent forth a piercing cry which was heard by all the assembly, and occasioned much noise. I quickly composed myself, and every thing was quiet. However, having by this cry attracted the attention of those who stood round me, I sought the moment of escape, and, drawing near the door by degrees, I at length got out, before they had finished.

On entering the street, happening to look at my hand, which I had kept in my bosom during the whole representation, I saw that my fingers were stained with blood, and I thought I felt some trickling down my breast. I open my bosom, I look, I find it bloody and lacerated like the heart it enclosed.

You may easily imagine that a spectator, undisturbed in such circumstances, was no very good judge of the piece he had seen performed.

I quickened my pace, trembling lest I should be again met with; night favouring my wanderings, I set about walking the streets a second time, as if to make amends for the restraint I had just experienced. I wandered for several hours without resting one moment; at length, being hardly able to support myself, and finding that I was near home, I enter, not without a dreadful palpitation of the heart. I ask where my son is; I am told he is asleep; I remain silent and sigh; my servants wish to speak to me; I command them to be silent; I throw myself on my bed, and desire them all to go to rest. After a few hours repose, worse than the agitation of the preceding day, I rise before it is light, and crossing the apartments without noise, come to Sophia's chamber; there, unable to restrain myself, with the most despicable meanness, I cover with a thousand kisses, and bathe with a torrent of tears, the threshold of her door; retreating then with the fear and precaution of a guilty person I walk quietly out of the house, resolved never to re-enter it."



## P O E T R Y.

ODE for the NEW YEAR, 1783.

*By WILLIAM WHITEHEAD, Esq. Poet-Laureat.*

**Y**E Nations hear th' important tale,  
 Tho' armies press, tho' fleets assail,  
 Tho' vengeful war's collected stores  
 At once united Bourbon pours,  
 Unmov'd amidst th' insulting bands!  
 Emblem of Britain, Calpe stands!  
 Th' all-conquering hosts their baffled efforts mourn,  
 And, tho' the wreath's prepar'd, unwreath'd the chiefs return.

Ye nations, hear! Nor fondly deem  
 Britannia's ancient spirit fled;  
 Or gloſing weep her ſetting beam,  
 Whoſe fierce meridian rays her rivals dread.  
 Her Genius ſlept; her Genius wakes;  
 Nor ſtrength deſerts her, nor high Heaven forſakes.

To Heaven ſhe bends, and Heaven alone,  
 Who all her wants, her weakneſs knows;  
 And ſupplicates th' eternal Throne,  
 To ſpare her crimes; and heal her woes.  
 Proud man with vengeance ſtill  
 Purſues, and aggravates even fancied ill;  
 Far gentler means offended Heaven employs.  
 With mercy Heaven corrects, chaſtiſes, not deſtroys.

When hope's laſt gleam can hardly dare  
 To pierce the gloom, and ſooth deſpair,  
 When flames th' uplifted bolt on high,  
 In act to cleave th' offended ſky,  
 It's iſſuing wrath can Heaven reſreſs,  
 And win to virtue by ſucceſs.  
 Then, O! to Heaven's proteſting hand  
 Be praiſe, be prayer addreſt,  
 Whoſe mercy bids a guilty land  
 Be virtuous and be bleſt!

So shall the rising year regain  
 The erring seasons wonted chain;  
 The rolling months that gird the sphere  
 Again their wonted liveries wear;  
 And health breathe fresh in every gale,  
 And plenty clothe each smiling vale  
 With all the blessings nature yields  
 To temperate suns from fertile fields.

So shall the proud be taught to bow,  
 Pale Envy's vain contentions cease,  
 The sea once more its sovereign know,  
 And glory gild the wreaths of peace.

ODE for his MAJESTY's Birth-Day, June 4, 1783.

By WILLIAM WHITEHEAD, Esq. Poet-Laureat.

AT length the troubled waters rest,  
 And, shadowing Ocean's calmer breast,  
 Exulting Commerce spreads her woven wings:  
 Free as the winds that waft them o'er,  
 Her issuing vessels glide from shore to shore,  
 And in the bending shrouds the careless sea-boy sings.

Is Peace a blessing!—Ask the mind,  
 That glows with love of human kind,  
 That knows no guile, no partial weakness knows,  
 Contracted to no narrow sphere,  
 The world, the world at large, is umpire here,  
 They feel, and they enjoy, the blessings peace bestows.

Then, oh! what bliss his bosom shares,  
 Who, conscious of ingenuous worth,  
 Can nobly scorn inferior cares,  
 And send the generous edict forth;  
 To distant sighs of modest woe  
 Can lend a pitying list'ning ear,  
 Nor see the meanest sorrows flow  
 Without a sympathising tear.

Tho' rapine with her fury train  
 Rove wide and wild o'er earth and main,  
 In act to strike, tho' slaughter cleave the air,  
 At his command they drop the sword,  
 And in their midway course his potent word  
 Arrests the shafts of death, of terror, of despair.

When those who have the power to bless  
 Are readiest to relieve distress,  
 When private virtues dignify a crown,  
 The genuine sons of freedom feel  
 A duty which transcends a subject's zeal,  
 And dread the man's reproach more than the monarch's frown.  
 Then to *this* day be honours paid  
 The world's proud conquerors never knew;  
 Their laurels shrink, their glories fade,  
 Expos'd to reason's sober view.  
 But reason, justice, truth, rejoice,  
 When discord's baneful triumphs cease,  
 And hail with one united voice  
 The friend of man, the friend of peace.

*Extract from MASON'S Translation of Du Fresnoy's Art of Painting.*

“ **R**ISE then, ye youths! while yet that warmth inspires,  
 While yet nor years impair, nor labour tires,  
 While health, while strength are yours, while that mild ray,  
 Which shone auspicious on your natal day,  
 Conducts you to Minerva's peaceful quire,  
 Sons of her choice, and sharers of her fire,  
 Rise to the call of art: expand your breast,  
 Capacious to receive the mighty guest,  
 While, free from prejudice, your active eye  
 Preserves its first un sullied purity;  
 While, new to beauty's charms, your eager soul  
 Drinks copious draughts of the delicious whole,  
 And Memory on her soft, yet lasting page,  
 Stamps the fresh image which shall charm thro' age.

When duly taught each geometric rule,  
 Approach with awful step the Grecian school,  
 The sculptur'd reliques of her skill survey,  
 Muse on by night, and imitate by day;  
 No rest, no pause till, all her graces known,  
 A happy habit makes each grace your own.

As years advance, to modern masters come,  
 Gaze on their glories in majestic Rome;  
 Admire the proud productions of their skill  
 Which Venice, Parma, and Bologna fill;  
 And, rightly led by our preceptive lore,  
 Their style, their colouring, part by part, explore.  
 See RAPHAEL there his forms celestial trace,  
 Unrivall'd sovereign of the realms of grace.  
 See ANGELO, with energy divine,  
 Seize on the summit of correct design.

Learn how, at JULIO's birth, the Muses smil'd,  
 And in their mystic caverns nurs'd the child;  
 How, by th' Aonian powers their smile bestow'd,  
 His pencil with poetic fervor glow'd;  
 When faintly verse Apollo's charms convey'd,  
 He oped the shrine, and all the God display'd:  
 His triumphs more than mortal pomp adorns,  
 With more than mortal rage his battle burns,  
 His heroes, happy heirs of fav'ring fame,  
 More from his art than from their actions claim.

Bright, beyond all the rest, CORRREGGIO flings  
 His ample lights, and round them gently brings  
 The mingling shade. In all his works we view  
 Grandeur of style, and chastity of hue.

Yet higher still great TITIAN dar'd to soar,  
 He reach'd the loftiest heights of colouring's power;  
 His friendly tints in happiest mixture flow,  
 His shades and lights their just gradations know,  
 He knew those dear delusions of the art,  
 That round, relieve, inspirit ev'ry part:  
 Hence deem'd divine, the world his merit own'd,  
 With riches loaded, and with honours crown'd.

From all their charms combin'd, with happy toil,  
 Did ANNIBAL compose his wond'rous style:  
 O'er the fair fraud so close a veil is thrown,  
 That every borrow'd grace becomes his own.

If then to praise like theirs your souls aspire,  
 Catch from their works a portion of their fire;  
 Revolve their labors all, for all will teach,  
 Their finish'd picture, and their slightest sketch,  
 Yet more than those to meditation's eyes  
 Great nature's self redundantly supplies:  
 Her presence, best of models! is the source  
 Whence genius draws augmented power and force;  
 Her precepts, best of teachers! give the powers,  
 Whence art, by practice, to perfection soars.

These useful rules from time and chance to save,  
 In Latian strains, the studious Fresnoy gave;  
 On Tiber's peaceful banks the poet lay,  
 What time the pride of Bourbon urg'd his way,  
 Thro' hostile camps, and crimson fields of slain,  
 To vindicate his race and vanquish Spain;  
 High on the Alps he took his warrior stand,  
 And thence, in ardent volley from his hand  
 His thunder darted; (*so the flatterer sings*  
*In strains best suited to the ear of kings*)  
 And like Alcides, with vindictive tread,  
 Crush'd the Hispanian lion's gasping head.

*But mark the Proteus-policy of State :  
 Now, while his courtly numbers I translate,  
 The foes are friends, in social league they dare  
 On Britain to "let slip the dogs of war."  
 Vain efforts all, which in disgrace shall end,  
 If Britain, truly to himself a friend,  
 Thro' all her realms bids civil discord cease  
 And heals her empire's wounds by arts of peace.  
 Rouse then, fair freedom ! fan that holy flame  
 From whence thy sons their dearest blessings claim ;  
 Still bid them feel that scorn of lawless sway,  
 Which interest cannot blind, nor power dismay :  
 So shall the throne, thou gav'st the Brunswick line,  
 Long by that race adorn'd, thy dread palladium shine."*

*An Extract from THE VILLAGE, a Poem, by the Rev. G. CRABBE,  
 Chaplain to his Grace the Duke of Rutland, &c.*

**Y**E gentle souls who dream of rural ease,  
 Whom the smooth streams and smoother sonnet please ;  
 Go ! if the peaceful cot your praises share,  
 Go look within, and ask if peace be there :  
 If peace be his—that drooping weary fire,  
 Or their's, that offspring round their feeble fire,  
 Or her's, that matron pale, whose trembling hand  
 Turns on the wretched hearth th' expiring brand.  
 Nor yet can time itself obtain for these  
 Life's latest comforts, due respect and ease ;  
 For yonder see that hoary swain, whose age  
 Can with no cares except its own engage ;  
 Who, propt on that rude staff, looks up to see  
 The bare arms broken from the withering tree ;  
 On which, a boy, he climb'd the loftiest bough,  
 Then his first joy, but his sad emblem now.

He once was chief in all the rustic trade,  
 His steady hand the straightest furrow made ;  
 Full many a prize he won, and still is proud  
 To find the triumphs of his youth allow'd ;  
 A transient pleasure sparkles in his eyes,  
 He hears and smiles, then thinks again and sighs ;  
 For now he journeys to his grave in pain ;  
 The rich disdain him ; nay, the poor disdain ;  
 Alternate masters now their slave command,  
 And urge the efforts of his feeble hand ;  
 Who, when his age attempts its task in vain,  
 With ruthless taunts of lazy poof complain.

Oft may you see him when he tends the sheep,  
His winter charge, beneath the hillock weep;  
Oft hear him murmur to the winds that blow  
O'er his white locks, and bury them in snow;  
When ronz'd by rage and muttering in the morn,  
He mends the broken hedge with icy thorn.

" Why do I live, when I desire to be  
At once from life and life's long labour free?  
Like leaves in spring, the young are blown away,  
Without the sorrows of a slow decay;  
I, like yon wither'd leaf, remain behind,  
Nipt by the frost and shivering in the wind;  
There it abides till younger buds come on,  
As I, now all my fellow swains are gone;  
Then, from the rising generation thrust,  
It falls, like me, unnotic'd, to the dust.

" These fruitful fields, these numerous flocks I see,  
Are others' gain, but killing cares to me;  
To me the children of my youth are lords,  
Slow in their gifts, but hasty in their words;  
Wants of their own demand their care, and who  
Feels his own want and succours others too?  
A lonely, wretched man, in pain I go,  
None need my help and none relieve my woe;  
Then let my bones beneath the turf be laid,  
And men forget the wretch they would not aid."

Thus groan the old, till by disease oppress'd,  
They taste a final woe, and then they rest.  
Their's is yon house that holds the parish poor,  
Whose walls of mud scarce bear the broken door;  
There, where the putrid vapours, flagging, play,  
And the dull wheel hums doleful through the day;  
There children dwell who know no parents' care,  
Parents, who know no children's love dwell there;  
Heart-broken matrons on their joyless bed,  
Forsaken wives and mothers never wed;  
Dejected widows with unheeded tears,  
And crippled age with more than childhood-fears;  
The lame, the blind, and, far the happiest they!  
The moping idiot and the madman gay.

Here too the sick their final doom receive,  
Here brought amid the scenes of grief, to grieve;  
Where the loud groans from some sad chamber flow,  
Mixt with the clamours of the crowd below;  
Here sorrowing, they each kindred sorrow scan,  
And the cold charities of man to man.  
Whose laws indeed for ruin'd age provide,  
And strong compulsion plucks the scrap from pride;

But



But still that scrap is bought with many a sigh,  
And pride embitters what it can't deny.

Say ye, oppress'd by some fantastic woes,  
Some jarring nerve that baffles your repose;  
Who press the downy couch, while slaves advance  
With timid eye, to read the distant glance;  
Who with sad prayers the weary doctor tease  
To name the nameless ever-new disease;  
Who with mock patience dire complaints endure,  
Which real pain, and that alone can cure;  
How would you bear in real pain to lie,  
Despis'd, neglected, left alone to die?  
How would ye bear to draw your latest breath,  
Where all that's wretched paves the way for death?

Such is that room which one rude beam divides,  
And naked rafters form the sloping sides;  
Where the vile bands that bind the thatch are seen,  
And lath and mud is all that lie between;  
Save one dull pane, that, coarsely patch'd, gives way  
To the rude tempest, yet excludes the day:  
Here, on a matted flock, with dust o'erspread,  
The drooping wretch reclines his languid head;  
For him no hand the cordial cup applies,  
Nor wipes the tear that stagnates in his eyes;  
No friends with soft discourse his pain beguile,  
Nor promise hope till sickness wears a smile.

But soon a loud and hasty summons calls,  
Shakes the thin roof, and echoes round the walls;  
Anon, a figure enters, quaintly neat,  
All pride and business, bustle and conceit;  
With looks unalter'd by these scenes of woe,  
With speed that entering, speaks his haste to go;  
He bids the gazing throng around him fly,  
And carries fate and physic in his eye;  
A potent quack, long vers'd in human ills,  
Who first insults the victim whom he kills;  
Whose murd'rous hand a drowsy bench protect,  
And whose most tender mercy is neglect.

Paid by the parish for attendance here,  
He wears contempt upon his sapient sneer;  
In haste he seeks the bed where misery lies,  
Impatience mark'd in his averted eyes;  
And, some habitual queries hurried o'er,  
Without reply, he rushes on the door;  
His drooping patient, long inur'd to pain,  
And long unheeded, knows remonstrance vain;  
He ceases now the feeble help to crave  
Of man, and mutely hastens to the grave.

But

But 'ere his death some pious doubts arise,  
 Some simple fears which "bold bad" men despise;  
 Fain would he ask the parish priest to prove  
 His title certain to the joys above;  
 For this he sends the murmuring nurse, who calls  
 The holy stranger to these dismal walls;  
 And doth not he, the pious man, appear,  
 He, "passing rich with forty pounds a year?"  
 Ah! no, a shepherd of a different stock,  
 And far unlike him, feeds this little flock;  
 A jovial youth, who thinks his Sunday's task  
 As much as God or man can fairly ask;  
 The rest he gives to loves and labours light,  
 To fields the morning and to feasts the night;  
 None better skill'd, the noisy pack to guide,  
 To urge their chace to cheer them or to chide;  
 Sure in his shot, his game he seldom mist,  
 And seldom fail'd to win his game at whist;  
 Then, while such honours bloom around his head,  
 Shall he sit sadly by the sick man's bed  
 To raise the hope he feels not, or with zeal  
 To combat fears that ev'n the pious feel?

Now once again the gloomy scene explore,  
 Less gloomy now; the bitter hour is o'er,  
 The man of many sorrows sighs no more!

Up yonder hill, behold how sadly flow  
 The bier moves winding from the vale below;  
 There lie the happy dead, from trouble free,  
 And the glad parish pays the frugal fee;  
 No more, oh! Death, thy victim starts to hear  
 Churchwarden stern, or kingly overseer;  
 No more the farmer gets his humble bow,  
 Thou art his lord, the best of tyrants thou!

Now to the church behold the mourners come,  
 Sedately torpid and devoutly dumb;  
 The village children now their games suspend,  
 To see the bier that bears their antient friend;  
 For he was one in all their idle sport,  
 And like a monarch rul'd their little court;  
 The pliant bow he form'd, the flying ball,  
 The bat, the wicket, were his labours all;  
 Him now they follow to his grave, and stand  
 Silent and sad, and gazing hand in hand;  
 While bending low, their eager eyes explore  
 The mingled relicks of the parish poor:  
 The bell tolls late, the moping owl flies round,  
 Fear marks the flight and magnifies the sound;

The busy priest, detain'd by weightier care,  
 Defers his duty till the day of prayer;  
 And waiting long, the crowd retire distressed,  
 To think a poor man's bones should lie unblest."

*The Conclusion of the same Poem.*

" OH! if in life one noble chief appears,  
 Great in his name, while blooming in his years;  
 Born to enjoy whate'er delights mankind,  
 And yet to all you feel or fear resign'd;  
 Who gave up pleasures you could never share,  
 For pain which you are seldom doom'd to bear;  
 If such there be then let your murmurs cease,  
 Think, think of him, and take your lot in peace.

And such there was:—Oh! grief, that checks our pride,  
 Weeping we say there was, for *Manners*\* died;—  
 Belov'd of heav'n? these humble lines forgive,  
 That sing of thee, and thus aspire to live.

As the tall oak, whose vigorous branches form  
 An ample shade, and brave the wildest storm,  
 High o'er the subject wood is seen to grow,  
 The guard and glory of the trees below;  
 Till on its head the fiery bolt descends,  
 And o'er the plain the shatter'd trunk extends;  
 Yet then it lies, all wond'rous as before,  
 And still the glory, though the guard no more.

So *thou*, when every virtue, every grace,  
 Rose in thy soul, or shone within thy face;  
 When, though the son of Granby, thou wert known  
 Less by thy father's glory than thy own;  
 When Honour lov'd, and gave thee every charm,  
 Fire to thy eye, and vigour to thy arm;  
 Then from our lofty hopes and longing eyes  
 Fate and thy virtues call'd thee to the skies;  
 Yet still we wonder at thy tow'ring fame,  
 And losing thee, still dwell upon thy name.

Oh! ever honour'd, ever valued! say  
 What verse can praise thee, or what work repay?  
 Yet verse (in all we can) thy worth repays,  
 Nor trusts the tardy zeal of future days;  
 Honours for thee thy country shall prepare,  
 Thee in their hearts, the good, the brave shall bear;  
 To deeds like thine shall noblest chiefs aspire,  
 The Muse shall mourn thee, and the world admire.

\* The late Lord *Robert Manners*, who died of the wounds he received on the memorable 12th of April, 1782, on which day he commanded the *Resolution* of 74 guns.—Vide his character, &c. page 35.

In future times, when smit with glory's charms,  
 The untry'd youth first quits a father's arms;  
 "Oh be like him," the weeping sire shall say,  
 "Like *Manners* walk, who walk'd in honour's way;  
 In danger foremost, yet in death sedate,  
 Oh! be like him in all things, but his fate!"  
 If for that fate such public tears be shed,  
 That victory seems to die now *thou* art dead;  
 How shall a friend his nearer hope resign,  
 That friend a brother, and whose soul was thine?  
 By what bold lines shall we his grief express,  
 Or by what soothing numbers make it less?

'Tis not, I know, the chiming of a song,  
 Nor all the powers that to the Muse belong;  
 Words aptly cull'd, and meanings well express'd,  
 Can calm the sorrows of a wounded breast:  
 But Rutland's virtues shall his griefs restrain,  
 And join to heal the bosom where they reign.

Yet hard the task to heal the bleeding heart,  
 To bid the still-recurring thoughts depart;  
 Hush the loud grief, and stem the rising sigh,  
 And curb rebellious passion with reply;  
 Calmly to dwell on all that pleas'd before,  
 And yet to know that all can please no more —  
 Oh! glorious labour of the soul, to save  
 Her captive powers, and bravely mourn the brave!

To such, these thoughts will lasting comfort give:—  
 Life is not valu'd by the time we live;  
 'Tis not an even course of threescore years,  
 A life of narrow views and paltry fears;  
 Grey hairs and wrinkles, and the cares they bring,  
 That take from death the terror or the sting:  
 But 'tis the spirit that is mounting high  
 Above the world; a native of the sky;  
 The noble spirit, that, in dangers brave,  
 Calmly looks on, or looks beyond the grave.  
 Such *Manners* was, so he resign'd his breath!  
 If in a glorious, then a timely death.  
 Cease then that grief, and let those tears subside;  
 If passion rule us, be that passion pride;  
 If reason, reason bids us strive to raise  
 Our sinking hearts, and be like him we praise;  
 Or, if affection still the soul subdue,  
 Bring all his virtues, all his worth in view,  
 And let affection find its comfort too;  
 For how can grief so deeply wound the heart,  
 Where admiration claims so large a part?

Grief is a foe, expel him then thy foul;  
 Let nobler thoughts the nearer woes controul;  
 Oh! make the age to come thy better care,  
 See other Rutlands, other Granbys there;  
 And as thy thoughts through streaming ages glide,  
 See other heroes die as *Manners* died;  
 Victims victorious, who with him shall stand  
 In Fame's fair Book the guardians of the land;  
 And from their fate thy race shall nobler grow,  
 As tress shoot upward that are prun'd below:  
 Or, as old Thames, borne down with decent pride,  
 See his young streams go murmuring by his side;  
 Though some, by art cut off, no longer run,  
 And some are lost beneath the summer's sun;  
 Yet the strong stream moves on, and as it moves,  
 Its power increases, and its use improves;  
 While plenty round its spacious waves bestow,  
 Still it flows on, and shall for ever flow."

*On the Death of Dr. ROBERT LEVET.*

*By Dr. JOHNSON.*

CONDEMN'D to hope's delusive mind,  
 As on we toil from day to day,  
 By sudden blasts, or slow decline,  
 Our social comforts drop away.

Well tried through many a varying year,  
 See LEVET to the grave descend;  
 Officious, innocent, sincere,  
 Of ev'ry friendless name the friend.

Yet still he fills affection's eye,  
 Obscurely wise, and coarsely kind;  
 Nor, letter'd arrogance, deny  
 Thy praise to merit unrefin'd.

When fainting nature call'd for aid,  
 And hov'ring death prepar'd the blow,  
 His vig'rous remedy display'd  
 The power of art without the show.

In misery's darkest caverns known,  
 His useful care was ever nigh,  
 Where hopeless anguish pour'd his groan,  
 And lonely want retir'd to die.

No summons mock'd by chill delay,  
 No petty gain disdain'd by pride,  
 The modest wants of ev'ry day  
 The toil of ev'ry day supplied.

His

His virtues walk'd their narrow round,  
Nor made a pause, nor left a void;  
And sure th' Eternal Master found  
The single talent well employ'd.

The busy day, the peaceful night,  
Unfelt, uncounted, glided by;  
His frame was firm, his powers were bright,  
Tho' now his eightieth year was nigh.

Then with no throbbing fiery pain,  
No cold gradations of decay,  
Death broke at once the vital chain,  
And forc'd his soul the nearest way.

### FAREWELL to BATH.

*By Lady M. W. MONTAGU.*

**T**O all you ladies now at Bath,  
And eke, ye beaus, to you,  
With aking heart, and wat'ry eyes,  
I bid my last adieu.

Farewell, ye nymphs, who waters sip  
Hot reeking from the pumps,  
While music lends her friendly aid,  
To cheer you from the dumps.

Farewell, ye wits, who prating stand,  
And criticise the fair;  
Yourself the joke of men of sense,  
Who hate a coxcomb's air.

Farewell to Deard's, and all her toys,  
Which glitter in her shop,  
Deluding traps to girls and boys,  
The warehouse of the fop.

Lindsay's and Hayes's, both farewell,  
Where in the spacious hall,  
With bounding steps, and sprightly air,  
I've led up many a ball.

When Somerville, of courteous mien,  
Was part'ner in the dance,  
With swimming Hawes, and Brownlow blithe,  
And Britton, pink of France.

Poor Nash, farewell! may fortune smile,  
Thy drooping soul revive:  
My heart is full, I can no more—  
John, bid the coachman drive.



*"The entertaining and facetious History of JOHN GILPIN; shewing how he went further than he intended, and came home safe at last.*

*To the Tune of — Chevy Chase.*

*Extracted from the REPOSITORY: A select collection of fugitive pieces of wit and humour, in prose and verse. By the most eminent writers. 4 vols. small 8vo.*

**"** JOHN GILPIN was a citizen  
Of credit and renown,  
A train-band captain eke was he  
Of famous London town.

**"** John Gilpin's spouse said to her dear :  
' Though wedded we have been  
These twice ten tedious years, yet we  
No holiday have seen.

**"** To-morrow is our wedding-day,  
And we will then repair  
Unto the bell at Edmonton,  
All in a chaise and pair.

**"** My sister and my sister's child,  
Myself and children three,  
Will fill the chaise ; so you must ride  
On horseback after we.'

**"** He soon replied, ' I do admire  
Of womankind but one,  
And you are she, my dearest dear,  
Therefore it shall be done.

**"** I am a linen-draper bold,  
As all the world does know,  
And my good friend, the callender,  
Will lend his horse to go.'

**"** Quoth Mrs. Gilpin, ' That's well said ;  
And for that wine is dear,  
We will be furnish'd with our own,  
Which is so bright and clear.'

**"** John Gilpin kiss'd his loving wife ;  
O'erjoy'd was he to find,  
That though on pleasure she was bent,  
She had a frugal mind.

**"** The morning came, the chaise was brought,  
But yet was not allow'd  
To drive up to the door, lest all  
Should say that she was proud.

**"** So

- " So three doors off the chaise was staid,  
 Where they did all get in,  
 Six precious souls, and all agog  
 To dash through thick and thin.
- " Smack went the whip, round went the wheels,  
 Were never folk so glad ;  
 The stones did rattle underneath,  
 As if Cheapside were mad.
- " John Gilpin at his horse's side  
 Seiz'd fast the flowing mane,  
 And up he got in haste to ride,  
 But soon came down again.
- " For saddle-tree scarce reach'd had he,  
 His journey to begin,  
 When turning round his face he saw  
 Three customers come in.
- " So down he came, for loss of time  
 Although it griev'd him sore,  
 Yet loss of pence full well he knew  
 Would grieve him still much more.
- " 'Twas long before the customers  
 Were suited to their mind,  
 When Betty scream'd into his ears,  
 — ' The wine is left behind. ' —
- " ' Good lack ! quoth he, yet bring it me,  
 My leathern belt likewise,  
 In which I bear my trusty sword  
 When I do exercise. '
- " Now Mrs. Gilpin, careful soul !  
 Had two stone bottles found,  
 To hold the liquor which she lov'd,  
 And keep it safe and sound.
- " Each bottle had two curling ears,  
 Through which the belt he drew ;  
 He hung one bottle on each side,  
 To make his balance true.
- " Then over all, that he might be  
 Equipp'd from top to toe,  
 His long red cloak, well brush'd and neat,  
 He manfully did throw.
- " Now see him mounted once again  
 Upon his nimble steed,  
 Full slowly pacing o'er the stones,  
 With caution and good heed.

- “ But finding soon a smoother road  
Beneath his well-shod feet,  
The snorting beast began to trot,  
Which gall'd him in his feat.
- “ ‘ So fair and softly !’ John did cry,  
But John he cry'd in vain,  
That trot became a gallop soon,  
In spite of curb or rein.
- “ So stooping down, as he needs must  
Who cannot sit upright,  
He grasp'd the mane with both his hands,  
And eke with all his might.
- “ Away went Gilpin, neck or nought,  
Away went hat and wig;  
He little dreamt, when he set out,  
Of running such a rig.
- “ The horse who never had before  
Been handled in this kind,  
Affrighted fled, and as he flew,  
Left all the world behind.
- “ The wind did blow, the cloak did fly,  
Like streamer long and gay,  
—Till loop and button failing both,  
At last it flew away.
- “ Then might all people well discern  
The bottles he had flung :  
A bottle fwinging at each side,  
As has been said or sung.
- “ The dogs did bark, the children scream'd,  
Up flew the windows all;  
And every soul cried out, ‘ Well done !’  
As loud as he could bawl.
- “ Away went Gilpin,—who but he !  
His fame soon spread around,—  
‘ He carries weight ; he rides a race !—  
‘ Tis for a thousand pound !’
- “ And still as fast as he drew near,  
’Twas wonderful to view,  
How in a trice the turnpike-men  
Their gates wide open threw.
- “ And now as he went bowing down  
His reeking head full low,  
The bottles twain, behind his back,  
Were shatter'd at a blow.

" Down ran the wine into the road,  
Most piteous to be seen,  
And made his horse's flanks to smoke,  
As he had basted been.

" But still he seem'd to carry weight,  
With leathern girdle brac'd,  
For still the bottle-necks were left  
Both dangling at his waist.

" Thus all through merry Islington  
These gambols he did play,  
And till he came unto the Wash  
Of Edmonton so gay.

" And there he threw the wash about  
On both sides of the way,  
Just like unto a trundling mop,  
Or a wild goose at play.

" At Edmonton his loving wife  
From the balcony spied  
Her tender husband, wondering much  
To see how he did ride.

" ' Stop, stop, John Gilpin, here's the house !'  
They all at once did cry,  
' The dinner waits, and we are tir'd'—  
Said Gilpin, ' So am I !'

" But ah ! his horse was not a whit  
Inclin'd to tarry there,  
For why ? his owner had a house  
Full ten miles off at Ware.

" So like an arrow swift he flew,  
Shot by an archer strong,  
So did he fly—which brings me to  
The middle of my song.

" Away went Gilpin out of breath,  
And fore against his will,  
Till at his friend's, the callender's,  
His horse at last stood still.

" The callender, surpris'd to see  
His friend in such a trim,  
Laid down his pipe, flew to the gate,  
And thus accosted him :

" What news, what news ? the tidings tell,  
Make haste and tell me all,  
Say why bare-headed you are come,  
Or why you come at all ?'

" Now

“ Now Gilpin had a pleasant wit,  
And lov'd a timely joke,  
And thus unto the callender  
In merry strains he spoke.

“ ‘ I came because your horse would come ;  
And, if I well forebode,  
My hat and wig will soon be here,  
They are upon the road.’

“ The callender right glad to find  
His friend in merry pin,  
Return'd him not a single word,  
But to the house went in.

“ Whence strait he came with hat and wig,  
A wig that droop'd behind,  
A hat not much the worse for wear,  
Each comely in its kind.

“ He held them up, and in his turn  
Thus show'd his ready wit—  
‘ My head is twice as big as yours,  
They therefore needs must fit.

“ But let me scrape the dirt away  
That hangs about your face :  
And stop and eat—for well you may  
Be in a hungry case.’

“ Said John, ‘ It is my wedding-day,  
And folks would gape and stare,  
If wife should dine at Edmonton,  
And I should dine at Ware.’

“ Then, speaking to his horse, he said,  
‘ I am in haste to dine :  
’Twas for your pleasure you came here,  
You shall go back for mine.’

“ Ah ! luckless word, and bootless boast,  
For which he paid full dear ;  
For while he spoke, a braying ass  
Did sing most loud and clear.

“ Whereat his horse did snort, as if  
He heard a lion roar,  
And gallop'd off with all his might,  
As he had done before.

“ Away went Gilpin,—and away  
Went Gilpin's hat and wig ;  
He lost them sooner than at first :  
For why ? They were too big,

" Now Gilpin's wife, when she had seen  
Her husband posting down  
Into the country far away,  
She pull'd out half a crown :

" And thus unto the youth she said,  
That drove them to the Bell,  
' This shall be yours when you bring back  
My husband safe and well.'

" The youth did ride, and soon they met;  
He tried to stop John's horse,  
By seizing fast the flowing rein,  
But only made things worse :

" For not performing what he meant,  
And gladly would have done,  
He thereby frightened Gilpin's horse,  
And made him faster run.

" Away went Gilpin,—and away  
Went post-boy at his heels;  
The post-boy's horse right glad to miss  
The lumber of the wheels.

" Six gentlemen upon the road  
Thus seeing Gilpin fly,  
With post-boy scamp'ring in the rear,  
They rais'd the hue-and-cry.

" ' Stop thief!—stop thief!—a highwayman !'  
Not one of them was mute;  
So they, and all that pass'd that way,  
Soon joined in the pursuit.

" But all the turnpike gates again  
Flew open in short space,  
The men still thinking as before  
That Gilpin rode a race.

" And so he did, and won it too,  
For he got first to town,  
Nor stopp'd till where he first got up  
He did again get down.

" Now let us sing—Long live the king,  
And Gilpin long live he;  
And when he next does ride abroad,  
May I be there to see !"



*On the Marriage of the Honourable Miss ELIZ. SACKVILLE to COLONEL HERBERT. — By RICHARD CUMBERLAND, Esq.*

YE solemn pedagogues, who teach  
 A language by eight parts of speech,  
 And with the arm of flesh drive down,  
 By force of birch, your noun pronoun;  
 Can any of you all impart  
 A rule to conjugate the heart;  
 To shew its present, perfect, future;  
 Its active, passive, and its neuter?  
 Grammarians, did you ever try  
 To construe and expound the eye?  
 And, from the syntax of the face,  
 Decline its gender and its case?  
 What said the nuptial tear that fell  
 From fair Eliza—can you tell?  
 And yet it spoke upon her cheek  
 As eloquent as tear could speak;  
 Not audibly, by word of mouth,  
 As Priscian would, or Bishop Lowth;  
 Not syllables by Dych e'er spelt,  
 Not language heard, but language felt:  
 "Here, at God's altar as I stand,  
 To plight my faith and yield my hand,  
 With faltering tongue whilst I proclaim  
 The cession of my virgin name;  
 Whilst in my ears is read at large  
 The Rubric's stern unsoften'd charge,  
 Spare me," the silent pleader cries,  
 "O spare me, ye surrounding eyes!  
 Surrounded by a blaze of light,  
 While here I pass in solemn sight,  
 Or, kneeling by a father's side,  
 Renounce the daughter for the bride.  
 Ye sisters, to my soul so dear,  
 Say, can I check the rising tear?  
 When at this awful hour I cast  
 My memory back on time that's past,  
 Ungrateful were I to forbear  
 This tribute to a father's care;  
 For all he suffer'd, all he taught,  
 Is there not due some tender thought?  
 And may not one fond prayer be given  
 To a dear saint who rests in heaven?"

And you, to whom I now betroth,  
 In sight of Heaven, my nuptial oath ;  
 Who to nobility of birth  
 True honour join, and native worth,  
 If my recording bosom draws  
 One sigh, misconstrue not the cause ;  
 Trust me, though weeping, I rejoice,  
 And, blushing, glory in my choice."

———— RACES. *A Ballad.* By the late Sir JOHN MOORE, Bart.

O GEORGE\*, I've been, I'll tell you where,  
 But first prepare yourself for raptures ;  
 opaint this charming, heavenly fair,  
 And paint her well, would ask whole chapters.  
 Fine creatures I've viewed many a one,  
 With lovely shapes and angel faces ;  
 But I have seen them all outdone,  
 By this sweet maid, at ——— Races.  
 Lords, commoners, alike she rules,  
 Takes all, who view her by surprise,  
 Makes e'en the wisest look like fools,  
 Nay more, makes fox-hunters look wise.  
 Her shape—'tis elegance and ease,  
 Unspoil'd by art, or modern dress,  
 But gently tapering by degrees,  
 And finely, " beautifully less."  
 Her foot—it was so wond'rous small,  
 So thin, so round, so slim, so neat,  
 The buckle fairly hid it all,  
 And seem'd to sink it with the weight.  
 And just above the spangled shoe,  
 Where many an eye did often glance,  
 Sweetly retiring from the view,  
 And seen by stealth, and seen by chance ;  
 Two slender ankles peeping out,  
 Stood like Love's heralds, to declare  
 That all within the petticoat  
 Was firm, and full, " and round, and fair."  
 And then she dances—better far  
 Than heart can think, or tongue can tell,  
 Not Heinel, Banti, or Guimar,  
 E'er mov'd so graceful, and so well.

\* G. Ellis, Esq.

So easy glide her beauteous limbs,  
 True as the echo to the sound,  
 She seems, as through the dance she skims,  
 To tread on air, and scorn the ground.

And there is lightning in her eye,  
 One glance alone might well inspire  
 The clay-cold breast of Apathy,  
 Or bid the frozen heart catch fire.

And Zephyr on her lovely lips  
 Has spread his choicest, sweetest roses;  
 And there his heavenly nectar sips,  
 And there in breathing sweets reposes.

And there's such music when she speaks,  
 You may believe me, when I tell ye,  
 I'd rather hear her, than the squeaks  
 Or far-fam'd squalls of Gabrielli.

And sparkling wit, and steady sense,  
 In that fair form with beauty vie;  
 But ting'd with virgin diffidence,  
 And the soft blush of modesty.

Had I the treasures of the world,  
 All the sun views, or the seas borrow  
 (Else may I to the devil be hurl'd)  
 I'd lay them at her feet to-morrow.

But as we bards reap only bays,  
 Nor much of that, though nought grows on it;  
 I'll beat my brains to sound her praise,  
 And hammer them into a sonnet.

And if she deign one charming smile,  
 The blest reward of all my labours;  
 I'll never grudge my pains, or toil,  
 But pity the dull 'squires, my neighbours.

## S O N G.

**O**H! I'll reform; I will, I swear!  
 To Hymen I'll address my vows,  
 And I'll beget a son and heir,  
 And tend my sheep, and milk my cows,  
 And dose and fatten with my spouse!

And I'll grow fond of simple nature  
 Free from vain arts, and dull grimaces,  
 And doat upon each flatten'd feature,  
 Of rural love's athletic graces,  
 With mottled arms, and cherub faces.

And now the rustic toil I'll share,  
 And wield the fork, and trail the rake;  
 Now at the sermon sit and stare,  
 'Till dull observers shall mistake,  
 And fancy I am broad awake.

And I will taste the sportman's joys,  
 With hounds and guns pursue my prey;  
 And find such raptures in a noise,  
 That all the wond'ring 'squires shall say,  
 I am as wise and bless'd as they.

Then to the festive hall I'll pass,  
 And in the jovial chorus join;  
 And sick'ning o'er th' unfinish'd glafs,  
 Ill swear our pleasures are divine,  
 When dullness is improv'd by wine.

Yes, I'll reform! vain world adieu!  
 Henceforth, with rural joys content,  
 A life of reason I'll pursue,  
 Of all my former sins repent—  
 And die a cuckold and a saint.

*Mrs. MONTAGUE happening to fall at St. James's, the Day after her accident she received the following Lines written by Mr. JERNINGHAM.*

**Y**E radiant fair! ye Hebes of the day,  
 Who heedless laugh your little hour away,  
 Let Caution be your guide whene'er ye sport  
 Within the splendid precincts of the court:  
 Th' event of yesterday for prudence calls.—  
 'Tis dangerous treading where Minerva falls.

#### R O N D E A U.

**B**Y two black eyes my heart was won,  
 Sure never wretch was more undone!  
 To Cælia with my suit I came,  
 But she, regardless of her prize,  
 Thought proper to reward my flame  
 By two black eyes!

# P O E T R Y.

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## • *An* EXPOSTULATION.

**W**HEN late I attempted your pity to move,  
Why seem'd you so deaf to my prayers?  
Perhaps it was right to dissemble your love—  
But—why did you kick me down stairs?

## E P I T A P H.

**H**ERE is my much-lov'd Cælia laid,  
At rest from all her earthly labours!  
Glory to God! peace to the dead!  
And to the ears of all her neighbours!



ACCOUNT

## ACCOUNT of BOOKS for 1783.

*An Account of the History of the  
Reign of Philip the Third, King  
of Spain. By Robert Watson,  
LL.D. &c. &c.*

**T**HIS history is comprised in six books, of which the first four are printed verbatim from Dr. Watson's own manuscript; the two last are the production of the editor\*; to whom we think we are paying no trifling compliment, when we say that they may be read, and read with pleasure, although joined in the same work with the labours of Dr. Watson. He at least has so finished the piece as not to destroy the original design. The peculiar and characteristic excellence of Dr. Watson as an historian, consists in a most happy and judicious arrangement of his facts; in bringing every particular forward at the very moment it is wanted, and when it appears with the best effect. In this art, the editor is without doubt unequal to Dr. Watson; in this art, which gives a sort of consequence to the most trifling incidents in history, we know of no modern, and perhaps we might go farther back without impeaching the truth of our observation, and say we know of no antient historian equal to Dr. Watson.

The work now before us, must be in a peculiar manner acceptable to the public, as it comprehends, together with the History of Philip II. of Spain, by the same author, as interesting a period of time as ever existed either before or since. I mean that period, in which the United Provinces first threw off the Spanish yoke, and after a series of struggles during three-and-forty years, were at last acknowledged free and independent States, by the truce of Antwerp.

The first efforts of the United Provinces, the continual and imminent jeopardy they were in during the reign of Philip II. are circumstances which from their very nature and principle are better calculated to interest our feelings and passions, than the firm and solid situation in which we find them in the reign now under our consideration. Indeed, before we arrive at the commencement of the reign of Philip III. the United Provinces cease to be the object of our fears and apprehensions: what from the assistance of foreign powers, and what from the progressive increase of commerce and wealth, under such active regulations and good government, as always attend a state waxing

\* Dr. Thompson.



fast towards manhood, the Provinces present to our view, in the history now before us, a degree of internal strength and internal resources not to be overthrown by any one particular defeat, or by any one unfortunate campaign.

Philip III. with a disposition naturally weak, profuse, and improvident; with a prime minister (the Duke of Lerma) called by his master to that situation from a similarity in their temper and habits; with an army brave indeed, and sufficiently numerous, but mutinous for want of pay; was but an unlikely instrument to effect, against an enemy in its day of strength, what the vigour and vigilance of his father could not while in its very infancy. It is to the great military abilities of the Marquis of Spinola to which the Spaniards were indebted, for a while delaying the independence of the United Provinces: he removed to a little greater distance the truce of Antwerp, but he could do no more. Had indeed the management of the war in the Netherlands, on behalf of the Spaniards, only kept pace with the internal management of their affairs at home, something like the truce of Antwerp must have happened at a much earlier period. But that war, especially so much of it as is contained in the History of Philip III. whether we respect the variety it exhibits, the vigour and abilities of the commanders\* of both armies, or the object in dispute, is of as important and interesting a nature as any that history relates. It was attended by volunteers of the greatest rank and consequence from

almost all parts of Europe, and in short was the theatre where the greatest soldiers of that time were either actors or spectators.

The two first books of this History are chiefly taken up in relating those military operations, which render this war so celebrated.

In the third book Dr. Watson takes a most accurate survey of the origin and progress of the commercial affairs of the United Provinces, up to the period of which he is then treating, (viz. up to the year 1607) and which at that time had become so general and extensive as to threaten a total ruin and annihilation to the trade of Spain and Portugal, in the East Indies, China, Africa, and America. The produce of all these different parts of the globe were imported by Spain and Portugal, and the Dutch originally were only the carriers and distributors of these imports over the more northern parts of Europe; but through the impolitic restraint which was laid upon them in this particular, they were driven to explore these regions themselves. They formed companies for the support of their new channels of trade, and from distributors merely, became the importers in the first instance.

The evident superiority which the United Provinces had gained over their enemies by such rapid improvements in their commercial system, made a peace extremely necessary for the Spaniards, and more than counterbalanced all their successes under the Marquis of Spinola. This necessity was not a little increased by the famous victory of Heemskirk over the Spa-

\* Prince Maurice, and the Marquis of Spinola.

nish fleet in the bay of Gibraltar. That event brought things still nearer to a conclusion; and on the 9th of April, 1609, a truce was concluded at Antwerp for twelve years, the principal articles of which were, *the Spaniards acknowledging the independence and liberty of the revolted Provinces, and their right to trade in every part of India that was not under the dominion of the crown of Spain.*

The whole of the fourth book is taken up with an account of the Moriscos, and of their entire expulsion from Spain, where they had been settled upwards of 800 years. This dreadful revolution was effected principally through the means of Don John de Ribera, patriarch of Antioch, and archbishop of Valentia, and Don Bernardo de Rojas y Sandoval, brother to the Duke of Lerma, cardinal archbishop of Toledo, inquisitor general, and chancellor of Spain.

History cannot produce a more shocking scene of barbarity than the expulsion of these harmless people; not to speak of the want of all policy in annihilating such a body of the most needful manufacturers and mechanics in all Spain. Of the 140,000 that were expelled to Africa, Dr. Watson, from the best authorities concludes, that 100,000 perished either at sea, or by the famine, and the Bedouin Arabs, on the coast of Barbary.— But we shall here beg leave to give Dr. Watson's own words upon the subject.

“ Their exile from their native country, which justly excited in them the most bitter regret, and

gave them so much ground for anxiety with regard to their future fortune, was soon succeeded by still greater calamities. Great numbers were shipwrecked on their passage, and never reached the African coast; while many others were barbarously murdered at sea, by the crews of the ships which they had freighted. This latter calamity befel only those who had chosen to transport themselves in private ships; and instances are recorded of such inhuman cruelty exercised against this harmless, persecuted, and defenceless people, by the owners and crews of these ships, as equals any thing of the same kind of which we read in history. The men butchered in the presence of their wives and children; the women and children afterwards thrown alive into the sea; of the women, some, on account of their beauty, preserved alive for a few days to satiate the lust of the inhuman murderers of their husbands and brothers, and then either slaughtered or committed to the waves. Such were some of the horrid deeds of which these barbarians were convicted upon their trial, to which they were brought, in consequence of quarrelling with each other about the division of their prey; and such, if we may credit a contemporary historian, was the unhappy fate of a great number of the Moriscos\*.

“ Nor was the fate of the greater part of those who reached the coast of Barbary less deplorable. They had no sooner landed on this barren inhospitable shore, than they were attacked by the Bedouin A-

\* Fonseca.

rabs, a wild banditti who live in tents, and support themselves by hunting and by plunder. The Morescoes, unarmed, and incumbered with their wives and children, were often robbed by these barbarians, who came upon them in numerous bodies, amounting sometimes to five or six thousand men; and, as often as the Morescoes attempted, with stones and slings, their only arms, to make resistance, put great numbers of them to the sword. Still greater numbers perished of fatigue and hunger, joined to the inclemencies of the weather, from which they had no means of shelter, during their tedious journey through the African deserts, to Mostagan, Algiers, and other places, where they hoped to be permitted to take up their residence. Few of them ever arrived at these places. Of six thousand, who set out together from Conastal, a town in the neighbourhood of Oran, with an intention of going to Algiers, a single person only, of the name of Pedralvi, survived the disasters to which they were exposed; and of the whole hundred and forty thousand, who were at this time transported to Africa, there is ground to believe, from the concurring testimony of persons who had access to know the truth, that more than a hundred thousand men, women, and children, suffered death in its most hideous forms, within a few months after their expulsion from Valentia\*."

Those who endeavoured to defend themselves at home, or to escape by dispersing themselves amongst the woods and rocks, met

with no better fate. They were cut to pieces, without mercy or distinction shewn either to age or sex. "Upwards of 3,000 perished," says Dr. Watson, "The number of those who had surrendered was 22,000, who were all soon after transported to Africa, except the children under seven years of age, whom the soldiers were permitted to sell for slaves." Such as lay hid had a price put upon their heads, and were hunted down by the soldiers like so many wild beasts.

Sully in his *Memoirs* speaks somewhat at large of this transaction, and mentions the emissaries Henry the Fourth of France sent into Spain to learn the true state and strength of the Morescoes. The views which that monarch had with regard to Spain at that period would have been exceedingly gratified, could he have given the Morescoes any effectual succour, or enabled them to contend with the Spaniards. But he found them, both from the local situation in the country, (namely on the coast, where they would have wanted a fleet to protect them) and from their peaceable habits of life, without forts or strong places in their possession, incapable of that assistance he would have wished to have given. What Sully says touching this business is not noticed by Dr. Watson; but whether from his not thinking it material, or that he had not finished all he would have said on the subject had he lived, we cannot tell. The expulsion of the Morescoes took place the latter end of the year 1609.

The two remaining books are the production of the editor,

\* Fonseca, Gonzalez Davila, p. 146.

The first, after touching upon the views which Henry the Fourth of France entertained respecting a general settlement of Europe on the ruins of the house of Austria—his death—the succession of his son\*—and the intermarriage† betwixt the two crowns of France and Spain, proceeds to treat of the war betwixt Charles Emanuel Duke of Savoy, and the court of Spain. The origin of this war was the Duke of Savoy's claiming the sovereignty of Montserrat upon the death of Francis Gonzaga Duke of Mantua, in 1612.

The energy and conduct of Charles Emanuel during this war with the Spaniards, (which, after three years, terminated honourably for the duke in the treaty of Asti) is set forth in an interesting manner by the editor, from whom we shall beg leave to lay before our readers an extract, in which he has given the character of the Duke of Savoy in a marked and spirited manner.

“ Charles Emanuel did not disgrace, but on the contrary, added lustre to the dignity of his birth. Nature, which had formed this prince of a weakly constitution of body, adorned his soul with a splendid variety of talents and virtues; and these the parental care of Philibert, renowned for his victory over the French at St. Quintin, exalted and matured by a learned and liberal education. The writings of antiquity, so full of heroic actions and rapid conquests, nourished the natural ardour of his mind, and inspired an emulation

of the ancient heroes of Italy. Together with that intrepidity of spirit which delights in pursuing great designs, he possessed in an eminent degree those qualities which are requisite in order to carry them into execution; political conduct, and military prowess. His courage was not of that calm and equal kind which is connected with firmness of nerves, and which characterizes the warriors of the North. But, being derived from that vigour of imagination, and sensibility of frame peculiar to southern climates, it was ardent and impetuous. His genius also, like that of the warmer climates, was fertile even to excess, and prone to subtlety and refinement. From a temper so sanguine, and an imagination so luxuriant, he derived an elasticity of spirit that rose under misfortunes; whence, though sometimes defeated, and often disappointed, he was never discouraged. His resources were endless: for there could not be a conjuncture in which the superiority of his genius could not find some favourable opportunity of practising on the passions, and managing the hopes, and fears, and follies of men. So various were his stratagems of policy and of war, that the most penetrating of his contemporaries professed themselves unable to form any probable conjecture concerning his designs. Something, however, of the vast unbounded characterized his conduct, the ardour of his inventive genius engaging him not unfre-

\* Lewis XIII.

† Elizabeth of France and the Prince of Spain, and Lewis XIII. and Anne of Austria.

quently in projects beyond his utmost power to accomplish \*. Nor were the powers of his capacious mind wholly absorbed in schemes of ambition. Whatever was elegant or great touched his soul, and he was prone to the pleasures of society and love. He was a friend to men of letters, a patron of all the arts, an enthusiastic admirer and bountiful rewarder of merit of every kind. And the greatness of his mind was so happily tempered with benignity and grace, that the engaging affability of his noble deportment alleviated in the breasts of his subjects the hardships which they suffered through his restless ambition. On the whole, it is difficult to conceive that qualities so opposite should co-exist in the same person: so great boldness with such deep design; such loftiness of spirit with such sweetness of demeanour; such ardour of mind with so much subtlety, and such profound dissimulation †."

If any thing, the editor is perhaps too diffuse in his style; and appears more so when compared with Dr. Watson, who, while he is sufficiently copious as to his facts, is in his manner of relating them wonderfully plain and compressed.

This book concludes with an account of the Spanish conspiracy against Venice; the chief instruments of which were the Marquis of Bedmar, Marquis of Villa Franca, and the Duke d'Osuna. From what particular accident this most

extraordinary conspiracy failed, the historians who have wrote upon it are not at all agreed. But a scheme, although ingenious and plausible in the abstract, yet so complex in its nature and operation as the plot in question, and requiring such a nice concurrence of circumstances, cannot be said to have threatened the state of Venice with such imminent danger, as the writers of that day seem to be impressed with.

The last book, after relating the fall of the Duke of Lerma, prime minister of Spain, and the tragical end of his favourite the Count of Oliva, proceeds to give an account of the war which originated from the revolted Bohemians choosing Frederic, elector palatine of the Rhine, for their king, in preference to the house of Austria, and which may be said to have finally terminated in the peace of Westphalia. The book concludes with a very minute account of the death of Philip the Third.

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*An Account of Dissertations moral and critical, by James Beattie, LL. D. &c. &c.*

THESE are few writers upon critical and moral subjects, from whom the world would be inclined to expect more than from Dr. Beattie. His Essay on Truth, of which there is an account in our Annual Register of 1771, ranks him extremely high in the repub-

\* *Vastus animus immoderata, incredibilia, nimis alta semper cupiebat.* Sallust.

† In this singular character there is not a trait unsupported by the testimony of cotemporary historians, who all of them mention this prince with an admiration which could not have been excited but by the most amazing talents. See *Bellum Sabaudicum*, &c. Alfonso Loschi; Bartistia Nani; *Siri Memoire recueillies*; *Le Mercure Francois*; *Histoire de la Regence de Marie de Medicis*, &c. &c.

lic of letters, and has left him more than an ordinary reputation to support.

The present work now under our consideration, and which is entitled, *Dissertations Moral and Critical*, consists of separate and distinct essays, which were delivered by Dr. Beattie in a course of lectures, given by him in his official character, as Professor of Moral Philosophy in the university of Aberdeen. This Dr. Beattie premises in his preface, in order to account for that degree of familiarity, and diffuseness of manner and expression, which may here and there occur to the reader, and which in some, but in some only, of the essays, we must say are certainly very observable.

Perhaps no subject requires, or becomes, a more cultivated style, or a greater nicety of arrangement, than disquisitions of the nature of these in question: and when such a person, as the author of the Essay on Truth, gratifies the public with his labours, and upon subjects, of which he is allowed to be, and is, in a particular manner the master, we wish and we expect to find something, as well in style as in matter, as near perfection as the subject to be discussed will allow of. For from the hands of no person has this species of philosophical criticism ever come in so favourable a shape as from Dr. Beattie. Independent of the learning and taste with which subjects of this nature are discussed by him, there is a benevolence, a philanthropy, and a strain of morality, which runs through all his works, which must ever endear him to all honest and wise men.

But to return to the work before us. The first dissertation treats of

the difference between memory and imagination, and of memory and imagination respectively. In treating of the difference between memory and imagination, he confutes what has been sufficiently confuted before, the theory "that all our livelier ideas are referred to memory, and our fainter to imagination."—He next proceeds to the phenomena and laws of memory, and therein considers the importance of an habitual attention. "The act of memory," he says, "is attention. Without this one reads and hears to no purpose. And we shall be more or less profited by what we read or hear, as the subjects we read or hear are more or less important." The different powers and degrees of memory in different persons are next considered, and the methods of improving the natural state of that faculty by attention, recollection, writing, conversation, &c.—he advises at the same time, and gives direction with respect to delivering sermons from memory. He concludes this subject with remarks on the memory of brutes, and draws certain inferences therefrom respecting the dignity of our nature. With regard to the real extent of memory in the brute creation it is difficult, nay, perhaps impossible, to determine. Dr. Beattie himself, in this respect, has left the subject pretty much where he found it. That there is an inexpressible distance between the intellectual faculties of man and those of the brute creation, who can doubt? But to endeavour to ascertain the precise limits of those of either, is neither a very easy, or very necessary enquiry.

The treatise on imagination undoubtedly



doubtedly displays a great deal of learning and ability on the subject on which it is written; but it is not arranged in a form so regular and compressed as perhaps becomes a systematic performance.—Had Dr. Beattie originally intended his labours for the public, we should probably, in this part of his work, have found a more scrupulous attention to method. After giving a general account of imagination, he proceeds to treat of the principles of the association of ideas, as connected with that faculty; these he resolves into resemblance, contrariety, nearness of situation, the relation of cause and effect, and custom and habit. Speaking of the associating principle of habit or custom, Dr. Beattie is led to investigate the origin of our ideas on beauty, upon this principle. Or, as he expresses it himself, “from associations founded in habit, many, or perhaps most of those pleasing emotions are derived, which accompany the perception of what in things visible is called Beauty: those *colours, figures, gestures, and motions*, being for the most part accounted beautiful, which convey to the mind pleasurable ideas; and those ugly, or not beautiful, which impart suggestions of an opposite or different nature.” These sources of beauty he illustrates by a variety of apposite examples.

The chapter on Taste stands next in order.—To define this quality of the mind, Dr. Beattie enumerates those faculties and talents which must be united in the person who possesses it.—“To be a person of taste,” he says, “it seems necessary that one have, first, a lively and correct imagination; secondly, the power of distinct ap-

prehension; thirdly, the capacity of being easily, strongly, and agreeably affected, with sublimity, beauty, harmony, exact imitation, &c. fourthly sympathy or sensibility of heart; and, fifthly, judgment, or good sense, which is the principal thing, and may not very improperly be said to comprehend all the rest.” What is said on this subject under the fifth requisite to form good taste, namely judgment, or good sense, we shall beg leave, to lay before our readers.

“The last thing mentioned as necessary to form good taste, is judgment, or good sense; which is indeed the principle thing; and which some would consider, as comprehending most of the foregoing particulars. By judgment, I here understand such a constitution of mind, as disposes a man to attend to the reality of things, and qualifies him for knowing and discovering the truth. It is by means of this faculty, as applied in criticism, that we compare poetical imitations with natural objects, so as to perceive in what they resemble, and in what they differ; that we estimate the rectitude of sentiments, the probability of incidents, and whether fictitious characters be similar to those of real life, and consistent with themselves, and whether any *part* of a composition be unsuitable to the tendency of the whole. Hence too we discern, with respect to the plan of a work, whether it be simple and natural, or confused and unnatural; and whether the author has been careful to make it, both in the general arrangement, and in the structure of each part, conformable to rule.

“Left this should be misunderstood, I must repeat an observation, which



which I have elsewhere had occasion to make; that, in almost every art, two sorts of rules have obtained authority; the *Essential*, and the *Ornamental*. The former result from the very nature of the work, and are necessary to the accomplishment of the end proposed by the artist. The latter depend rather upon established custom, than upon nature; and claim no higher origin, than the practice of some great performer, whom it has become the fashion to imitate. To violate an *essential* rule, discovers want of sense in an author, and consequently want of taste: for where sense is not, taste cannot be. To depart from an *ornamental* or mechanical rule, may be consistent with the soundest judgment, and is sometimes a proof both of good taste and of great genius.

Great wits sometimes may gloriously offend,  
And rise to faults true critics dare not  
mend:—

—From vulgar bounds with brave disorder  
part,  
And snatch a grace beyond the reach of art.

I am the more anxious to mark, and to dwell on this distinction, because the French criticks\* in general seem to have no notion of it. What is contrary to established rule, or to fashion, they condemn as contrary to taste, without enquiring further. The consequence is, that, according to them, French authors only can write in taste, because no other authors write in the French fashion: and Shakespeare's plays must be absurd farces, and their author a

barbarian, because they happen to be framed upon a plan, and in a style, which the critics of Paris have never acknowledged to be good. Criticism has been thought an entertaining, and useful part, of the philosophy of mind: but, upon this principle, is as much beyond the reach, or below the notice, of rational inquiry, as modes of hair-dressing, or patterns of shoe-buckles.

“ The following are some of the essential rules of composition, which must not be violated on any account.

“ 1. In philosophy and history, the strictest regard is to be had to truth, in the detail of facts; and the inferences are to be made according to common sense, and the rules of sound reasoning.

“ 2. In works of fiction, a like regard is to be had to probability; and no events are to be introduced, but such as, according to the general opinion of the people to whom they are addressed, may be supposed to happen.

“ 3. Fictitious characters ought to speak and act suitably to their supposed condition, age, rank, and other circumstances; and to the passions, and sentiments, that are said to occupy their minds.

“ 4. External objects are to be described, both in history, and in poetry, as they are found to be in nature. The poet, however, is not obliged to enumerate all their qualities, but those only that are necessary for his purpose.

\* I should have said, the French criticks of the present age. Few nations have produced more learned men than France. I speak here, not of the Stevens, the Daciers, the Rollins, the Fenelons; but of those writers, who have learned from Voltaire to censure because they envy, and to criticise what they do not understand.

“ 5. An author’s style must always be perspicuous, and fit to convey a full view of his meaning to an attentive reader ; and so contrived as not to hurt, but to please the ear, when it is pronounced.— But in every sort of style, the same degree of perspicuity, or of harmony, is not to be expected.

“ 6. Every composition, whether long or short, from an Epick poem or tragedy, down to a sermon or short essay, ought to have some one end in view ; and all its parts must be so disposed, as to promote that end. If it have no end, it has no meaning ; if more ends than one, it may confound the attention by its multiplicity : if any of its parts be unserviceable, or repugnant to its final purpose, they are superfluous or irregular, and ought to have been lopped off, or corrected. Of this unity of design, Homer’s two poems are perfect models. Each contains a great variety of action, conversation, and adventure : but every thing, in the one, tends to the re-establishment of Ulysses in his kingdom, and, in the other, to display the anger of Achilles, and its lamentable consequences.

“ 7. Every composition ought to have a moral tendency, or at least to be innocent. That mind is perverted, which can either produce an immoral book, or be pleased with one. Virtue and good taste are so nearly allied, that what offends the former, can never gratify the latter.

“ 8. As, in every nation, certain customs of long standing acquire in time the authority of law ; so, in

every art, there are rules, which, though one might have called them discretionary or indifferent at their first introduction, come at length, after having been invariably observed by the best authors, to be considered as essential. One example will explain this. Homer, who invented, or at least who perfected, Epick poetry, adopted in both his poems that measure of verse which is called Hexameter. That he might without blame have adopted another, will hardly be questioned. His choice therefore was arbitrary. But, as it was a lucky choice ; and as the practice of Homer became in this respect a law to the poets of antiquity ; the hexameter is now, and was in the time of Horace\*, and probably long before, held to be indispensable in all Greek and Latin poems of the Epick kind.—For the same reason, partly ; and partly, as Aristotle observes, because it is too elaborate, and unlike the cadence of conversation. Hexameter verse would not be tolerated in the Greek or Latin drama ; the Iambick, Trochaick, and Anapestick measures, having been adopted by the best authors, in the ancient tragedy and comedy. And, in like manner, if an English author, in an Epick or dramatic poem, were to attempt any other form of verse, than our Iambick of five feet, he would be thought to transgress a rule, which, though at first a matter of indifference, is now, after having been established by the practice of Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, and all our great poets, become essential and unalterable.

\* Hor. Ar. Poet. vers. 73.

" I shall now give an instance or two, of the ornamental or mechanical laws of composition.

" 1. That a regular tragedy, or comedy, should consist of five acts, and neither more nor fewer, is a rule, for which it would be difficult to assign any better reason than this, that it has been followed by good authors, and is recommended by Horace. Nor has this rule been invariably followed. The Italian opera, which, as reformed by Metastasio, is a most beautiful species of dramatic poem, consists of but three acts: and we have, in English, many good plays, both serious and comical, divided in the same manner; and some of only two acts, and some even of one. It is true, that a dramatic piece ought not to be too long, because it would fatigue the spectator as well as the actor; nor too short, because it would not be sufficiently interesting: it is reasonable too, that some intervals should be allowed in the representation, for the relief both of the players, and of the audience: but that this purpose could not be answered by five intervals, or three, as well as by four, is a point, which I apprehend it would be difficult to prove.

" 2. Most of the French and Greek tragedians observe *the unities of time and place*: that is, they suppose every part of the action to have happened in the same place, because it is all represented on the same stage; and they limit the time of it to a few hours, because the representation is of no longer continuance. Unity of place is violated, when the scene changes from one place to another, from a house to the street, from the town to the country, or from one town

or country to another. Unity of time is broken through, when the incidents of the fable are such, as could not have fallen out within a few hours, or at least within the space of one day and one night.

" The observance of these unities may in some cases, no doubt, heighten the probability of the action: but they lay a mighty restraint upon an author's genius; and they may give rise to improbabilities as great as any of those that can be occasioned by the neglect of them. If the subject of the play be a conspiracy, for example, and the scene of action the street, then, if unity of place be held essential, the conspirators must conduct their affairs in the street, so as to be seen and heard by every body; a very unlikely circumstance, and what, one may venture to say, can never happen. Surely, most audiences would be better pleased, and think the whole more natural, if, on such an emergency, the scene were to change from the street to a private apartment.

" The improbabilities, occasioned by disregarding these unities, are not so great as some people imagine. While we sit in the theatre, it is as easy for us to reconcile our minds to the shifting of the scene from the town to the country, or from one country to another; as it is, at our entrance, to suppose the stage a certain place in Rome or Egypt. And, if we can persuade ourselves, that the player, whom we see, and whose name and person we know, has on a sudden become Cato, or Cæsar, or any other ancient hero; we may as well believe, that the evening which we pass in the play-house comprehends the space of several days or years.

" But

" But in fact, there is not, in dramatical representation, that strict probability which the criticks talk of. We never mistake the actor for the person whose character he bears; we never imagine ourselves in a foreign country, or carried back into the ages of antiquity: our pleasure is derived from other sources; and from this chiefly, that we know the whole to be a fiction. —The unities of time and place are violated by Shakespeare, in every one of his plays. He often shifts the scene from one country to another: and the time of his action is not always limited to days or weeks, but extends frequently to months, and even to years. Yet these irregularities are not offensive to those who understand him. And hence, I think, we may infer, that the rule, which enjoins the dramatick poet to a rigid observance of the unities of time and place, is not an essential, but a mechanical rule of composition\*.

" As to the improvement of taste in this particular;—I shall only remark, that whatever tends to correct, and methodise, our knowledge, either of men or of things, is to be considered as a means of improving the judgment. History, geometry, and grammar; and those parts of philosophy, which convey clear ideas, and are attended with satisfactory proof, are eminently useful in this respect;—to which must be added such an acquaintance with life and manners, as fits a man of business and conversation. Idleness, and habits of superficial study, are ruinous to the under-

standing; as I have often remarked already, but can hardly repeat too often. And nothing is more detrimental to taste, and to judgment, than those subtleties of ancient and modern metaphysics that encourage verbal controversy, and lead to nothing but doubt and darkness. They exhaust the vigour of the mind to no purpose; they extinguish the love of good learning; they withdraw the attention from the concerns of human life, and from those things in art and nature, that warm the heart, and elevate the fancy: they pervert the rational powers, they corrupt good principles, and they poison the sources of human happiness.

" Taste, as far as it depends on the knowledge of rules, may be further improved, by reading good books of criticism, and comparing them with the authors whom they illustrate. Sound judgment, however, we must acknowledge to be in a great measure constitutional: and no person will ever acquire true taste, unless nature has made him a man of sense "

In the 5th chapter, Dr. Beattie finishes his dissertation on the Imagination, by giving the reader a variety of practical and moral lessons for the better regulation of this faculty.

The Essay on Dreaming has for some time been in the hands of the public; having been introduced into *The Mirror*. The subject of this essay is of such a nature as seems to elude our most accurate researches; and we can only say,

\* See Johnson's Preface to Shakespeare; and Callabigi's *Dissertazione su le Poesie Drammatiche del S. A. P. Metastasio*.

that the account here given is as satisfactory and rational as any other we have met with.

The dissertation on the Theory of Language, which we now come to, is a work, in our opinion, of the greatest merit and consequence in the whole book, and finished throughout in a manner worthy of its author. Dr. Beattie has in this treatise analyzed our language with such a critical acumen, and with such an accurate perception of its structure, as displays the most intimate acquaintance with its principles.

The first part treats of the origin and general nature of speech. The second part of universal grammar.

We are sorry the limits of our work will not allow us to enter so minutely into the different parts of this dissertation as we could wish. We cannot however help laying before our readers what he says concerning the measure of English verse, and of its being regulated solely by *emphasis*.

This theory is as agreeable to truth, as it is peculiarly ingenious.

“But on what” says he, “does the measure of English verse depend?—Some have said, on the number or syllables. But that is a mistake.—The three following lines are of the same lambick species; and yet, the first consists of ten, the second of nine, and the third of eight, syllables:

And many a youth, and many a maid,  
Were dancing in the neighbouring shade,  
In holiday attire array'd.

Of these four lines the first and third have eight syllables, and the second and fourth have nine; yet the measure is the same throughout;

Yet do not my folly reprove;

She was fair, and my passion begun;  
She smiled, and I could not but love;  
She is faithless, and I am undone.

The four that follow might all stand in the same verse of the same song, and be sung to the same tune, though in the first there are eleven syllables, in the second twelve, thirteen in the third, and fourteen in the last.

And when I am gone, may the better sort  
say,  
He had sense, he was modest, and harmlessly  
gay,  
And a kind, unaffected, and good honest  
fellow,  
In the morning when sober, in the evening  
when mellow.

Our heroick verse, too, may consist of ten syllables (which is the simplest and most common form of it) or of eleven, or of twelve: as,

Arms and the man I sing, who forced by  
fate.—

Bellowing along the plains the monster  
ran.—

Many a wide lawn, and many a waving  
grove.---

The following has been given, as a heroick line of fourteen syllables,

And many an humorous, many an amou-  
rous lay.

And, admitting a supernumerary syllable, the second line of this couplet might be tolerated, though it has fifteen:

The hapless poet pen'd, alas! for pity,  
Full many an amorous, many a querulous  
ditty.

“It has indeed been thought by some criticks, that in our heroick verse, when the syllables exceed ten in number, there must be redundant vowels, which in reading are suppressed or cut off, and instead of which, in printed books, the apostrophe is often inserted.

But,

But, whatever be the case in printing, and writing, this is contrary to the practice of all good readers; who pronounce every syllable distinctly, and by so doing gratify our ear much more than if they had made the supposed elisions. For, how ridiculous would it be, if one were to read the last line thus!

Full man' an am'rous man' a quer'lous ditty.

This might indeed be called measure, but it could not be called English.

“Some have imagined, that the rhythm of our verse depends, like that of the Greek and Latin, not upon the number, but upon the *quantity*, of syllables. And it is true, that an English heroick line may be made up of a short and long syllable five times repeated; in which case we may say, without any impropriety, that it is a pure Iambick of five feet: as,

Deſpair rēvenge, rēmōrſe torment thē  
sōul:

But it is no less true, that an English heroick line *may* be composed, wherein there shall not be one long syllable, except the last: as,

The busy bodies flutter tattle still.

Whatever may be said of this line in other respects, it will at least be allowed to be of the English heroick species: and yet, if we were to pronounce the second, fourth, sixth, and eighth syllables as if they were long, the articulation would be ridiculous:

The buzz-y bode-ies flutt-er tatt-le still.

I grant, that those heroick lines, which abound in syllables that are at once emphatical and short, are not so proper for expressing sentiments or images of dignity; yet still they

are of the heroick species; and no critick will say, that they are inconsistent with rule, or not justifiable by authority.

“On what then does the measure of English verses depend? Not on the *number* of the syllables, as we have seen: nor on their *quantity*; since an English heroick line may consist of five short and five long syllables, or of nine short and one long syllable.—In fact, this matter is regulated by the *emphasis*. In our verse, there must be in every foot one emphatick syllable, whether long or short. And the alternate succession of emphatick and non emphatick syllables is as essential to English numbers, as that of long and short is to the Latin and Greek.—Thus in that line,

The busy bodies flutter tattle still,

though there is not one long syllable till you come to the end, there are five emphatick syllables, each of them preceded by a syllable of no emphasis. And in the other line,

Despair, remorse, revenge, torment the soul,  
there are also five emphatick syllables, each preceded by a non-emphatick syllable.

“In what respect, then, do these two lines (which are allowed to be of the same species) resemble each other, and in what respect do they differ? They differ in this respect, that one is made up of short and long syllables alternately disposed, while the other has in it only one long syllable: they agree in this, that both the one and the other is composed of non-emphatick and emphatick syllables placed alternately. It follows, that, though long and short, or short and long,



tinued through any great number of lines; though in the following example it has a very good effect. It consists of two iambuses.

With rāvīsh'd ēārs  
The monarch hears,  
Assumes the God,  
Affects to nod.

It sometimes takes, or may take, an additional short syllable; as,

Upōn ā mōūntāin  
Beside a fountain.

“ 3. The third form consists of three iambuses:

Nō wār, ōr bātāl's sōund,  
Was heard the world a-round.

with sometimes an additional short syllable; as,

Yē lāys nō lōngēr lāngūish,  
For nought can cure my anguish.

“ 4. The fourth form is made up of four iambuses, with sometimes an additional syllable, which gives a pleasing variety.

Or whēthēr, ās sōme sāgēs sīng,  
The frolick wind, that breathes the  
spring,  
Young Zephyr with Aurora playing,  
&c.

This measure, which we use both in burlesque and in serious poetry, is the same with the Iambic Dimeter of the antients; whereof, in its purest form, this is an example:

Inārsīt āēstūōsīūs.

“ 5. The fifth species of English Iambick is no other than our common measure for heroick poetry and tragedy. In its purest or simplest form it consists of five iambuses.

Thē dūmb shall sīng, thē lāme his  
crutch fōregō:

But by the admission of other feet, as trochees, dactyls, and anapests, is capable of more than thirty varieties. Indeed, most of our com-

mon measures may be varied in the same way, as well as by the different position of their pauses. And such varieties, when skilfully introduced, give wonderful energy to English, Greek, and Latin numbers; and have, for this reason, been studiously sought after by Homer, Virgil, Milton, Dryden, and all other harmonious poets: variety being the soul of harmony, and nothing in language or in musick more tiresome to the ear than an uniform sameness of sound and measure. Our heroick verse is sometimes lengthened out by an additional short syllable, and then becomes nearly the same with that of the modern Italians.

'Tis Heaven itself that points out an  
hereafter.—

Che 'l gran sepolchro libero di Christo.

But in English, this is more common in blank verse, than in rhyme; and in tragedy, than in the epick or didactick poem; and among tragedians it is less fashionable now than it was formerly.

“ 6. The sixth form of our Iambick is commonly called the Alexandrine measure; because, say the critics, (but on what authority I know not) it was first used in a poem called Alexander. It consists of six iambuses.

Fōr thōū ārt bāt ōf dūst; bē hūmblē,  
and bē wīse.

It is introduced sometimes in heroick rhyme; and, when sparingly, and with judgment, occasions an agreeable variety.

Waller was smooth; but Dryden taught  
to join

The varying verse, the full resounding  
line,

The long majestick march, and energy  
divine.

Spenser

is not the case, if we call that foot a *trochee* (for example) which consists of an emphatick and non-emphatick syllable, both of them short, as *body*, we do not depart from the original meaning of words more than is frequently done, without blame, on other occasions.

“ In fact, the customs of different countries are so different, that when we borrow words from a foreign tongue, it is not always possible to confine them to their primitive sense. With us, an *advocate* is one who pleads a cause in a court of judicature. An advocate in ancient Rome was one, who assisted with his countenance and advice the person who was obliged to appear before the judges, whether he spoke in his behalf or not.

“ Let us then have our trochees, iambuses, and anapests, and our trochaick, iambick, and anapestick measures: only let it be remembered, that, in English prosody, a trochee is either a long and short, (as *lowly*), or an emphatick and non-emphatick, syllable, (as *body*); an iambus, the reverse, as *renown*, *repel*; an anapest, an Iambus preceded by a short syllable, as *magazine*; and a dactyl, a trochee followed by a short syllable, as *thunderer*, *profligate*.

“ As our poetical numbers depend upon the alternate succession of emphatick and non-emphatick syllables, it may be proper, before I proceed to the subject of *accent*, to give some account of the various sorts of measure, that have been established in English poetry; in describing which, I must be understood to use the words trochee, iambus, dactyl, and anapest, in the sense just now explained. And I shall take the liberty to mark our

*rhythmical emphasis*, and the want of it, by the same characters, which in Latin prosody denote *long* and *short* syllables.

“ English poetical measure may be divided into four kinds, Dactylick, Iambick, Trochaick, and *Anapestick*.

“ I. The Dactylick measure being very uncommon, I shall give only one example of one species of it, which I find in Dryden's *Albion and Albanus*.

From the low palace of old father  
Ocean

Come we in pity your cares to deplore;  
Sea-racing dolphins are train'd for our  
motion,

Moony tides swelling to roll us ashore.

“ II. The Iambick is of all measures the most natural; for, as Aristotle observes, we often fall into it in our ordinary discourse. Greek and Latin hexameters, and our own trochaick and anapestick numbers, are more artificial, because more unlike the cadences of conversation. Our Iambicks we may subdivide into species, according to the number of feet or syllables whereof they consist; and I shall follow the same rule of arrangement in describing the other measures.

“ 1. The shortest form of the English Iambick consists of an iambus, with an additional short syllable; as,

Disdaining,  
Complaining,  
Consenting,  
Repenting.

We have no poem of this measure, but it may be met with in stanzas. The example is taken from a song in the mask of *Comus*,

“ 2. The second form of our Iambick is also too short to be continued

ballad: the measure is very uncommon.

" 3. The third species consists of three trochees;

When the seas were roaring,

Phyllis lay deploring:

or of three trochees with an additional long syllable;

Thēē thē vōice thē dānce ōbēy.

This is often mixed with the Iambick of four feet, and makes an agreeable variety, when judiciously introduced, as in the *Allegro* and *Penseroso* of Milton;

*Iamb.* But come, thou goddess fair and free,  
In heaven ycleped Euphrosyne.

*Troch.* Come, and trip it as you go;  
On the light fantastick toe.

" 4. The fourth Trochaick species consists of four trochees:

Dāys ōf ēāse ānd nīghts ōf plēāsūre.

Which followed alternately by the preceding, forms a beautiful Lyrick verse, whereof we have a specimen in one of the finest ballads in the English language:

As near Pōrtōbēllō lying On the  
gēntly swēlling flōōd

At midnight with streamers flying Our  
triumphant navy rode.

It is remarkable, that (as Mr. West has somewhere observed) the same measure occurs in the Greek tragedians, as in this of Euripides:

\* Προκυνὸς ἄναξ νομοῖσι βαρβαροῖσι προσπῶν.

And there is an elegant Latin poem called *Pervigilium Veneris*, commonly ascribed to Catullus; of which, allowing for some varieties incident to the Latin Trochaick verse, the measure is the same:

Ver novum, ver jam canorum; vere nubent  
alites;

Vere concordant amores; vere natus orbis est.

With an additional long syllable; out fourth Trochaick species would be as follows:

Idlē āftēr dīnnēr, īn hīs chāīr,

Sat a farmer, ruddy, fat, and fair.

But this measure is very uncommon.

" 5. So is the fifth Trochaick species, consisting of five trochees; whereof I do not remember to have seen a specimen in any printed poem.

Āll thāt wālk ōn fōōt ōr rīde īn chā-  
riōts,

All that dwell in palaces or garrets.

This sort of verse, with an additional long syllable, might be thus exemplified:

Plēāsānt wās thē mōrning and thē  
mōnth wās May,

Colin went to London in his best array.

Some Scotch ballads are in this measure; but I know not whether I have ever seen a specimen in English.

6. " The sixth form of the pure or English trochees; whereof the following couplet is an example:

On ā mōūntāin strēch'd bēnēath ā  
hōary willōw

Lay a shepherd swain, and view'd the  
rolling billow;

which is, I think, the longest Trochaick line that our language admits of.

" IV. The shortest possible Anapestick verse must be a single anapest:

Būt īn vāīn

They complain.

But this measure is ambiguous: for, by laying the emphasis on the first and third syllables, we might make it Trochaick. And therefore the first and simplest form of our

\* Προκυνὸς ὁ ἀναξ νομοῖσι βαρβαροῖσι προσπῶν.

anapestick verse is made up of two anapests :

Büt his cōūrāge gān fāil,  
For no no arts could avail.

or of two anapests with an additional short syllable :

Thēn his cōūrāge gān fāil him  
For nō arts could avail him.

“ 2. The second consists of three anapests :

With hēr mīēn shē ēnamōurs the brāve,  
With her wit she engages the free,  
With her modesty pleases the grave;  
She is every way pleasing to me.

This is a delightful measure, and much used in pastoral songs. Shenstone's ballad in four parts, from which the example is quoted, is an exquisite specimen: So is the Scotch ballad of *I weedside*, and Rowe's *Despairing beside a clear stream*; which last is perhaps the finest love-song in the world. And that the same measure is well suited to burlesque, appears from the very humorous ballad called *The tippling Philosophers*; which begins thus, *Diogenes surly and proud*, &c.—Observe, that this, like all the other anapestick forms, often (indeed for the most part) takes an iambus in the first place,

Dēspāiring bēsīde ā clear strēām;  
and formerly in the first and third,  
Grīm kīng ōf the ghōsts, make hāste,  
And bring hither all your train:

But this last variety is unpleasing to a modern ear.—With an additional short syllable, it is as follows :

Sāys my ūncle, ī prāy yōu discōvēr  
Why you pine and you whine like a lover;

which, used alternately with the preceding, makes the measure of the witty ballad of Molly Mog, written by Gay, and often imitated.

“ 3. The third form of the pure

English Anapestick consists of four anapests :

At thē clōse ōf thē dāy whēn thē  
hāmlēt is fīll.—

If I live to grow old, as I find I go down.—

This measure, which resembles the French herbick verse, is common in English songs and ballads, and other short compositions both comical and serious. It admits a short syllable at the end,

On the cold cheek of Death smiles and roses  
are blending;

and sometimes also between the second and third foot,

In the mōrning whēn sūbēr, in the  
ēvening whēn mōllōw :

which is the longest form of the regular Anapestick in the English language.

“ To one or other of these seven Iambick, six Trochaick, and three Anapestick, species, every line of English poetry, if we except those few that are composed of dactyls, may be reduced. I have given only the simplest form of each. The several licences or variations, that these simple forms admit of, might be without difficulty enumerated; but I cannot at present enter into the niceties of English prosody.

“ Sidney endeavoured to bring in English hexameters, and has given specimens of them in the *Arcadia*. And Wallis, in his grammar, translates a Latin hexameter,

Quid faciam ? moriar ? et Amyntam perdet  
Amyntas ?

into an English one,

What shall I do ? shall I die ? shall Amyntas  
murder Amyntas ?

Mr. Walpole, in his catalogue of  
Royal

Royal and Noble authors, ascribes the following to Queen Elizabeth :

Perfius a crabstaff, bawdy Martial, Ovid  
a fine wag.

But this sort of verse has never obtained any footing in our poetry : and I think I could prove, from the peculiarities of its rhythm, that it never can."

The three remaining essays are of a nature much less abstruse, and less complicated with those subtleties which are almost inseparable from subjects of a scientific nature, than any of the foregoing dissertations.

The first is on *Fable and Romance*, the second on the *Attachment of Kindred*, and the third contains *Illustrations on Sublimity*. In the first of these, after some general remarks on *ancient and Oriental prose fable*, he proceeds to *modern prose fable*, which he divides into four classes. 1. The historical allegory ; 2. The moral allegory ; 3. The poetical and serious fable ; 4. The poetical and comic fable, of which the two last he comprehends under the general term *Romance*.

Under each of these several heads he has classed a variety of authors, according to the nature of their writings ; and has given a *critique* upon each : For the most part his observations are made with great judgment, and a just conception of their respective merits, although we cannot in every respect agree with him. As, for instance, we differ with him when he says, that in the *Arabian Nights Entertainments* " there is great luxury of description without elegance ; and great variety of invention, but nothing that elevates the mind, or touches the heart." This is true

of some of the tales, but of many it certainly is not. We find ourselves frequently affected both with horror, and with pleasing sensations, in reading the *Arabian Nights Entertainments*, by the mere force of situation and description ; and we are much mistaken if that collection of fables has not often given rise in its readers to ideas both of a sublime and beautiful nature.

In speaking of the rise and progress of *modern romance*, Dr. Beattie takes an opportunity of introducing an account of the character of those nations who introduced the feudal government and manners, and of the crusades and that spirit of chivalry and knight-errantry which succeeded, as the natural offspring of the feudal manners and government.

In the Essay on the *Attachments of Kindred*, Dr. Beattie discusses the three questions following, " 1. Whether it is according to nature, that the married persons should be only two, one man and one woman ; 2. Whether the matrimonial union should last through the whole life ; 3. Whether the rearing and educating of children should be left to the parents, or provided for by the publick." With regard to the first question, Dr. Beattie founds his reasons against polygamy upon the following principles—" That it is against the intention of nature, who having given all men propensities alike that prompt to an union betwixt the sexes, must have intended that all should enjoy the happiness resulting from it — that if polygamy was to prevail, this would be impossible, because, agreeable to every computation, the males exceed the females ;—2dly, That polygamy is inconsistent with that affection which married people ought

ought to bear to one another:—  
3dly, That it destroys the peace of families, and therefore stands in direct opposition to one of the chief ends of the matrimonial union:—  
4thly, That it is subversive of filial and parental affection, must be inconsistent with the right education of children, and so counteract another chief end of marriage.”

In answer to the second question, Whether the matrimonial union ought to last through the whole life? Dr. Beattie says it ought, and this he infers from the following principles,—“ That it tends towards our making a deliberate choice:—2dly, That as those who are united by friendship have the best chance of being happy, and as true friendship requires a *permanent* union, such an union is most likely to be happy:—3dly, That the reverse of such an union would debase those ideas of delicacy, wherewith the intercourse of the sexes ought always to be accompanied:—4thly, That it would be fatal to the education of children, whose parents might be totally engrossed by other connections.”

In examining the third question, Whether the rearing and educating of children should be left to the parents, or provided for by the public? Dr. Beattie endeavours, and successfully, to overturn Plato's theory on this subject. Indeed Plato's support of this theory is so weak and absurd, so completely contradicts every feeling and sentiment that nature has implanted in us, that so far from promising any political good, it scarcely leaves a single source from which the best and greatest of all our actions must flow, or not at all. This Essay certainly does great honour both to

the author's heart and understanding.

The book concludes with *Illustrations on Sublimity*.—The different sources of the sublime are collected and displayed in a very judicious and critical manner in this treatise, as well those which arise from external and sensible objects, as from poetry.—

“ Poetry,” he says, “ becomes sublime in many ways.—1. When it elevates the mind by sentiments so happily conceived and expressed, as to raise our affections above the low pursuits of sensuality and avarice, and animate us with the love of virtue and honour.” As an instance of this, he gives that fine line in Virgil, where Evander addresses himself to Æneas—

Aude, hospes, contemnere opes; et te  
quoque dignum  
Finge Deo.”——

2. “ Poetry is sublime when it conveys a lively idea of any grand appearance in art or nature.”—

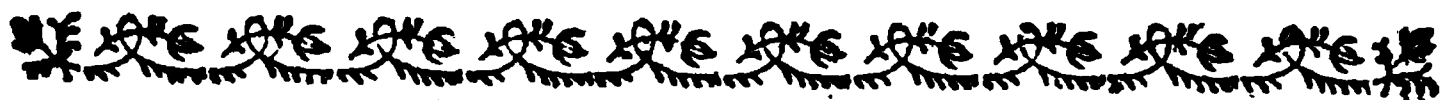
3. “ When without any great pomp of images or of words it infuses horror by a happy choice of circumstances.”——4. “ When it awakens in the mind any great or good affection, as piety or patriotism.” This division seems to be included, in our opinion, under the first head.

5. “ When it describes in a lively manner the visible effects of any of those passions that give elevation to the character.”

Under each of these heads Dr. Beattie has given several apposite examples. He concludes by enumerating a variety of those faults in style and expression, which are inimical to, and destroy sublimity in writing.

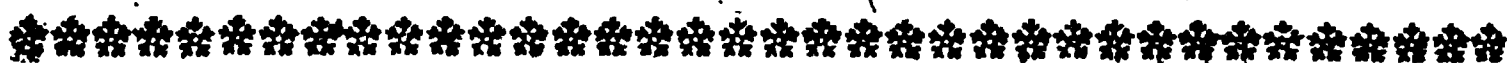
THE





T H E

C O N T E N T S.



H I S T O R Y O F E U R O P E.

C H A P. I.

*Retrospective view of affairs in India. Benares, Transactions which led to the dependance of that country on the East India company. The Rajah Bulwant Sing, having taken a decided part in their favour, in the war against his paramount lord, Sujah Ul Dowlah, his territories are secured to him by the treaty of Illahabad. Investiture of Cheit Sing, upon the death of his father Bulwant, and a new treaty concluded in favour of the family by Major Harper. A third treaty, in confirmation of the two former, concluded by Mr. Hastings, who is himself a party to it, and renders the company guarantees of the Rajah's possessions. Upon the death of Sujah Ul Dowlah, the Nabob vizier, the sovereignty of Benares is transferred by his successor to the company. Extraordinary subsidies demanded and levied from the Rajah, Cheit Sing, on occasion of the war with France, lay the foundation of those differences which took place between him and the government of Calcutta. A supply of 2000 cavalry demanded from the Rajah. Charges of disaffection and contumacy laid against him. Governor general's progress from Calcutta, to settle the affairs of Benares, and other countries. Proceeds up the Ganges to Buxar, where he is met by the Rajah, with great attendance and number of boats. Different accounts of the conference on the water. Rajah's visit at Benares forbidden. Rajah taken into custody: rescued, and the sepoy, with their officers, massacred. He flies first to Ramnagar, and from thence retires in the night to the fortress of Lutteespoor. Oussaun Sing appointed by the governor general to administer the affairs of the country in the place of the Rajah.*

*Ram-*

## C O N T E N T S.

*Ramjiewaun garrisons Ramnagur for the Rajah. Scheme for the reduction of the place frustrated by the rashness of Captain Mayaffre; who is killed in an ill judged attack, and the party repulsed with great loss. Country immediately in arms. Design of attacking the governor general in his quarters obliges him to retire by night to Chunar. Repeated proposals made by the Rajah for an accommodation, produce no effect. Embarrassment occasioned by the Nabob vizier's visit. The commotion in Benares spreads the flame in the adjoining countries. Cheit Sing's manifesto. Attack on the Rajah's camp at Pateetab. Great reinforcements arrive at Chunar. Bundoo Carwn, a native, proposes the means, by which the Rajah's forces might, without much difficulty, be dispossessed of their strong holds. The scheme adopted by Major Popham; who privately dispatches Major Crabbe, with a strong detachment, to penetrate the mountains, under the guidance of Bundoo Carwn, and attacks the enemy in the rear, while he engages them in front. The design succeeds; Major Crabbe carries the strong pass of Suckroot; the enemy abandon the fortress of Lutteespoor; the Rajah flies to Bidjeygur, and all his forces disperse. Country immediately resumes its usual tranquillity. Governor general returns to Benares; settles the government; appoints a new Rajah; and increases the revenue. Disturbances in the neighbouring countries quelled. Treaty of peace and alliance happily concluded with Madagee Scindia by Colonel Muir. The Rajah, Cheit Sing, totally abandons his country. Strong fortress of Bidjeygur taken upon conditions, by Major Popham. Great treasure found and spoil made by the army.*

## C H A P. II.

*Peninsula of India. Efforts by France to recover her ancient possessions and influence, and totally to overbrow the English power. French squadron sails from the African islands with a strong body of forces for the coast of Coromandel; takes the Hannibal of 50 guns, and appears suddenly before Madras, intending to destroy the English squadron in the road, and, in concurrence with Hyder Alley, to besiege that place by sea and land. Causes which obliged M. de Suffrein to abandon that design and put out to sea. Is pursued by Sir Edward Hughes, who chases and takes several of the convoy. Partial sea-fight; in which the French, having the wind in their favour, direct their whole force to the attack of the rear and a part of the center of the British line. Admiral's ship, the *Superbe*, and Commodore King's ship, the *Exeter*, suffer extremely, through the great superiority of force by which they are attacked. Capt. Stephens, of the former and Capt. Reynolds, of the latter, killed. Enemy suddenly haul their wind and stand off; are out of sight in the morning. Admiral, on his way from Madras to Trincomale, is joined by the *Sultan* and *Magnanime* from England. Falls in with the enemy's fleet. Bloody action off the coast of Ceylon, on the 12th of April. The damage on both sides so great, and so nearly equal, that the hostile commanders lie for several days within sight of each other, repairing their*

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shattered

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## C O N T E N T S.

*Shattered ships. French fleet proceed to Batacalo, and Sir Edward Hughes to Trincomale. Consequences of these naval actions. Great disappointment to Hyder, in his expectation of such a co-operation on the part of France, as would enable him speedily to reduce the Carnatic. Major Abingdon arrives with a body of troops from Bombay at Telli-cherry, on the Malabar coast; where he defeats and takes Sandas Corun, who had long blockaded that place.* [40

### C H A P. III.

*Colonel Bratbwaite's detachment suddenly surrounded by Tippoo Saib, with a considerable army, on the banks of the Coleroon. Desperate resistance. Cruel slaughter restrained by the humanity of M. Lally. Southern provinces laid entirely open to the enemy by this loss. Embarrassing situation of Sir Eyre Coote. French forces, under the conduct of M. Durbemin, land at Pondicherry, and are joined by a body of Hyder's troops; the combined enemy besiege Cuddalore and Parmacoil, both of which they take; and meditate, in concert with the grand army, an attack upon the important fortress of Vandiwash. Sir Eyre Coote, in advancing to the protection of Vandiwash, hopes thereby to bring on a battle with Hyder; but finding the latter relinquished his object to evade that design, he passes on two days march to attack him on his own ground. Hyder abandons his camp, and retires to a secure position on the Red Hills. British general, in order to draw the enemy from his strong post, and bring on an action, advances towards the fortress of Arnee, where his magazines are deposited. Manœuvre succeeds: Hyder immediately descends from the Red Hills, and marches to the relief of Arnee. Battle of the 2d of June. Enemy routed and pursued till night. The want of cavalry on one side, and abundance of it on the other, prevent the grand effects of victory in this war. Pursuit continued for two days. Enemy abandon the great road, and cross the country to Arnee. British grand guard cut off. Fatigue, sickness, and want of provisions, oblige the army to fall back towards the sources of its supply. Sir Eyre Coote's ill health obliges him to quit the army, and leave the command to General Stuart. Hyder in a similar state of ill health. Destined never to face each other again in the field. Both, probably, victims to the contention. Failure of Hyder's great designs, affects his constitution. French Squadron returns from the island of Ceylon to the coast of Coromandel, and is followed by the English. M. de Suffrein takes on board great reinforcements of troops and artillerymen at Cuddalore, with a view of entirely crushing the British naval power in those seas. Appears before Negapatam, to challenge Sir Edward Hughes. Action of the 6th of July. French fleet saved by a sudden shift of wind. Severe strikes to the Sultan, but afterwards escapes. Capt. Maclellan, of the admiral's ship, killed. Great loss of the enemy. While the Squadron is refitting at Madras, M. de Suffrein joins the Sieur d'Aymar, on the coast of Ceylon, who is arrived there with two ships of the line, and the second division of the Marquis de Bussy's troops from the Mauritius.*

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*ritius. Enemy besiege and take Trincomale, while the British squadron is detained by adverse winds from its rescue. Sir E. Hughes arrives early in the morning close in with that place. Enemy, relying in their superior force, come out to battle. Desperate and well-fought action on the 3d of September. Enemy lose one of their best ships in getting into Trincomale. Loss of men small, with respect to number; but the three brave captains, Wood, Watts, and Lumley, with other distinguished officers, are unfortunately slain. Great loss of the enemy. Admirable behaviour of the British commanders, through the whole course of this severe naval warfare.*

[54

### C H A P. IV.

*Treaty of peace concluded with the Mabrattas, through the mediation of Madajee Scindia. Negotiation conducted with ability by Mr. Anderson. Madajee Scindia the mutual guarantee. Peace fortunate with respect to the season of its conclusion, and advantageous in its stipulations to the English. Boroach ceded to Scindia. Supposed causes which delayed the ratification at Poonab. Dreadful hurricane, and deplorable famine at Madras. British squadron driven to sea, and suffer much from bad weather in their passage to Bombay. Advantages derived by the French fleet from the possession of Trincomale. Colonel Humberstone's successes on the coast of Malabar. Penetrates far into the country; but is obliged to retire with loss from Palacatcherry. Government of Bombay dispatch a body of forces under General Matthews to the coast, with a view to extricate Humberstone; while Tippoo Saib proceeds with the utmost rapidity from the Carnatic, in order to cut him off. Colonel Humberstone gains intelligence of his approach, and retires to Paniang, closely pursued by the enemy. Command of the troops devolves on Colonel Macleod, who is immediately invested by the enemy. Tippoo Saib and M. Lally attack the British lines with a great force, but are gallantly repulsed with considerable loss. Tippoo Saib breaks up his camp by night, and returns to the Carnatic. General Matthews takes Onore by storm. Death and character of Hyder Ally. General Matthews takes Cundapore; forces the Gauts, and makes his way into the Bednore country. Some observations on the conduct pursued, and the cruelties committed in this expedition. Short account of the ancient kingdom of Canara, and of the royal city of Bednore, or Hyder Nagur, the supposed depositary of Hyder's treasures. Private negotiation and treaty with Hyat Saib, who surrenders the country and capital to the British forces. Great discontents in the army, relative to the disposal of the treasures found in the royal palace. Difference between the general and the principal officers of the King's forces, occasions the Colonels Macleod and Humberstone, with Major Shaw, to quit the army and return to Bombay. Dispatches from the general, containing a general accusation against his army. Proceedings of the government of Bombay: appoint Colonel Macleod to the command of the army in the Bednore country. Captain Carpenter takes Car-*

*war,*

## C O N T E N T S.

war, with other forts, and reduces the whole Soundab country. General Matherws returns with part of the army to the coast; besieges and takes Mangalore; Tippoo Sultan abandons the Carnatic, and marches with his whole army to recover the Bednore country, and his dominions on the Malabar coast. Letters from General Matherws to the government of Bombay, informing them of the approach of the enemy, and requiring a reinforcement: returns to Bednore; marches out to fight the prodigious army under Tippoo Sultan; being instantly defeated, he retires with the remainder of the forces to the adjoining fortress; closely surrounded and besieged. The strong posts in the Gaus shamefully lost to a detachment from Tippoo's army. The fugitives from the Gaus communicate their panic to the garrison of Cundapore, who set fire to the magazines, and abandon the place, with a large field of artillery. General Matherws capitulates upon honourable conditions. Capitulation violated by Tippoo Sultan. General, and principal officers, seized and imprisoned. Army plundered and inhumanly treated. Miseries endured in a cruel march and imprisonment. General and several officers, said to have been barbarously murdered. Siege of Mangalore converted to a blockade, upon the departure of the French auxiliaries from Tippoo Sultan. Sir Eyre Coote returns to Madras, where he dies. Sir Edward Hughes arrives with the fleet from Bombay. Successes of the Colonels Lang and Fullarton in the Qimbatour country. General Stuart besieges Cuddalore. French lines and outworks carried, after a desperate attack and resistance, with great slaughter on both sides. Last naval action between Sir Edward Hughes and M. de Suffrein. Great sally made by the French with their best troops, who are repulsed with much loss. Account of the peace being received, an immediate cessation of hostilities takes place. [75

## C H A P. V.

*Retrospective view of affairs in the West-Indies, North America, Africa, and Europe, previous to the conclusion of peace. Bahama islands taken by the Governor General of Cuba. Dutch settlements in Africa reduced by the English. French expedition to Hudson's Bay, where they take and destroy two of the Company's settlements. Various successes on the Musquito shore: Fort Dalling retaken: Don T. Julia, with the Spanish forces on Black River, surrender prisoners of war to Colonel Despard. Calamities of the fleet and convoy from Jamaica. Ramillies, Centaur, Ville de Paris, Le Glorieux, and Le Hector with many merchant ships lost. Sir Guy Carleton communicates to General Washington the resolutions of parliament for an accommodation with the Americans and the instructions and authority he had received for that purpose from government; requiring at the same time a passport for Mr. Morgan, who he intended to dispatch upon the business to Congress. Washington refers the proposal to Congress, who forbid his granting the passport. Resolutions of several assemblies, against any separate negotiation, peace, or truce with Great Britain. Subsequent declaration to the same purpose by Congress; with strict injunctions, against the receiving of any proposals, or the admission of any emissaries from England. Measures pursued*

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*pursued in Europe towards the attainment of a general peace. Empress of Russia, and the Emperor of Germany, mediators. State and condition of the contending parties. Mr. Grenville sent to Paris. Mr. Fitzherbert appointed plenipotentiary, to negotiate and conclude a treaty of peace, with the ministers of France, Spain, and Holland. Mr. Oswald appointed commissioner on the part of his Britannic majesty, to negotiate a treaty with John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens, the American commissioners. Provisional articles signed with America. Preliminary articles of peace between England, France, and Spain, signed at Versailles, by Alleyne Fitz-Herbert, Esq. the Count de Vergennes, and the Count D'Aranda. Sketch of the provisional and preliminary treaties. [114*

## C H A P. VI.

*Various conjectures concerning the state and views of the different political parties previous to, and at the meeting of parliament.—Letters from the secretary of state to the lord-mayor of London respecting the peace.—King's speech.—Debates in both houses on the address.—Reasons assigned by Mr. Fox for the resignation of his office.—Second debate, on expressions in the speech respecting the treaty with America.—Question put to the first commissioner of the treasury in the House of Peers on the same subject.—Motion for the provisional treaty to be laid before the House of Commons rejected.—Bill brought in for preventing doubts that might arise respecting the legislative and judicial rights of the parliament and courts of justice of Ireland.—Cause of the introduction of the bill, and objections made to it. [136*

## C H A P. VII.

*Preliminary articles of peace signed at Versailles—laid before both houses of parliament.—Address of thanks moved by Mr. Thomas Pitt.—Amendment proposed by Lord John Cavendish.—Second amendment proposed by Lord North.—List of the principal speakers for and against the original address.—The peace defended on three grounds.—1st. From the deplorable state of the finances—of the navy—of the army.—2dly. On the merits of the articles of the several treaties.—Defence of the French treaty—of the cession of part of the Newfoundland fishery, and of the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon—of the restoration of St. Lucia, and of the cession of Tobago—of the cession of Senegal, and the restoration of Goree—of the restoration of the French continental settlements in the East-Indies—of the abrogation of the articles relative to Dunkirk.—Defence of the Spanish treaty—of the cession of East and West Florida and Minorca.—Defence of the provisional treaty with the Americans—of the line of boundaries—of the settlement of the fisheries—of the terms procured for the loyalists.—3dly. On the factions and interested motives of those who pretended to disapprove of it.—Arguments urged by the opposite side in support of the amendments.—Arguments used in defence of the peace replied to in the same order.—Both amendments carried in the House of Commons.*



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*Commons, by a majority of 16.—Amendment to the address in the House of Lords moved by Lord Carlisle, and negatived by a majority of 13.—List of speakers in the debate.—Resolution of censure on the peace moved in the House of Commons by Lord John Cavendish, and carried by a majority of 17.* [148

## C H A P. VIII.

*Lord Shelburne's resignation, and chancellor of exchequer's declaration on what account he continued to hold his office.—Ministerial interregnum—mischiefs resulting therefrom—conjectures on the causes.—Address to his Majesty for the same restrictions to be observed, previous to the 5th of April, respecting granting pensions, as are directed by an act of last session subsequent to that time.—Debate thereon.—Account of pensions granted.—Animadversions on them.—Mr. Coke's notice of his intention to move an address on the unsettled state of the ministry.—Its effects—unsuccessful.—Makes his motion—received with approbation.—Ministers attempt to exculpate themselves—answered.—Coalition abused; and an addition, to its disadvantage, proposed to the address.—This attack repelled, with great dexterity, by Mr. Fox.—Allusions having been made, in the debate, to secret advisers of the crown, a gentleman alluded to avows, and justifies his conduct.—Reply.—Address presented.—Answer.—Mr. Pitt resigns—questioned respecting any new arrangement being made.—His answer—not satisfactory.—Earl of Surry's motion on the occasion—objections to it—withdrawn.—He proposes another, which is better approved; it is however postponed.—Report to the disadvantage of the coalition party—disclaimed by Lord North.—Fresh invectives against the coalition.—Heads of justification insisted on by that party.—Negociation again opened to form an administration—succeeds.—List of the new ministry.—Its first objects.—Difficulties obstructing a commercial intercourse with the States of America.—Steps taken to remove them.—Loan of twelve millions brought forward—objected to—justified.—Mr. Pitt's motion for a reform of the parliamentary representation—debate thereon—division—lost by a majority of 144.—Earl Shelburne condemns the loan.—Resolution proposed for the conduct of future loans.—The loan justified, and former ministry blamed.—Proposed resolutions discussed, and rejected.—Duke of Richmond's motion, respecting danger to be apprehended from putting the great seal in commission to the judges.—Heads of his speech, which embraces further objects.—Motion objected to—withdrawn.—Another proposed—debated—negatived.—Animadversions on the original motion.—Message recommending a separate establishment for the Prince of Wales—50,000*l.* settled on him—and 60,000*l.* voted as a temporary aid.—Heads of the bill for regulating certain offices in the exchequer.—Clause offered to exempt Lord Thurlow from its operation—debated—agreed to—rejected on the report by a majority of 8.—Close of the session.—Speech.—East India affairs left unsettled.*

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